

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

Written in ITALIAN,
BY
The Count GUALDO PRIORATO.

Containing all the
Memorable Actions
IN
FRANCE,
AND
Other Neighbouring KINGDOMS.

The Translation whereof being begun by
The Right Honourable
HENRY, late Earl of Monmouth
Was finished by
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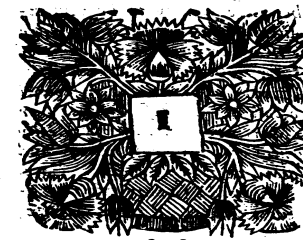
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To the Right Honourable and Truly Noble LADY,

MARTHA

COUNTESS of MONMOUTH.

MADAM,



Have in obedience to your Ladyships Commands turned into *English* so much of the Count *Guado* his Book, as your Noble and Worthy Lord and Husband (being prevented by Death) left untranslated.

I am not ignorant how great a rashness and presumption it was heretofore accounted, for an unskilful Workman to attempt the finishing of *Apelles* Table; but I shall hope the meanness of my Style will give your Ladyship no cause of offence, when you consider that the defects thereof are so far from prejudicing your Lord's Work, that like a Foil they may serve to add something unto the Lustre of it: And I am confident I shall deserve from the Reader his Thanks as well as Pardon, for blundering at the remainder of the Book, since 'tis the cause of publishing the rest, whereby our Nation may have the benefit of being acquainted with all Designs, Intrigues, and Affairs of State, transacted in those years whereof it treats, delivered to them by the choice Pens of two persons so accomplished as were the Author and his Lordship.

And howsoever, I have resolved rather to expose my self unto the danger of any Censure whatsoever, than be wanting to the profession I have made of being,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most
obedient Servant,

William Brent.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE READER.



Amongst those changes which the vicissitude of Worldly things hath in this our Age produced, I believe there are none either more worthy to be remembered, or that can better satisfy our Curiosities, than a clear knowledge of the late Révolutions in France, and the War between the Crowns of France and Spain, which still continues: for whether we consider the Sights and Policies used by the different Factions, to advance their several Parties; or the multiplicity of Intrigues, occasioned by those Contentions; or

the great Waste and Spoils committed by the Armies in their Marches, of which the bloody marks do yet remain in several Provinces; or the sad Consequences of that Craft, Envy, and Emulation, wherewith all Treaties have been managed; or lastly, the deep Prudence, Care, and Foresight, whereby the mischiefs thereby designed have been avoided: I may with confidence affirm, no time or place can furnish us with better instances touching all those matters, than the Transactions in those Civil Wars.

I therefore, who (from my first coming to look into the World) have always thought no employment could be more Noble, than that of setting down all memorable Actions of the present Age for the Instruction of that to come, (since History may well be termed the Nurse of all Illustrious Actions, and the only life of Fame and Memory) have endeavoured to oblige Posterity, by giving a sincere account of what hath passed; that they may thereby be invited to imitate what is praise-worthy, and avoid those things that deserve blame.

And since it concerns every man, who makes Truth his object, to use great diligence in the discovery of her, because this beautiful Lady seldom appears in publick places; I resolved therefore to make a Voyage into France, as I had done before to Germany, Flanders, England, and other Countries where action was, that I might (being an Eye-witness) be better able to give a true relation of all passages; wherein I can hardly express the diligence and caution I have used, not being satisfied with a superficial knowledge of things, but endeavouring to penetrate into the true Motives, Ends, and Interests of those that acted.

As for the manner of my Writing, it is the same that I have always used, rude and unpolished, suitable to the Profession of a Souldier, wherein I have the honour to serve the famous Commonwealth of Venice, as my Ancestors have done before me, in the principal Employments under the command of that Republick. This I assure the Reader, that as these my Relations are not adorned with any Flourishes of Eloquence, so he will finde them void of Passion or private Interest; no party having ever gratified or disoblighed me, and the only end I have in writing, being to give a true account of what hath pass'd unto Posterity.

I make use of the same freedom in relation of all actions, as well praise-worthy as blamable: neither hath that been ever the least hindrance to me, which hath deterred many, viz. The publishing a History of persons whilst they live; and therefore if there be any who thinks I am too sparing in his praises, I desire he would impute it to my want of skill, and would also consider, that brave Exploits bring their own Triumphs along with them; and Virtue is the best reward unto it self. If any one be Censured or Reproached, he must blame not the Copy, but the Original, since History performs the Office only of a Glass, and like an Echo doth but redouble what hath formerly been spoken. And if I have mistaken any thing in this Relation, I shall be ready upon better information to rectifie it, during his Life, by acknowledging my error in the reprinting of this History; which is a Right can never be afforded unto any person after Death,

FAREWEL.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The FIRST BOOK.

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FRANCE continued in the same Fortune and Condition the Year of our Lord 1648, that King Lewis the Thirtieth left it: And was in the highest and happiest Posture that she ever had been in the Reign of any whatsoever other King; being wholly united, and all of a piece:

1648. piece: She extended her Conquests from the Banks of the *Mosel*, to beyond the *Rhine* in *Germany*, and beyond those of the *Iberi* in *Spain*, by the possession of *Eliz* and *Tortosa*; and scouring throughout the *Mediterranean* with a powerful Fleet, was both dreaded and respected. *Lewis* de *Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, as famous for War as any of our Age, having continued his Victories in *Flanders*, had filled all those Provinces with Dread and Fear. Marshal *Turenne* by his preserving of so many places taken, and by his several Defeats given to the Enemy in *Germany*, had penetrated beyond the River *Leck* in the heart of *Bavaria*, and made the French Forces formidable through the whole Empire. Count *Clellis* *Palatin* joining with *Francis* Duke of *Modena*, declared to be General of the King of *France* his Forces in *Italy*, occasioned no little apprehension in all those Princes, by his Siege laid to *Cremona*; it being evident, that if he should succeed in that Enterprize, the French would get footing in the State of *Milan*. The Armies were composed of Warlike People, all of them almost of the same Nation, which by Vivacity and Courage makes her self as fit for the managing of Arms, and effecting of great Enterprizes, as any other Nation; and her Commanders were most part of tried Valour, and conspicuous as well for Birth as Courage.

France was Confederated, in *Germany*, with the *Swissers*, and with the greatest part of the Protestant Princes; the Peace not being yet concluded with the Emperour: and in *Italy*, with the Houses of *Savoy* and *Modena*; and kept excellent Correspondency with almost all the other Princes of *Italy*. In *Spain*, the *Catalonians* continued constant, and the *Portuguezes* confident. Nor could she be jealous as then of *England* or *Holland*; the former being buſied in Civil Wars, and the latter willing to enjoy that Peace, which she had obtained at the expence of so much Money and Blood. *Europe* being a Spectator of these her Prosperities, looked upon this her *Prepotenza* with the same reflexions as she had looked upon the Success of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth's Forces, when Fortune smiled most upon them. Nothing appeared wanting to crown her Felicity, but a Moderation in some of her Natives, who were guided by Ambition, and by Spleen against him, who manged this so great weight: So as these natural, and almost unalterable defects being taken away, she might peradventure not have found any thing to withstand her in her highest and most generous Designs.

For the better knowledg of what hapned in these times, it will be requisite to look a little back, and take the beginning and true reasons of the first Revolution in *Paris*, which afforded Fuel to raise the Flame of Civil War a little higher: And because this had no other rise, but his fortunate guidance who directed the Kingdom, which won him so much credit, as awakened jealousies and envy in those who saw themselves not so much respected; we must attentively examine the Motives, that we may the more clearly deduce the Fallacies of the Conclusions.

King *Lewis* the Thirteenth leaving the Queen, his Wife, Regent when he died, left a great share of managing the Affairs to Cardinal *Mazarino*; moved thereunto by the trial he had often had of his Loyalty and Worth in divers difficult Emergencies. And he may be truly said to be even now one of the greatest Ministers of State that *France* ever had. For Fortune favouring his designs, made him not only effect unexpected Enterprizes, but won him Applause throughout all *Europe*. It is rather incredible than strange, that an Infant-King, a Queen of a Rival Nation, a Forreiner chief Minister of State, have not only been able to resist the Contracts of so many

divers Opinions; amongst a People so lively Spirited, but being badly looked upon by so many Critics and Lords at Court; but have at the same time won so many Battels, taken so many Towns, and dilated the French Dominion on all Sides, having no reason to envie the fortunate Government of the late King, nor the Administration of the ever-memorable Cardinal *Richelieu*.

The most Christian King advancing amongst so many Conquests to his Majority, it is hard to relate what confusion arose amongst those that were enemies to his Crown, who found clearly, that notwithstanding the Peace concluded between *Spain* and *Holland*, the affairs of *France* were grown to that height, as had it not been for Novelties introduced by the French themselves, the Spanish Monarchy would have been reduced to very bad terms. For if you will consider *Italy*, *Cremona* was besieged by the French; which if it had been taken, would have put the State of *Milan* in much danger: and the Kingdom of *Naples* would have been endangered by the Fleet at Sea, that Kingdom being more in the power of the people than of the Spaniards: and *Tarragona* might have been blockt up by the same Fleet, when the French had taken *Tortosa*; so as there would have been but small hope of preserving that place, the loss whereof would have made way for the French to have entered into the Bowels of those Kingdoms, and would have kept the Spaniards from entering into *Catalognia*. And in *Flanders*, the winning of the Battel of *Leus* by the Prince of *Conde*, made it be known, that the French were sufficient to get the better of the Spaniards best Forces, without any diversion of the United Provinces. But because by how much the King's Authority grew greater, so much more did the jealousies and apprehensions of some few Male-contents increase; who feared the loss of Favour and Authority, and began to be sensible how slowly Favours were conferr'd upon them, which they desired more than became them; they thought, that in the conjuncture of the pressing occasions of Court, they might advance their designs by causing some rents in Court, before the King should be out of his Minority: They therefore took a seeming pretence of the common good; and under the specious asserting that the King's Authority ought to be bounded within the terms of moderate Dominion, they began to invent plausible pretences, under which they masked their true and secret ends, and won upon the peoples affections, who are incapable of any reason, save what suits with their own likings.

These Male-contents were most of them the chiefest Lords of the Court, and some of their Adherents in Parliament. For the better knowledge of whom, and to inform those who are not fully acquainted with the Affairs of *France*, we will tell of what the body of this great Assembly doth consist, which hath afforded so much Matter to this present History.

The Parliament of *Paris* is the first of all other Parliaments of the Kingdom, and consists of Dukes and Peers, who are born Councillors. I say Peers, because those that are not Peers, are not admitted thereinto, though they be Dukes; for their admission their Peerage must be proved. Of six Presidents, which are called *des Mortars*, by reason of a Cap of Velvet with a Gold Gallon-lace, which they carry in their hand, in shape like a *Mortar*, the which they put upon their heads upon any Solemn day, or great day of Ceremony. Of Masters of the Requests, who are also born Councillors, and whereof onely four sit at a time in Parliament. Of Church and Lay-councillors, which are divided into many Chambers, or Classes; as, into the Great Chamber, the five Chambers *delle Inchieste*, or of Enquiries; the Chamber *della Tornella*, which takes Cognizance onely of Criminal Affairs; the

1648. Chamber *dell' Editti*; which dispatches the Controversies or Law-Suits only of *Hugonots*. There are moreover three other Chambers, but not Sovereign, or Supream, though they be of the body of the Parliament: to wit, the Chamber of Requests for the King's House, and two other Chambers of Requests for the Palace. Counsellors of Honour have also place in Parliament, who usually are great and deserving men, and for the most part chief of the King's Council; to whom his Majesty gives Letters Patents to be Counsellors of Honour, and who are afterwards receiv'd in presence of all the Chambers assembled together, and are next to the Dukes and Peers. After these come Counsellors at Law, who having served twenty years in that Employment, keep their place, though they have sold it: and all these Dukes, Presidents and Counsellors may amount to about the number of two hundred.

There is then another Supream Body, which is called the great Council; this enters not into Parliament, but walks hand in hand with it. It hath sometimes been ambulatory, as it was in these last Conjunctions, wherein it followed the King; but usually it keeps in *Paris*, and meets in the *Cortile* of *St. Jermain Auxerrois*. It consists but of one only Chamber, the Presidents whereof ought to be Masters of the Requests. The Jurisdiction of this Council consists in distributing matters of favour, *gli Indultarii*, and judging the Contests between the *Presidiali*, or Magistrates, which are subject to the Parliament.

The Chamber of Accounts is also a Body apart from Parliament; and the incumbency thereof is to review the Accounts of all the Financiers: All the Treasurers of *France* are under it; and there are of these Chambers in divers Provinces.

The Court of *Aides* is another supream Jurisdiction, whose Power extends to Gabels, Taxes, Impositions, and Excises. They have under them the Magistrates which are called *Eletti*: And of these Courts there are divers in many parts of *France*.

The King's Exchequer being much exhausted by so long War, the Council was forc'd to think upon ready and feasible Expedients to raise Moneys; which gave occasion to the Male-contents to mark their indiscreet Zeal, and to make use of this publick necessity, so to undertake with more boldness pernicious novelties.

Divers means were proposed to raise Moneys; but all means requiring time, and being in some sort grievous to the people, and therefore not certain whether the Councils resolutions would be approved in Parliament or no. Monsieur *Emery*, Superintendant of the Finances, proposed the taking away of the *Paoletta*, or Annual Right, upon designe either to make the Parliament more submissive, and more obedient to the will of the Court, and consequently less averse to pass the Edicts of the Council-Royal; or else to renew the Annual Right in some other form, which might be more advantageous, and more proper to raise ready Moneys. This as it had a fair appearance, and came from one who was reputed to be of a high Spirit, and of a great reach, pleased many Lords of the Council; but the Cardinal would not have this fallen upon in haste, but wist it might be more maturely examined. So by reason of some other Emergency which arose, it was laid aside.

Antiently, and before the Reign of *Francis* the First, who was he that brought in the selling of Offices, Places were by the King conferr'd onely upon well-deserving men, and such as were capable of them. In the time of *Henry* the Fourth, one named *Paoletta* propounded a means of raising

two

two millions of crowns yearly, by permitting all Counsellors and Officers, as well of Justice as of the Finances, to convey over their Offices after their death to their Heirs, or to sell them to others, reserving a certain annual sum to be duly paid. This was embraced and agreed unto, that upon payment of a certain annual sum, according to the worth of the Place, the Office or Place was to descend to the Heir; or the Possessor, if he pleased, might sell it whilst he lived, to any one that was capable of it. And that if any one should die without having paid this Annual Right, his Heirs should not enjoy the benefit of the Place, but that it should be left to the King's disposal. This Contract was to last for nine years onely; which time being expired, the Privilege was to be continued, or abolished, as the King should please. Thus from this time forward, taking the name from the inventor of it, this Annual Right was called *la Paoletta*.

Emery's Intention was, that the nine years of the *Paoletta* being expired, the King should totally abolish it; and that if any of the Officers should desire to dispose of their Offices after these nine years, he should make a new Agreement, advancing some considerable sum: By which means he thought to raise good store of Money, whereby the expence of War might be supplied without grieving the people.

This might have taken effect, had it not met with some opposition in the Parliament of *Paris*, by some troublesome Spirits, who had other particular ends. It was therefore thought fit to exempt it from the said abolition; which condescension, through weakness, was the cause from whence arose licentious Resolutions, which confounded all good Government.

But the Counsellors having adherences, friends and alliances with many other Lords and Officers of the Kingdom, suspected lest this being introduced into the parts farther off, might by little and little creep into their Employments; wherefore they began those Novelties, which shall be the subject of the ensuing Narrative.

Yet neither were the alteration of the *Paoletta*, nor the Grievances, nor the Gabels, the sole occasions which caused Disobedience: for such burthens were quietly suffer'd, and received without any innovation, under the management of *Richelieu*, who making use therein of the King's Power, maintained them by severity and force, as thinking Rigour to be a better way than Gentleness, whereby to govern a Nation naturally as apt to forget Injuries as good turns. But the proposal in the Edict of augmenting the number of the Masters of the Requests, every of which Places were sold for more than 60000 Crowns, was the true occasion of those troubles which interrupted the Prosperity of that Kingdom, and hastened the Revolutions, though under other reasons and motives, which seemed to aim more at the publick good, than at the private end of some particular men. These Masters of the Requests are conspicuous persons, who after having sat as Counsellors in Parliament, are admitted into that Order. They are admitted into the King's Privy Council, they practise much in Court, and are employed in Embassies in Provinces, and in Armies for Justice, and for the Finances; so as they usually prove men of Courage.

All men were troubled and scandalized at the increasing of this number, the price being lessened thereby to those who were in the Places, being considerable persons. For nothing sways more with men, than their particular Interest and Advantage. They used therefore all means to keep the Cardinal from attempting this Novelty, so thinking, that as he was the first Minister of State, he was the fittest person to promote thereof. The Cardinal knew, that to touch upon what concerned those of the Parliament,

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1648. was but a slippery business, and therefore he did not in his heart approve entirely of the Proposal: but the business of Moneys being urgent, and the rest of his Majesty's Council not thinking to meet with any repugnancy in those who had such dependancy upon the favour of the Court, and who desired to deserve those Employments which were wont to be conferred by the King in Armies and in Provinces; the Edict stood good in substance, but was somewhat moderated by the Cardinal, who was forced to yield to the common desires. These Lords having acquainted the Cardinal with their Grievances, they turn'd upon *Emery*, and reproving him as the contriver of this Plot, they bitterly threatned him; but he stood constant to what he had propounded, as thinking it most adequate to the necessity. *Emery* was a man of great Wit, and of a profound and lively Spirit: He was brought into the Finances by *Richelieu*, who sought to gratifie him for services which he had received from his Father. Being found to be a man of a deep reach, he met with Envy immediately; but though he was accused by his Enemies of many faults, he overcame all difficulties, and got great experience in the Finances: wherefore the Lord *Bullion* being Superintendent, knowing his ready Wit, and peradventure envying his Abilities, he endeavour'd to keep him at a distance from the Employment; and thought it better to fix him Ambassador from the King in *Savoy*, than to have him near himself. When Cardinal *Mazarine* entered upon the Affairs of *France*, *Emery* made use of the acquaintance he had had with him in *Avignon*, and in *Piemont*; to which the great esteem which was held of his capacity and understanding in the Court being added, he got at last to be Superintendent of the Finances; where thirsting after greater Fortune, it was said he aspired after more advantages: and he was accused of having intended to shoulder out the Cardinal, by fomenting them underhand, who went about to discredit him with the Queen; and that having these Objects before him, he had leaned to the late Prince of *Condé* his Party, and afterward to that of his Son; befriending many persons who were well thought of at Court, by whose means he ever and anon acquainted the King, that it was true, the Cardinal was of a refined Wit, of a high Spirit, and very understanding in foreign Affairs: but that having never been vers'd in the Finances, he wanted such Indowments as were requisite thereunto: whence it arose, that he went less in the esteem he had hitherto maintained himself, with many, who knew not the truth of the business. Moreover, some, that they might render him odious to the Parliament and to the People, gave out that he (as being the prime Minister of State) was the first Author of the abolition of the *Paoletto*, and of creating new Masters of the Requests, though he had always withstood them; and that *Emery* was the onely occasioner of them, being backt by the rest of the Council. And they did this, intending that the Parliament resenting this, might make the Cardinal's conduct be ill thought of, and that by his fall, *Emery* thought to succeed him. These suspicions were increased by some conversation which he held with *Peter Brussel* a Counsellour of the Great Chamber, poorly spirited; but popular; and who instead of judging Processes, was always busie in publick Affairs. He willingly took upon him the Petitions of the Poor, either out of real or feign'd Charity; and he was hereunto incited by *Peter Longueil* a Counsellour of the same Chamber, who spent all his talent in Intrigues and Cabals. *Brussel* applying himself to *Longueil's* Genius, though he were ignorant enough, and not very capable of what he went about, which made him be believed by those who knew not his true ends, to be a well-minded man: But being

displeased with the Court and Cardinal, for that his Son who was Ensigne to the Guard, was denied a Lieutenants place that was vacant, he set him self to beget an ill opinion of the Cardinal. This mean while the Masters of the Requests fearing lest if any of them should die, their Heirs might not succeed unto them in their Office, by reason of the distaste which they had already given unto the Queen, they publish'd a licentious Writing, whereby they did reciprocally oblige themselves to pay for the Place of any that should die, for the Heir of the deceased; which was thought a very bold thing. Nor did their designs cease here, but finding themselves not able of themselves alone to make good their party, they presented a Request in the name of the Publick, for the union and joyning of the whole Parliament; representing, that it was necessary for repairing the Ruines of the Kingdom, occasioned by the ill Administration of the Finances, which were more employ'd in the profit of a few particular men, than for the use of the Crown, from whence the peoples grievances did proceed; by which appearances they made the people believe, that their end was onely to exempt them from all Impositions. The Queen being hereat highly displeased, she made them be sharply reprov'd by *Peter Segner* the Lord Chancellor, a well-meaning Gentleman, and of great Integrity; telling them, that such Assemblies were rash, destructive to the State, and illloyal. And she expressly forbid them coming to the Council till they had revoked all their said Declarations, and torn them in her presence. Wherefore all the said Masters of Requests went joyntly to the Palace Royal to acquaint the Queen with their grievances, who sharply upbraided them with baseness, taxt them with temerarity in opposing the King her Son's will; and by her treating them thus, did much mortifie them. For there was not then any Faction on foot; and this would hardly have held good, had it been disturb'd at the beginning. But the Duke of *Orleans* thinking it fit to apply Remedy to the Evil before it grew too contagious, interposed himself, and wrought with the Queen that she would permit them to exercise their places: But they not being herewith content, grew more insolent, believing that many who did not openly applaud them, would afterwards joyn with them in lessening the Cardinal's power; which was envied by many, and privately practis'd against, as was suggested unto them by those who did but wait a time to give the blow. They therefore continued their contumacy; and not long after, notwithstanding the King's inhibition, the joyning of all the Bodies of Tribunals was decreed, and met, where *Broussel*, *Blamontil*, *Charton*, and others, spoke without any regard, against the Court-government: An Act of great Disobedience, and contrary to all Laws and Practice; all the Bodies not being accustomed to be called together nor to meet, but by extraordinary order from the King. But those who sought a propitious conjuncture of time to inhance or exalt their pretended Authority by lessening that of the Kings, being desirous to winde themselves into the Affairs of State, laid hold of the pretence of waiting of the King's Finances, and gave way to this fatal Union, wherein they were applauded by many, not onely for the novelty of the Act, but out of hopes which other Male-contented and their idle followers conceived, that they should be eased of their Grievances by the punishment of those who employ'd the King's Moneys ill; and that they should thereby have Peace, which they said was retarded out of the Officers particular ends. That which these Supream Companies did, (for no Appeal was to be had from their judgment) was, to send many Deputies, who marched two and two through the City, being invironed by an infinite company of people, to

1648. shew the King that they were met to provide, during his Majesty's Minority, against the bad administration of his Finances, from whence proceeded the Kingdoms ruine, and the emptiness of the Exchequer; fearing lest they might hereafter be blamed by his Majesty for carelessness, when he should come to his Majority; as (they said) Charles the Fifth had done, who complained of the Parliament of those times, for not having hindered the mis-spending of his Revenue in his Minority. And to this purpose they chose some of their Deputies to meet in the Chamber called St. Lewis; which is an extraordinary Congregation, which meets onely upon urgent and grievous occasions; which are displeasing to the King, for that therein things contrary to the Function of Parliament are treated of; and where the Counsellours as well of Parliament as the Chamber of Accounts, the great Council, and of the Court of Aids sit: The power of which Deputies when they are met together, reaches no farther than to examine and give their opinions upon such things as they treat on; which are afterwards to be reported to the Sovereign Courts, wherein they are either approved, or rejected.

These Broullers continued on the Parliaments side by keeping together, and by often meeting; as on the Courts behalf, in impeding them, and crossing them, till such time as the Court lost as much esteem as the Parliament got; and till it was necessary for the King's Council to take away the Superintendency of the aforesaid *Emery* in that Office; though it appeared necessary in that emergency of time, he promising again to furnish moneys for some time, to maintain that War. He was ordered to retire from Paris to his Country-house, in appearance of sacrificing him to the satisfaction of the people, and to rid the Parliament of further trouble, by preventing them in their Decrees, which it was thought would be by them shortly thundered out against him: This his deposing, which was done contrary to the general belief, served to provoke the Parliament and the Malecontents to yet higher thoughts, whereinto, upon like occasions, humane insatiation doth usually fall. The Chambers therefore forbear not to meet, nor the People to murmur; they railed openly against the King's Ministers of State; they cri'd out aloud against the Government; they made it appear that instead of seeing that State restored, Misery and Ruine did still increase, though France was then more powerful and victorious than it had been known to be at any time before. And in sequele of these giddy attempts, which are the usual food of the petulant Vulgar, it happened that Monsieur *di Bachaumont* Son to President *Coignoux*, hearing his Father speak in the Parliament in behalf of the Court, being one night at Supper in Monsieur *di Paris* his house, Marshal of the Field, and discoursing there with divers Friends touching the present Commotions, said jeastingly to his Companions, with whom he began to sport, throwing Oranges at one another, That he had a designe to sling to some purpose at his Father's Opinion. This Jeast was taken notice of, and thereupon when one declaimed boldly in pleading against any person of Quality, men would say, that he *slung soundly that morning*: so passing from one Jeast to another, he that railed most against the Government, was called a good Slinger. And this went through every ones mouth some months before there was any talk of the Faction called *la Fronde*, or the Sling; but the rise thereof was taken from the Boys, who sometimes slung Stones under the new Bridge when the water was low; whence the forenamed *Bachaumont* took occasion to say, that he would sling at his Father's Opinion, comparing the Whizze of a Sling to the force of Discourse in Rhetorick.

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1648. The chief men that declaiming in Parliament were first called by this Nick-name of *Frondeurs*, which is as much as to say Slingers, which grew as common as that of the *Gueuser*, or Beggers did in *Flanders*, whence so great disorders arose there afterwards, were the Presidents of *Novion*, *Viola*, *Blam-metil*, *Charton*, the Counsellours of *Broussel*, *Longueville*, *Conlon*, and divers others of a turbulent disposition, and desirous of Innovation; but in time some few fell from that Faction, and finding their errors returned to their Duties, from which the chief Lord President never budged, who was a man of a settled and undaunted Spirit, and who did always appear unconcern'd, knowing how to make use of his Credit in Parliament (in the Affairs whereof he was very expert) for the service of the Court, wherein he carried himself with much Integrity and Courage.

As all these things were a mighty prejudice to the King's Sovereignty, and of very bad Example, and a great scandal in Subjects who were bound to obey; and the Cardinal being therewith forely nettled, took a firm resolution to defend by all possible means the Authority of the Minor-King, which was recommended to his trust: and very well knowing what sad fruit might proceed from this seed, employed first his most refined Judgment to keep it from increasing, making use of milde ways, spinning on the time, till the conjuncture of Affairs might afford him opportunity to make use of more powerful means: But this fair way doing no good, the Malady grew more contagious; which made him at last aware, that without making use of Fire and Sword, it would dayly take deeper root; for the Courts Lenity was interpreted Weakness, and the pride of some of these Gown-men (who were blinded by Passion, and by hope of bettering their condition by the ruine of others) grew to such a height, that being cloy'd with living quietly, they began to plot all the ways they could how to arrive at their desired end. That they might therefore irritate the hatred and fury of the people, they thought it necessary to appear Vindicators of their Grievances, and to lay the fault upon those that govern'd. Wherefore they began to allure them by hopes of a present good, and by fear of an approaching mischief; attributing the continuing of War to the State-Ministers, that they might thereby provide themselves of Moneys squeezed out of the poor Subjects. So as an universal Impression being made by these colourable pretences, whereby Affairs were carried on to open Sedition, the King's Council thought it fit to lay aside all Lenity, and to put on more vigorous and rigid Resolutions. Wherefore they thought fit to make some of them an Example, thereby to make others more respectful and obedient: and because the famous Victory of *Lens* in *Germany* happened at the same time, for which *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral Church, the King and his Guards being present, it was thought now a fit time to imprison *Broussel*, *Charton*, and President *Blammeneile*, who were thought worse minded than the rest; since they could not do it otherwise without a great Army, especially upon old *Broussel*, who was protected by the people, with whom he had won such credit as if he had been a New *Cato*.

The Cardinal dissented from this; who looking more inwardly into the bottom of the business, found it to be dangerous, and exposed to great difficulties; wherefore he thought it better to temporize, till the next Campaign being ended, the Army might be free to be disposed of as occasion should require. But Count *Chavigny*, who in Cardinal *Richelieu*'s time was one of the prime Ministers of State, and was employed in all Affairs of greatest Importance, was not well pleased to be detain'd from his wonted Honors. Wherefore seeking how to raise Rumours, and to put the Court in a commotion, that he might

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might fish in troubled Waters, and make the Cardinal run upon some Rock. He persuaded the Queen that her Majesty was bound to make use of some valid Expedients before the Malady grew greater, and by the Examples of her Husband the late King, to make her self be feared. She approving of *Chavigny's* Opinion, wherein many others of the Privy Council did join, obliged the Cardinal not to gain say it, saying, That great Mischiefs required speedy and strong Remedies. The Cardinal obeyed, though contrary to his judgment, but first he protested against it apart to her Majesty, saying, That the time was not yet fit; and foretold her punctually of all that did afterwards fall out, making her see that *Chavigny's* Council aimed at somewhat else than her Majesties Service. Which succeeding just as the Cardinal foretold, was one of the chiefest reasons which made him be the better believed afterwards, and made him be known to be as able for Government, as he was passionately affected to make the King a great Monarch. Which made the Queen confide so much in him, as she raised him to the highest pitch of estimation afterwards, and for the future did intirely credit his Council.

The duty of the day being over, and their Majesties being gone from Church, Monsieur *Cominges* Lieutenant of the Queens Guard was sent with some Souldiers and an Officer to *Brousel's* house, to acquaint him with the Order which he had from the King to conduct him where his Majesty had commanded him. *Brousel* said he would obey; and turning to his Children, who were at Table with him, said unto them, *I have purchas'd you some Honour by my Actions, see that you preserve it: Farewel, I think not that I shall ever see you any more.* He went down stairs, got into the Coach, and the Guards holding their Pistols at his breast, the Coach-man drove on apace. The Coach being come into the High-street, where the Militia stood in order, *Cominges* advanced towards the new Bridge; and it was noised abroad by a Lackey of his, who had never lost sight of the Coach, that *Brousel* was carried away Prisoner in that Coach: which breaking by chance between the publick Palace and the new Bridge, *Cominges* making use of necessity, made the President *Dass* of *Bordeaux* his Wife light out of her Coach, which he met by chance, and went therein along the River, where but few people pass, and came safe to *St. Germain's*. President *Blanchet* was arrested in his own house, and carried to the Castle of *St. Vincent*. *Charlon* hearing of this, had the fortune to escape. This News flew presently through the whole City, where presently Clamour and Commotions arose, the people crying out, that the Common Safety was betray'd, their Liberties injured; that they were all threatned with eminent danger; that the Court made publick thanksgiving for having committed outrage not onely against private persons, but against the Publick Faith. All men raged, and like so many mad men fell to lamenting, to protestations, and to threats. Some ran one way, some another, exciting all they met to rise. They scoured all their Halberds and other Weapons; all Trades-men ran in with their Axes, Hammers, Knives, and with what came first to hand. Women, like those of former times, ran up and down like so many *Bacchicals*, inciting their Husbands and Friends to revenge their Injuries. All the Streets were suddenly chain'd up, all Shops were shut up: The most courageous were confounded at the hearing of the peoples noise and fury. The Parliament met that night highly displeased, and agreed to meet the next morning, and to demand their imprisoned Members from the Queen.

But the Court being in part satisfied with the success of what they had done, and not at all moved at the begun Commotion, prepared holdly to with-

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stand the peoples violence, and the Parliaments resolutions. The Guards were increased. All the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen of the Court met at the *Palais-Royal*: They consulted all that night touching what was best to be done in this confused Hurly-burly. They resolv'd to stand to what they had done, lest they might seem to injure the King's Reputation by retracting it. They therefore ordered, that the Chancellour should go the next morning, it being the 27th of *August*, to the great Chamber, and absolutely to forbid the Parliament in the King's Name to debate touching what was done: But the King's Power was now too little esteemed, the people were grown too head-strong and passionate; the jollity of the Malecontents too much increased. The Chancellour got into his Coach, not regarding what danger he ran, though he foresaw it, and went to the publick Palace. When he was come to the midst of the new Bridge, he found all those ways full of armed people, and the Chains drawn up, yet he would pass on: he took a further compass about by *St. Augustino*, but finding the Chains drawn, and the people in arms at *St. Michaels* Bridge, as he endeavor'd to continue his Journey he was known, and was pursued with Out-cries and impertinent Threats. The Coach-man perceiving this, that he might preserve him from some evident Disaster, drove furiously into *l'Hofelle de Suinas*, which by good luck had the Gate open. The Chancellour went to the top of the house, accompanied by his Brother the Bishop of *Meaux*, and by his Daughter the Dutcheß of *Suilly*, who would partake of danger with him. They hid themselves in a Closet, where they were not seen, though many people past and repast by it, crying out, *Where is the Chancellour? where is this Traytor? let us kill, let us kill him.* He hearing these Threats, which denounced assured death unto him, you may imagine in what a case he was. This mean while the news hereof came to the Parliament, which was already met; where a friend of the Chancellours represented the peoples shameful Riot, detesting the Insolency, and hoped that they would send to appease the Tumult: but although he had many particular friends there, and that they all appeared bound to serve him in so exorbitant a case, yet not any one moved in his behalf, so hated were the State-Governours grown. At last Marshal *Milleraye* got on horse-back, and going with some Souldiers of the Guard, and some of his and the Chancellour's friends, past, without hindrance, over the new Bridge; and being come to *St. Austins*, sent some Souldiers and Gentlemen to bring the Chancellour out of that Palace. Monsieur *d'Orléans*, a Lieutenant of the Guard, went to the house, took the Chancellour by the hand, and brought him out of the Closet, and put him into the Coach, together with the Bishop of *Meaux*, and Dutcheß of *Suilly*; and instead of going by *Porta Nela*, returned by the new Bridge: and the Marshal followed after the Coach on horse-back in Military order; but as they past by the Brazen Horse, the people made several shot at the Coach, where the Chancellour was miraculously preserv'd, some being slain. The Coach was shot thorough in many places, and the Dutcheß of *Suilly* received a slight hurt, while with much generosity she thrust out her arm to defend her Father. At last the Chancellour came to the Palace-Royal, and was graciously received by both their Majesties. The Regent could not praise him enough, wondring how he had escaped. The Chancellour answered, *That Loyalty and Obedience towards the Prince, ought to be the onely Object of every man of Honour, and that that had been his chiefest comfort in that danger, he being to be held happy, who dies gloriously in his Masters service.* The Tumult still increasing, the City was still in greater disorder, and the safety of the streets was provided for,

1648. not onely with Chains, but by Barricadoes in every place. Every one brought somewhat to fortifie themselves. On the King's side, the Guards stood in Battel array. The people cri'd round about the Court, that they would have *Bronfel* set at liberty: they threatned to burn and kill all but the King's person.

When it was known that the Chancellour was found, and that he was gotten unhurt into the Palace-Royal, it is not possible to believe how the incensed people raged about the streets. They returned headlong to *L'Hôtel de Luiner*, and in great fury plunder'd it; wherefore the more wealthy Citizens, not thinking themselves safe from the licentious Tumultuaries, made Barricadoes at the ends of every street, and plac'd good Guards there, as well in the Suburbs as in the City; so as that year was afterwards call'd the year of *Barricadoes*. Thus did this day pass over in Tumults, Skirmishing, and in making Barricadoes. The Parliament amidst this confusion, resolv'd to go the next morning to their Majesties, and to desire that those that were imprisoned might be set free. The Councillors march'd on foot two by two, the first President going with his Officers about him in the front, and the other Presidents after: The Rabble-rout followed in the rear, armed, bawling out, That they would either have *Brousselle* set at liberty, or they would put all to the Sword.

According to Custome they had Audience. The first President spoke very efficaciously against those who had advis'd to imprison his Companions. He told the Queen, *That Kings were the true Image of God on Earth: That they ought to commiserate their People, as Fathers do their Children, and hear their just Intreaties: That in Affairs wherein the Publick Good is concern'd, good men ought to speak freely, according to their Consciences, and not according to Self-interest; dissimulation and subtleties being in such cases the ruine of Kingdoms. That her Majesty ought not to suffer herself to be counselled contrary to the Publick Good, since there is no falsere Maxime than that, which teacheth to exasperate the minds of Subjects. That people in Arms ought always to be feared, but dreaded when they are armed with blinde fury, and void of discretion. That as she was a merciful and gracious Princess, he beseeched her in the name of all his Companions, and in the People's name, that she would give way to the releasing of his Fellow-Members out of Prison; which was the best way to calm an incensed people.*

The Queen answer'd in a few words, according to custome; and then the Chancellour said, *That their Majesties would advise with their Council what to do in the business: Speedily, tenachng giving satisfaction to their desires.*

The Parliament-men returned from the Audience in the same order as they came; and when they came to the Barricadue before *L'Hôtel de Scomberg*, the people met them armed, and in a furious manner, demanding in a mutinous manner whether or no they had obtained *Bronfel's* freedom? and they answering, that they could not absolutely say yes, a Plebeian who was more Hair-brain'd than the rest, held his naked Sword at the first Presidents breast, and bad him go back again to the Court and get *Bronfel* set at liberty, otherwise he and all his Fellow-Members should be cut in pieces. The Presidents and Counsellours were heret so affrighted, as many of them ran away and hid themselves, some one where, some another; but the first President, not at all abash'd, returned presently to the Queen, followed by those that carried with him, and told her, *That this was no time for delays: That it was necessary to obviate the fury of an exasperated and incensed people, with whom no fair means nor reason would prevail.* He said, *There was*

noway to prevent greater disorder, but by setting the Prisoners at liberty; 1648. and on his knees beseeched her Majesty, *That by being gracious, she would recover her former quiet.*

The Queen call'd her Council unto her, and told them, that some proper expedient for the present Emergency must be taken. Those who had advis'd to this Resolution were mute, not knowing whereupon to ground their ill-given Council. The Cardinal and Marshal *Villeroy* ponderated the business, and were of opinion, that as affairs of great importance ought not to be slightly undertaken, so when they were once taken they were to be made good, there being no so bad resolution as to succumb to inconsistency.

Their opinion therefore was, that if it were possible they should stand to the first Sentence, and shew no signe of weakness: but if this were not to be done, it would be an unpardonable pertinacity to run with folly headlong upon impossibilities. Marshal *Milleray* being much incensed at the *Parisians* insolence, propounded, that if two Field-pieces could be got, and five hundred Foot, they should make their way to the *Bastille*, fighting and assaulting the Barricadoes, firing such houses as should use any hostility. This resolution was not embraced, for many reasons; particularly by reason of their Majesties goodness. The Cardinal not believing the confusion to be so great as was given out, resolv'd to be an eye-witness thereof himself, and went *incognito* into the streets of *Boufensans*, and *St. Honoré*, where he found the Rout making more use of their tongues than of their hands; he therefore kept two nights on foot undauntedly, and careful to defend himself, and to use such means as should be fittest for the present Emergency.

The Parliament should have consider'd the Regent's Answer in the accustomed great Chamber; but not being able to get thither by reason of the peoples fury and insolvency, who peradventure might have us'd some outrage against them, the Counsellours were desir'd to meet in the Gallery at the Palace-Royal, a thing unusual: Here met that Sovereign Assembly. The Chancellour spoke in behalf of the Court, declaiming against the rash and misbecoming behaviour of the people, and perswaded those Gentlemen not to adhere to so rash an action.

The Counsellours were sumptuously feasted and entertained by the King; which being interpreted by them to be an apprehension which the Court had of them, made them put an higher esteem upon themselves. Several were the opinions which were held by the King's Council, touching the setting of the Prisoners at liberty. The Cardinal who was against the former resolution, with reflection to what did punctually happen, would have still detain'd the Prisoners; and by removing the King and Court from *Paris*, would have done that which necessity forc'd them to do afterwards. But the same reasons which made against the first resolution, were those which made the second the harder: For it was impossible to force obedience from so numerous a people without an Army. They therefore resolv'd to let the Prisoners loose; and the King's Letters, together with his Order, were sent to the Parliament in the Gallery at the Palace-Royal, and given to those that were next akin to the Prisoners; and the King's Coach was sent to bring them back to *Paris*. The Parliament return'd thanks to the Regent for her clemency, and every one return'd home well pleased, telling in the streets, that the King's Coaches were already sent to bring back *Bronfel*, whom they should suddenly see safe and free. He was so fortunate in this his misfortune, that in the present Commotions of *Paris*, mention

1648. was onely made of him, President *Blammenil* never being named. Yet for all this the rumours ceased not, but both sides continued to have fears and jealousies.

The people being guilty, and contumacious, expected to be punished; and the Court feared the peoples insolency: the Inhabitants continued therefore their Guards and Barricadoes, and the Court their Guards; but with such inconveniency to the Souldiers, as they could not get Bread for money from the Bakers, who assisted in the sedition. Friday-night being past over in Arms, the next morning *Brousel* appeared in the King's Coach; and as he past through the Gate *St. Honoré*, and through the streets which led to the new Bridge and to *Nostredame*, he was received with much joy and acclamations by the people, who flock'd from all places to see whether it were he or no; for he appeared like another *Messias*, and the people cried out *Viva le roy, viva Brousel*.

The Counsellour *Blammenil* came the same night from the Castle of *St. Vincent*, but with much less acclamations. Thus the Tumults being appeased, and the Parliament knowing how prejudicial the Barricadoes were to the commerce of the City, which were not yet demolish'd, though the King had commanded it, ordered it to be done after Dinner.

During all these Tumults, the Duke of *Orleans* sided with the Court, keeping good correspondency by means of the Abbot *Riviere*, who was his favorite, with the King's Officers, who for his Highness sake used the like respect towards the Abbot, and as had been observed in Cardinal *Richelieu's* time; whereby the Abbot got to be worth 40000 crowns a year in Ecclesiastical Livings, and aspired at the Cardinals Cap.

But forasmuch as people having once broke the Reins of Obedience, are hardly brought within the limits of Duty; The seditious Ring-leaders knowing that the Cardinal was the chief Obstacle between them and their desires, spoke freely against him, accusing him of many failings in his managing of Affairs, to discredit him with the Vulgar; hoping by his depreciation, to see way made for compassing their desires. Yet they fearing that the Regent being exasperated at their licentious proceedings, would hinder their meetings, agreed secretly to continue their Assemblies, notwithstanding any opposition that should be made. And to the end that the Court-party might not blame the Parliament for arrogating an unlawful Authority, and contrary to Law, they would ask her Majesties permission: To which purpose they sent Monsieur *Fouquet* Procurator-general, who was of a ready wit and sound judgment, to her. The Queen wrought upon by necessity, and not being able to do otherwise, gave way to their sitting for fifteen days more; wherein nothing being likely to succeed, but what would be very prejudicial to her Administration, she went on Saturday the 12th of September, together with the King and the whole Court, under pretence of taking the Air, to *Ruel* three leagues from *Paris*, upon the way to *St. Germain's*; which did much trouble those of the contrary party, not onely out of fear of what they might thereby expect, but for that the Cardinal was now out of their hands, and that he might still grow in more favour. Many of the people, set on by those who begun to take upon them the name of *Frondeurs* or Slingers, met presently about the Palace, and in a threatening manner solicited the Parliament to provide speedily against the eminent danger; not onely by sending Messengers to the Regent, to sollicite her to return together with the King to *Paris*, but by proceeding in the Decree against Forreigners. And so ignorantly obstinate were they in this, as they foolishly believed, that as soon as the Decree should be out, the

Cardinal

Cardinal would be presently destroy'd; and if you would ask them by what Forces, they answered, That above 50000 armed men would make the Decree be observed in despite of the World. And thus they began that unhappy War, which being disorderly begun, every wise man knew would disorder all things. The Cardinal ceased not to labour this mean while to reduce the Subjects to their due obedience by fair means. He gave order that 4000 *German*, old Souldiers, the remainder of *Keymer's* men, who were now under General *Erack* Governour of *Brissack*, should presently advance towards *Paris*; and divers other Troops, Officers, and Gentlemen, that were known to be well affected to his Majesties service, were likewise sent for from several other places. And it being known that Count *Chavigny*, who was not well pleased with his present condition, might very much prejudice the King's Affairs by holding intelligence with the publick Enemy, and with the chief of the *Frondeurs* in the Parliament, he being a *Parisian*, he was made Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Vincent* by order from the King, by Monsieur *Drouet* Captain of the Guard. And thus was he kept from contriving such Plots as he endeavour'd to do, whereby to put himself into the same condition he was in *Richelieu's* time, and from whence, through too much ambition, he was fallen.

Monsieur *di Gaulas*, Secretary to the Duke of *Orleans*, was also banish'd by means of his Enemy the Abbot *di Riviere*, who knew him to be inward with *Chavigny*, and therefore equally subject to suspicion. By these proceedings at Court, the Parliament grew hourly more jealous. They met on the 22 of September, where President *Viola* laid, That the people feared lest *Paris* should be besieged; that the Court was full of barred and revenge against the Counsellours of the Chamber, terming them Tumultuaries, disloyal, and the causers of all Disorder: That the Publick Safety was exposed to Imprisonment, Exile, and to other Violences, wherewith they were severely threatened, who seemed to be most concerned in the Common Safety: That therefore it was now time to pull off Masks, and without delay to provide for their own Indemnity: concluding, that before they should put on any further resolutions, they should send some of their Members to the Regent to intreat her to bring the King back speedily to *Paris*; and that since it was now known who was the principal Author of all the Kingdoms troubles, all the Princes and Officers of the Crown should be sent to the Parliament to revive the Decree of the year 1607, whereby all Forreigners were inhibited receiving any Honours or Dignities in the State, or any part of Government.

Viola was not well pleased with his own condition, though he was sufficiently provided for by Monsieur *Lambert*; and particularly he appeared an Enemy to the Cardinal, thinking that he had kept him from being the Queen's Chancellour. *Blammenil* maintain'd and back'd *Viola*; he moved, that the Cardinal might be made to give an account of the Monies that were sent into *Italy* and elsewhere; and that he might purchase the name of an honest man, he put himself into the number of the *Jansoniens*. President *Novion* plaid his part also amongst the *Frondeurs*.

Amidst all these Agitations, the Parliament resolved to intreat the Queen by way of humble Remonstrance, that she would be pleased to return together with the King to *Paris*, and put an end to the peoples jealousies by her presence; and that she would keep the Souldiers away that were coming. The Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé*, who was then returned from *Flanders*, the Prince of *Conty*, the Dukes and Peers, were sent for to come the next day to Parliament, to use necessary Expedients for the safety and good of the State; and the Provost of Merchants, and the *Conseil* were sent,

1648. sent for to receive such Orders as should be given them. They sent a President and two Counsellours to make their desires known to the Princes: but the Answer was not according to their desires; for they said, *They could not, nor would not do any thing without the Queen's consent.* Orleans told the Deputies, *That he would come no more to Parliament, whilst they did licentiously advance their pretensions too far against Reason, and against the Law, as they had done by their bold and scandalous Proposals that morning.* Condé said, *That the Parliament had nothing to do with State-affairs; that he neither could nor would go thither; and that he would be obedient to the Queen, though it cost him his life.* Conty said onely, *He would not go.* Longueville told them in somewhat more milder words, *That they had transgressed the bounds of Duty, and that the discourses made by the said Presidents were too passionatè, and did deviate from conveniency.* The Deputies hearing this, were extremely amazed, and without making any Reply, return'd the same day to Paris, where the Frondeurs were no less troubled, fearing that they could not do what they intended, without the assistance of some Prince of the Blood, whose joyning with the Queen hindered all their intentions.

The first President and the other Deputies were gone to Ruel, to acquaint the Queen with the Parliaments Remonstrance; who returned answer, *That she wonder'd at their incongruous desire of having her return to Paris: That she us'd every year to go abroad and take the Air: That she valued more her own health, and that of her Son's, than any vain ridiculous suspicion of the people. That they might be ashamed to make such desires to a Sovereign King, whose satisfactions were to be had in Reverence, and not examined by his Subjects.* And forthwith a Decree was pass'd in the Council of State, full in the teeth of all that the Parliament had done the day before; commanding them to keep within their due bounds, and not to meddle any more in such resolutions, contrary to the Law, and to Regal Authority.

Notice was given of this to the Parliament the same day that they met to hear the first President's Report; which being diversly discuss'd, they resolv'd to make a new Remonstrance to the Queen, not by word of mouth, but in writing: And they began to take fitting course for the safety of the City. The Provost-Marshal was ordered to send to all places seated upon the River, to get Grain and all things necessary for the sustenance of so numerous a City, from thence to Paris. They resolv'd that the Inhabitants should keep in Arms for a publick Guard, and that the next day they should proceed to a Decree, like to that of the year 1617. Though this was not the means to extinguish, but rather to increase the fire, yet the Parliament did so flatter themselves with an imaginary pretention, and with the esteem they put upon themselves, as by the somenting of some few seditious people, they suffer'd licentious resolutions to be hatched; thinking that they might easily gain them in the King's Minority, under the government of a Forreigner, and in the present juncture of times.

The Queen apprehending these proceedings, and fearing lest the seditious people might detain her Son the Duke of Anjou, who was in Paris sick of the Small-pox; she made him come from thence late that night, and the Dutches of Orleans went also out. It was the chief endeavour of the Court to allow time, and to interrupt the Decree which the next day was to be made by the Parliament. It was therefore resolv'd, as to the point of Forreigners, and as the most expedient means, that the Duke of Orleans should write to the Assembly, That the best way he could think upon

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to come to a good agreement, was a Conference; and that to that purpose he desired them to send some Deputie to the Queen, to treat of such things as were fittest to fulfil the King's will, which was well affected to Peace and Quiet, and to obviate all inconveniencies. Monsieur de Choisy was sent with this Letter, who was to supply by word of mouth what was wanting in the Letter. Condé wrote to the same effect, excusing himself that he could not be present at their Assembly, by reason of his great occasions: but howsoever he advis'd them to send Deputies, as the most adequate means to remedy the evil which increas'd. And he told them, that he would really make known how desirous he was that the Assembly should be satisfied; which Assembly he hoped would not abuse those Records which tended to the Publick Good.

These Letters being read in Parliament, they all wondered at the difference between these Writings and the last days words: And though the Frondeurs grew prouder hereupon, who the more they were gratified at Court, grew the more insolent, yet they thought the Forces were sent for from Flanders, onely that the Court might extort that by force which they could not have of good will. They were notwithstanding troubled that they could get never a Prince to head them; wherefore that they might not exasperate the Duke of Orleans, nor Prince of Condé, who by this their alteration of proceedings they hoped might change their inclination to the Court, and be more partial for their Interests, the Parliament seem'd willing to follow their advice; and laying all Novelties aside, Choisy, and La Riviere, who had brought the aforesaid Letters, were sent back, with promise that Deputies should be sent to St. Germain's the next day, to treat and resolve with those Princes touching what should be best for the Common Good.

They did this with intention to win the Princes over to them, or to make the Queen jealous that the Princes held secret Intelligence with the Counsellours of the said Chamber. Being come thither, they were civilly received, and sumptuously entertain'd; which being interpreted weakness in them, and not grace, caus'd more disorders and licentiousness. The first President being in a place where the Queen was, thought it decent to visit her; where being admitted to Audience, he reiterated his former Assertions, that he was most constant to their Majesties Interests. The Queen received him with her usual chearful looks, saying, *That he was welcome, and that she desired that Concord and Agreement which was much desired by her from his sincere Affection and Wisdom.* He answered with an expression of great desire to serve her, *That he would employ all his endeavours to that purpose: That her Majesty might safely build upon his uncorruptible Loyalty, and upon the sincere Affection of the whole Parliament towards the King's service.* Taking his leave of the Queen, he went with his Associates to Dinner, which was sumptuously prepared; after which he went to the Duke of Orleans's Lodgings, where were the Princes of Condé, Conty, and the Duke of Longueville, and no more. The Deputies desired that the King's Officers might not be there, thinking that they would stand too firm to the Cardinal's instructions. So this was granted, with but little decency to the Court, as appeared afterwards; the intention of the seditious party of the Parliament aiming at nothing else but at the dividing of the Court, that so they might usurp that Authority, which in the Union of the Court could not be, but according to the Example of former times. Yet the Princes did carry themselves so, as it could not be hoped by the Deputies but that they would continue their Duties to their Majesties, notwith-

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1648. standing which, the warier fort were perswaded that in time they would be more ambitious and less respectful: Nor were they deceived, for from these beginnings they began to pretend higher things. The Prince of Condé after his Triumphant return from the Battel of *Lens*, changing his former Maximes, suffer'd himself to be born away to resolutions, which being opposite to the King's free Authority, were the occasion of the ensuing Evils.

The Duke of Orleans spoke first, and shewed, *That the occasions of the troubles which had hapned in Paris by their means who were no friends to quiet, ought to be wisely weighed; for it would be unwisely done to allow time to the malignant humours which grew daily worse, and would darken the Majesty and Glory of the Crown, unto the maintenance of which all good French-men ought to contribute their utmost Devotions and Endeavours, by plucking up these scandalous seeds of discord and difference at the very first.* The first President answered in the name of all the rest, recounting the chief things that had hapned since the 15th of May, which was the day that the Parliament met: *That the Parliament had labour'd much in finding out the best means to ease the people of their unsupportable grievances: That to this end they had made several Decrees and had made many Remonstrances to the Queen, and particularly in St. Lewis his Chamber: That her Majesty had given her approbation thereof, and had us'd all means to finde the best way out for the general ease; and appeared willing to put forth a Declaration upon all the points and parts of the Conference; which not afterwards well liked by the Court, which whilst it seem'd to grant much, did in effect grant nothing, but in lieu thereof the Members of Parliament were violently snatch'd away, the King privately carried out of Paris, the Souldiers made to approach, and the City threatned to be besieged; and that though these might be thought to be but vulgar Whispersings, yet violence did daily increase, Count Chavigny being then imprisoned, a person of great esteem, and one who for the space of twenty years had done the Crown good service.*

To this the Duke repli'd, *That he did not dissent that the Parliament might take Cognizance of what concern'd the Peoples ease, and that they might take course to remedy it; for the Queen inclin'd to take away not onely the fourth part of the Subsidies, but more, if the present state of Affairs would permit it.*

That as for the King's going out of Paris, it was not to be wondered at, since he went every year out of the Town about the same season to take the Air. For what concern'd Chavigny's Imprisonment, the Parliament had no reason to be concern'd therein, he being no Member of theirs; and that he was detain'd for important reasons, known onely to the King's Council. To this the first President repli'd, It was true, he was no Member of theirs, but that he had always, in all his employments, been advantageous to them; which made it be the more suspected.

The Prince of Condé retorting his Argument upon him, said, *That this Argument made against him that alleadged it; for if the memory of so many good services done by Chavigny were not able to excuse him, it was the more probable that his faults were great.*

Then stept out President *Viola*, and said, *That if Chavigny had erred, he should be proceeded against and punish'd by Law. He said, that there was but one Imprisonment lawfully permitted in France, called La Conceirge du Palais; and that if any other course were taken, the publick liberty was injured.* The Duke of Orleans interrupted the Discourse saying, *That people of better condition than Chavigny had been imprisoned: That the late*

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Prince of Condé, Father to this present Prince, had been imprisoned in the Bastile, without any notice taken by the Parliament. 1648.

The first President said, *All this was true, and that it was not long since this abuse was introduced, and that an Illegitimate Order ought not to pass for Law.* Thus the Deputies retired *re infecta*, and adjourn'd their Meeting to the 29th of the said Month; on which day they appeared again, and the Prince of Condé assuming great Authority, by his means almost all their Proposals were granted, unless it were the freedom of the persons imprisoned, which the Parliament pretended should be within the space of twenty four hours.

Whereupon the Queen was content that none should be imprison'd for State-affairs, without Process, for above six months: but the Parliament not allowing so long a time, took a middle way, restraining the time to three months, and said, *That the Queen could not make any Declaration thereupon, but that they might take her word.* The rest were not herewith content. President *Blauvenil* would not allow of three months, saying, *That no king of France, by any privilege of the Crown, can keep their Subjects Prisoners without Process at Law; for that would be prejudicial to the Publick Safety, and a bazararding of the Princes themselves, and of the Crowns Officers; since several means might be found in three months space to make away whom they list, before they could be proved guilty before competent Judges.* It was therefore said, *That either the King must have absolute liberty to imprison men as long as he would, or but onely twenty four hours; in which time no Prisoner could be put to death, without evident signe of Violence or Tyranny.* All men whatsoever being herein concern'd, it was decreed that no man should be kept Prisoner, without Process at Law, for above twenty four hours.

At the same time that this business was discussing in Parliament, *Franch Dutchess of Vendome* gave in a Petition to the House, desiring that the Parliament, as the Sanctuary of persecuted Princes, would cause Process to be made in the behalf of the Duke her Husband, and of the Duke her Son, who had been deni'd to have their Process pleaded, not onely for three or six months, but for many years. But this being a private business, the Parliament received the Petition, and said it should be argued when: the more weighty publick Affairs should be over.

Finally, after many meetings and debates in Parliament, a Declaration was issued forth for the re-establishment of Justice, and for a moderation of Grievances. The abuse of Accounts was regulated, the Tax of ten Millions of pounds *Turnois* was taken off. The people were eas'd of seven Millions which was paid to Officers and Souldiers who assisted in gathering Taxes and Impositions. The Officers of the Kingdoms Salaries were established. The Tax of a Crown for every tun of Wine that came into the City, was taken away. The price of Salt was lessened, and two Millions upon what entered the Gates of *Paris*.

But the supream Authority of France being onely in the King's person, and no Decrees made in Parliament being valid, though for the publick benefit, without the King's assent; this Declaration was carried some days after to St. Germain, to have its full Vigour given it: but the Cardinal considering how prejudicial the lessening of above two Millions of Pistols yearly would be to the King's service, and how much the King's Authority would be diminished by bereaving him of so great a part of his Revenues, and of forgiving faults, as it would have been if the Institution touching Imprisonment for but twenty four hours had been put in practise, opposed

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1648. himself thereunto with all his might, shewing that if when the King had power to punish faults, so many were committed, it would be worse when his Majesty should be deprived of that power; and that the power to punish made more for a Prince, than the power to reward: for people fear less to offend those they love, than those they fear; and rewards meet oftentimes with ingratitude, when Punishment maintains Obedience. But the Parliament's designe being to deprive the King of means of continuing War by keeping him from Money, and so to force the Cardinal to agree unto a general Peace, or otherwise to weaken him so as he could not any longer pursue the course of his Victories, that they might have occasion to accuse him, and deprive him of his Administration; the King's Council was at last forc'd to give way unto it, with such disadvantage to regal Authority, as that from hence arose all the disorders which did afterwards trouble the tranquillity of that powerful Kingdom.

It is very certain, that two members of Parliament expressing upon some occasion the like conceit to *Cavelliere Luigi Contarini*, who mediated the general Peace; he wisely answered, That he liked it not: for if the Cardinal should want moneys, and consequently means to make War, it was to be considered whether *Spain* would admit of Peace, when *France* should be reduced to such weakness.

This so prejudicial Concession being granted, which followed on the 28 of *October*, contrary to the Cardinal's opinion; Peace was published by means of the rest of the Council, whereby the Princes purchased the peoples applause, they having gotten their chief ends.

A while after Count *Chavigny* was released from Prison, where he was so afraid of being poisoned, as he eat but one Egge a day. The King pardoned him to gratifie the Parliament, and he was sent to a Castle of his own in *Turenne*. The Court used this means with patience per force towards the Parliament; so as it was easie to foresee, that enforce'd favours would prove at last but little advantageous to the receivers.

It being therefore thought that the Parliament could now decree nothing against the Cardinal, since they had received whatsoever they could pretend unto, the King returned to *Paris* on the last of *October*, with the general applause of all the people.

But as by this divorce of the Parliament from the Court, all the Malecontents had a good occasion to endeavour their own satisfactions; *Anne* Princess of *Bourbon*, Sister to the Prince of *Condé*, and Wife to *Henry* Duke of *Longueville*, a Lady as handsome of Body as she was full of generous thoughts and lively Spirits, began to contrive not onely how she might satisfy her own pretensions, but to make those fail of theirs, with whom she was not well satisfied. The distaste which she pretended to have received from the Cardinal, was, for that she thought the Duke her Husband had been deluded by Count *Serviente* in his Embassy to the Assembly at *Munster*, by hindering him from reaping the fruits of his labour, in completing the general Peace; and taking *Serviente* to be a creature of the Cardinals, and one who kept the War on Foot. She contracted friendship with the Count *d'Avauz*, a declared Enemy to *Serviente*, and endeavour'd to make him joyn with the Duke her Husband against him; which he very wisely refused to do. She likewise complained that the Prince her Brother had not received that Declaration from the Court which he pretended to, of being Heir to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Bresle*. Some coming from *Munster* to the Court, embittered against the Cardinal for these reasons; She spoke her opinion plainly touching the Peace, and some-

1648 somewhat bitterly; whereat the Cardinal was much displeased, so as their hearts were ulcerated; and the Dutches being resolved to be revenged, went about Autumn from *Normandy* to *Noycy*, where she spoke with the Duke *de Retz*, Brother to the Coadjutor of *Paris*, who was already engaged in the interest of Parliament; by which Duke's means she held Intelligence with the said Coadjutor, who used all the means he could to draw over the Duke her Husband to side with the Malecontents, which the Duke did at first wisely refuse; but at last being set upon on the one side by the Coadjutor's forcible perswasions, and on the other side by his Wives flatteries and allurements, he was perswaded to pass his word (wherewith the Duke *de Retz* acquainted the Coadjutor, and he some of the chief *Frondeurs*) that he would be for the Parliament always, provided that the Parliament did not fall upon the Court. And the same Dutches having a great power over her Brother the Prince of *Conty*, a Youth of about seventeen years of age, who might be said to enter but then into the world, she wrought him to be of the same mind, and made him make the same promise, though he had no reason to be displeased with the Court, nor with the Cardinal. But the said Dutches thinking that it made for her House and Family, that they should all enter into this Faction, she made the Coadjutor (without taking notice that she had any hand therein) endeavour to bring her Brother the Prince of *Condé* also to their Union. The Coadjutor undertook the business, and went to *Noycy*, together with the Duke of *Longueville*, and some of the chief *Frondeurs*, where they established that Union amongst themselves, which did yet more disorder all things.

The Parliament having obtain'd the aforesaid Declaration, grew more considerable; and *Condé* began to make friends therein, of whom he might upon occasion make use, and become more considerable in Court; and with the Duke of *Orleans*, who then discovered the pretences which Abbot *Riviere* had to be made Cardinal, as shall be said in its proper place. The Prince knew that the chief of the Parliament did distrust the Cardinal, were it either out of fear that he would deal ill with them whilst they dealt ill with the King's Authority, or for that they were resolved to maintain the advantages which they had got by the Declaration of the 28 of *October*; pretending to remove him from his Administration of Government, as being a Forreigner.

Condé began therefore to look favourably upon the chief of the Parliament, and to let them know, that he did not differ from them in their designe against the Cardinal, though his true end was, to make himself more necessary to the Court by so doing, and to oblige the Court (lest it might loose him) to follow his intents: for he found that the *Frondeurs* Animosity was such, as they would allow him but a limited power; and by siding with them he should increase *Orleans* his Authority, who joyning with the Court, would become Arbitrator of all Affairs, and a powerful counterpoise to his designs: Wherefore to win credit with the Parliament, he made a publick Visit to *Broussel*, and had many particular Conferences with *Longueville*, who was then in great esteem, and suggested to his Companions what they should do. President *Viola*, who had highly offended the Cardinal, and who was a Kinsman and an intimate friend to the Duke of *Chastillon*, by his means made known to the Prince that he might do well to grow great with the Parliament, to the cost of foreign Ministers of State, who had many enemies in *France*. He spoke himself afterwards with the Prince, who told him, as he had done *Longueville*, how he was inclined to joyn with the Parliament in their designe; but that they must allow him time

1648. time to make use of occasions which might happen, without hazarding any thing. This being somewhat ambiguous, they would know what he did really intend. The Coadjutor, who was of great esteem in the Assembly, made a motion upon occasion of the said Declaration, of suppressing all the Loans which were wont to be made by the Partisans unto the King, under pretence that all the Revenues of France were consumed by the Usury of more than 25 per Cent. his Majesty not making any advantage thereby; that notwithstanding, the devouring War had obliged the Court to take up moneys from the Partisans upon the same Interest. The Coadjutor wrought it so, as that the Doctors of *Sorbon* should give their opinion touching this detestable Usury. The Parliament took the same occasion, pretending that it was plainly contrary to the aforesaid Declaration. The *Frondiers* striving to attempt something against the Cardinal, under so specious a pretence, and which was so generally approved by the publick, labour'd by these means to bring the Court to an extreme and inevitable necessity, if their machinations should take effect. For a long time was required to gather up the King's Revenues, and the Expences did the mean while daily continue. So as having propounded unto themselves to send the Cardinal out of the Kingdom, they were necessitated to desire *Orleans* and *Condé* to assist them. Those who hoped that *Condé* would joyn in the designe of desiring the King to send away the Cardinal, thought it good to feel the Prince his pulse therein. So as *Viola* when he shewed the prejudice which the Publick received by the Negotiators borrowing, as he touched upon other disorders of the Kingdom, said, That it was not to be remedied without searching the bottom of the business; but that it was to be hoped that the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*, who were primarily concern'd in the States preservation, would employ such remedies therein as were requisite, and was expected from their wisdom. The Prince thought himself much injured by these words, fearing lest because he went often to his house, and was inward with *Chastillon*, the Court might think that he himself had made him to say this; and that therefore having discovered his hidden ends, he would in time endeavour to cross him in his ways. He therefore interrupted him, and said, That it became not the Parliament to meddle in such Affairs. *Viola's* friends, and such as were dip'd in the designe, could not brook this the Prince's interruption; and therefore a great murmure was made in the Assembly, with but small shew of respect born to *Orleans*, or *Condé*, though they were both present. The Prince could not contain himself, but changing his colour grew angry, and by a gesture of his finger, which is natural unto him, seemed to threaten the Assembly.

Hereby the Court perceived that many of the Parliament meant no good; and fearing lest Factions might increase, and that the people being encouraged by her Enemies, might begin to make new Barricadoes, began to listen to those who wish'd that the King would go out of *Paris*; being therein encouraged by the Prince, who was much scandalized at what had been said.

The Dutchesse of *Longueville* seeing that the Prince her Brother, and Head of her house, would not joyn in the common Cause, (for so it was termed by many) thought it advantageous for the Cause to have her House divided; since not being able to make it do what she would, it behoved that one part thereof should withdraw it self from the hatred of the people, and might be put into a condition of rising to such greatness as the present times seemed to afford. The Prince of *Conty* was already won over by

by his Sister. Thus did the Treaty of *Noyse* end, wherinto but few were admitted, for the more secrecy. Prince *Marillac*, who was afterwards Duke of *Rochefoucault*, and Gouverneur of *Poitou*, was presently acquainted therewith, who was very intimate with *Conty*, and *Longueville*: and not being well pleased with the Queen for being denied some Honour which he was promised, and which he pretended unto, he willingly listned to the invitation, left his Government, came to *Paris* about the end of the year, and entered into the Union; and the Dutchesse of *Longueville* being great with Child, and *Conty* of a tender Complexion, the chief management of Affairs lay upon him.

The Cardinal discovering these Plots, sought dextrously how to escape the Blow: But it being impossible that his Glory should not be envied, since neither Goodness, Wisdom, nor Rewards are a sufficient fence against Ambition; *Condé*, who was all Life and Spirit, had projected with himself how to become necessary to the Court, as well by Actions as Advice; and being desirous of that power which he hated in others, he suffered all things to run to ruine, that so he might have occasion of compassing his ends.

But because together with the known reasons of *Duke Longueville's* distastes, there were some more secret ones, and of greater importance, it will not be amiss to make this Digression.

Whilst in *August* the aforesaid Tumults were in *Paris*, *Duke Longueville* sent Monsieur *Priolo*, a confident of his, to the Cardinal, to assure him of his service to him, and to the Court, offering to come and bring 2000 Gentlemen with him, who should carry him into *Normandy*. The Cardinal seemed very well satisfied with this offer, and bad *Priolo* tell the Duke that he should also receive all satisfaction from him. Where it is to be observed, that but eight days before, the same *Priolo* had desired the Government of *Havre de Grace* for the Duke his Master; and was answered, That it could not be done without discomposing the State.

Priolo told the Duke, That the Cardinal, to boot with other Compliments, assured him that he the Duke should receive all content from him. This well, said the Duke, then I shall have *Havre de Grace*. *Priolo* said, The Cardinal had not spoken any thing to him concerning that Place, and that his Grace might do well to speak with the Cardinal and thank him, that so he might know his intention more clearly. The Duke answered, He would not do so; and that when time and place should serve, he would make him declare himself more fully.

The King being afterwards gone to *Ruel*, the Prince of *Condé* as he returned from *Flanders* was met by *Longueville* at *Chantely*, and said, That now any thing might be got, and that he had got *Havre de Grace*. The Prince was surprized thereat, who when he came to *Ruel*, told the Cardinal of it; who plainly denied it. The Prince acquainted his Brother-in-Law with it, who from that time forward declared himself dissatisfied; and this incited him to novelty, and engaged him therein. This mean while the Male-contents, who were Enemies to Peace, as thinking they should never fill their unsatiateness thereby, gave out to the Citizens and Merchants of *Paris*, That Commerce decay'd, that their Pursets were emptied by the continuance of War, which was still maintained onely because the Cardinal was an enemy to Peace. They set on foot two things: the one, that the Parliament should renew the Decree against Forreigners, which was made in the time of *Marquis d'Ancre*; by which the Administration of Government would be taken from the Cardinal: And the other, that they should

1648. should endeavour to interest more Princes and great men of the Kingdom in their Faction.

Whereupon, by the Coadjutors counsel, who by appearing Piety strengthened his politick ends; giving large Alms to the Poor in the Streets and Churches, whereby he got the Prayers of the meaner people; as oft as the Parliament sat to treat of this Affair, those that were most seditious appeared accompanied with multitudes of mutinous people, who cried aloud to have the Government taken from the Cardinal, threatening all that were against it. And this they did, because this Proposal being several times on foot in the Parliament, it was not approved of, as being inhumane, and contrary to Law, which doth not allow that people should be punished before they are proved guilty by Process; so as the Negative Votes were more than the Affirmative. The designe of these discontented Lords, who were incited to Novelty onely out of ambition, was, that if their Majesties should not grant a Reformation in the Court, according to their desires, the Prince of *Conty* should head the people that were to rise; that the Coadjutor in his Pontifical Robes should foment the Sedition; and that every one betaking themselves to violence, they should bereave the Queen of her Regency, imprison the Prince of *Condé*, and rid their hands of the Cardinal, and of all others that should oppose their designs.

But this Designe being precipitous and undecent, the Duke of *Longueville*, who was of a more composed minde, appeared somewhat cool and irresolute therein. He made some difficulty touching the new half yearly Parliament of *Roan*, which being almost wholly composed of *Parisians*, of such Families as were interested in the Court, would never have consented to such Novelties: But the old Six months Parliament composed of antient Counsellours, who were disgusted for Injuries suffer'd formerly by Cardinal *Richelieu*, seemed readier to accept of all violent Counsels. The Duke would therefore have the Conspiracy carried on till the first were gone, and till the Army being engaged in the Field against the *Spaniards*, way might be made for any Tumult.

The King's Officers perceiving these designs, and knowing that a speedy Remedy must be found out for this spreading Malady, the fittest Expedients were propounded, and diversly discut in the King's Privy Council. Every one knew that the Declaration of the 28 of *October* struck dangerously at the Regal Authority, since Rebels and seditious people could not be punished, nor the War be continued in its wonted Vigour, the Revenue being so sensibly diminished, when there was greatest need of it, and when these destructive designs were plotted by the *Frondeurs* in their secret Meetings. The Prince of *Condé* being desirous to increase his Reputation in *Paris*, and in the Court, as he had immortaliz'd his Glory in the Field, prest that the King and Queen might remove from *Paris*, and that the City might be besieged; promising that it would be forc'd to comply with their Majesties in all their desires, within fifteen days. This Opinion was back'd by Secretary *Tillier*, saying, That if *Pane Gonzalez*, bread from *Gonezza*, were but twice wanting, the City would soon be in confusion, as not being able to subsist without abundance of Victuals. *Gonezza* is a Town seven Leagues from *Paris*, where there are many Mills and Bakehouses, which furnish so great a quantity of Bread twice a week, as serves to feed half that numerous people of *Paris*.

The Cardinal knowing that *Paris* did abound in Corn and other necessities, and that all Provisions could not be kept out without a numerous Army, considered that the Siege might be a business of length, and sub-

subject to some bad accidents, and that the innocent people ought not to be punished for their sake who were guilty: he therefore propounded that the Queen should go to the Arsenal, pretending to go to her Devotions in *St. Mary Church*, which was neerer hand; that the King should also go thither out of the City, as if he meant to go hunt; accompanied by all the Princes and great men of the Court, as also all the Officers of the Treasury, upon usual pretence of Negotiating therein with Marshal *Milleray*, who was Governour of the Arsenal, and Superintendent of the Finances; and that bringing the Army to several quarters about the City, the people should be told, that their meaning onely was, that some few of the Parliament should come out of the City; which when it should be done, the rest would easily be kept within the bounds of duty, since the Cardinal was not generally hated, and that they were but a few who excited by ambition did cavil against the Government.

This Opinion was seconded by Marshal *Milleray*, a friend to bold resolutions; and had been embraced, had not the necessity of expecting necessary Troops, which were some leagues off, and the assembling of the Regiment of Guards which was quartered in several places, rendered the business somewhat knotty: For at every least stirring, the people would have taken up Arms, and drawn their Chains, as they were like to have done some days before; upon the meer Advertisement that six Companies of the Guard were assembled together before the *Louvre*, to receive Captains in the places of those that were slain at the Battel of *Lens*. They were therefore forced to put on such resolutions as shall be said in the following Book: Though when the tumultuous *Frondeurs* heard afterwards of this, they grew so bold as to laugh at it, declaring, That they valued not the King's Forces, and that *Paris* was well enough stored with People and Provision: So that as soon as the Decree should have been out, there would have been above 50000 men in Arms ready to have put it in execution; and if the Court should have attackt the *Parisians*, there would have been two Armies of 50000 men apiece ready in an instant; one to have followed the Court whithersoever it had gone, and the other to have armed the Frontiers of *Flanders* against the *Spaniards*, to the end that they might not make use of these civil Discords. And these insulting Speeches were utter'd without any manner of shame, even by many who were well reputed in War; and in civil Government; by which it is seen, that Humane Judgment hath no more deformed Disease than that which blinds the eyes of the Understanding.

Whilst Affairs went thus in *Paris*, Marshal *Rantzau* hearing that the *Spaniards*, after the blow given them at *Lens*, were got together at *Steinbirk*, a Village within a league of the Village *Furnes*, marched towards them; but not being stay'd for, he took the Abby of *Dunn*, and drew near *Furnes*, intending either to take it, or to oblige Marquis *Sfondrato*, who was come into those parts to rally the remainder of the routed Troops, to retreat: from whence Monsieur *di Vonbecourt*, Camp-master, advanced from *Burgues St. Venaux* to *Eulcamp*, and the Marquis *di Chastellain Macisere*, who was also Camp-master, fell upon *Jacqueshurg* with other Soldiers taken out of *Dunkirk*; and joyning all the Troops together by Bridges thrown over those Channels, he forc'd the *Spaniards* who were at *Steinbirk* to retreat from thence by night to *Dismuda*; so as the way being open for the French to assault *Furnes*, they advanced towards it: And the Prince of *Condé* as he went with *Erlack's* Troops to visit the Trenches which were already open the 4th of *September*, was hit with a Musket-shot, the force whereof being spent, it made onely a contusion in the upper part of his thigh, and did him no more hurt.

1648.

The ninth at night *Arndt* lodg'd on the right side, and *Casselneau* on the left of the Brink of the Ditch, and forthwith began to pass over it, and to fall upon the Walls of the Town; but the besieged wanting both Meat and Warlike Ammunition, capitulated the next day that the Souldiers and Officers should remain Hostages in the hands of Marshal *Rantzau*, to be exchanged for such French as were taken the year before in the attempt made against *Osend*: to which effect five Officers of the Garrison of *Furnes* were suffered to go to *Newport* to negotiate the Exchange. And about 1000 Souldiers went out the same night, and were lodged in the French Quarters, having good Guards upon them. And thus did the Campaign end that year; for *Gondé* hearing of the Tumults that were in *Paris*, were it either that he might assist there by his Authority, or that he might make use of the present conjuncture of time to advantage himself whilst the Court was weak, or that he thought it not fit to engage the Army in other Enterprizes, whilst he saw there was occasion of making use of it against the *Parisians*, pursued the Victory no farther, but went to Court (as hath been said) leaving the Army at *Esire* upon the River *Lie*, under the command of Marshal *Grammont*.

But if the Events which hapned in so many Kingdoms and Provinces afforded matter of Memory, the Treaty of Peace at *Munster* ought certainly to have the Precedency; it being a business of such weight, as if we consider the time that was employ'd therein, the Princes that did negotiate it, and the difficulties that were to be overcome, it will be known that there hath not been any business a long time amongst Christian Princes, of greater reflection than this: For in it the means were discuss'd how with safety to the reputation and to the satisfaction of the greatest Princes of *Christendom*, those Arms should be laid down, which have so long consumed and wasted so many Cities.

The Treaty was introduced by Pope *Urban* the VIII. and by the *Venetians*. The Congress was established in *Cullen* upon the *Rhine*. In the beginning of the year 1637, *Cesar's* Plenipotentiaries and those of the Catholick King came thither, and tarried there till the year 1643, none appearing there for the French, but the Count *d'Avaux*, who pass'd quickly from thence to *Hamburg*, to renew the Confederacy with the *Swedes*: Thither came the King of *Denmark* who was named to be Mediator, and Count *Curts*, the Emperour's Plenipotentiary; where they made divers desires to the French Agents, and to the *Swedes*, that they would make some Overtures. Preliminary to the general Treaty, Signor *Salvio* the *Swedish* Plenipotentiary gave his consent thereunto without any reservation, save that *France* would concur therein also. The King of *Spain* also gave the Emperour leave to chuse Plenipotentiaries in his name; whereunto the Count *d'Ausburg* was chosen, and by common consent Passports were sent to such as were to come thither.

The French interposed difficulties to procure delay, which they say they did at the instance of the *Swedes*, who to keep it from being known that they were Authors of the delay, by openly refusing the King of *Denmark's* Mediation, their natural Rival, made the occasion seem to proceed from the French, who though they had given way first that the Meeting should be at *Cullen*, yet they desired that it might be removed to *Munster*: whereunto the *Austrians* consented, and sent their Deputies thither; but when they began to treat, it was found that *Avaux* was not sufficiently impowred to enter into the Treaty, whose first pretension was, That *Munster* should be free from making any Oath to *Cesar*, or to the Bishop thereof: which

was

was yielded unto. The greatest part of the Passports being sealed up by the Cardinal Infanta, the French raised a doubt, whether in case he should die, they should be of Validity: Nor were they satisfied with the offer made by *Don Francisco de Melo*, who succeeded in the Government, that he would ratifie them. So they were fain to send for Ratification from *Spain*; which made the *Spaniards* suspect that the French sought pretences of delay, and that they did not much care for Peace.

At last, after much debate, the Preliminary Agreements were assented unto, and reciprocally underwritten; but yet the main Treaty did not begin: for *Avaux* instead of going to *Munster*, declared that he would wait for the Ratification of the said Preliminary at *Hamburg*; which the *Austrians* gave way unto. The French still interposed difficulties, and demanded three weeks space to examine Writings: And they also disputed the King of *Spain's* Ratification, because it did not specify the Transaction of *Hamburg*, *verbatim*. And the Count *d'Ausburg* required the King of *France* his Ratification from *Avaux*, and found it not so particular as that of the King of *Spain*.

In this mean while Cardinal *Richlieu* died; and the King of *France* being very desirous of Peace, by Cardinal *Mazarin's* advice (in whom he did greatly confide) did more advance the business in two months, than he had done in four years before; and the business had been concluded, had not the King himself died, which disordered all, and raised better hopes in many of obtaining their desired ends in his Son's Minority.

The Assembly commenc'd not till the beginning of *April* the ensuing year, when the French came also thither, who took a further compass about by the way of *Holland*. For thinking that the best way for Peace, was to be ready for War, they would first agree with the States, and with the Prince of *Orange*, how to employ their Arms that year; whereat the *Spaniards* quarrell'd, for that instead of coming readily to the Meeting, they treated at the *Hague* how to put more stops to the business.

Whilst the French Agents treated in *Holland*, the Court of *France* desired that the Pope would remove the Mediation of Cardinal *Ghinetti*, as being suspected to that Crown; and Cardinal *Rossetti* was substituted in his place; and afterwards instead of him Monsieur *Fabio Chigi*, Bishop of *Nardo*, and the Pope's Nuntio in *Cullen*, a person wholly unconcern'd, and famous for exemplary conditions; who when he had implored a blessing from God by a solemn Procession through *Munster*, entered into the Treaty, together with *Cavalliere Luigi Contarini* Ambassador extraordinary from *Venice* to this Meeting. At the very first they fell upon stops, by pretension of the States of the Empire, who were called together at *Frankfort*, whereof the French were accused to be the Authors; who preparing in all places for the continuance of War, confirm'd the opinion, that they had no minde to Peace.

Together with *Munster*, the City of *Osnaburg* was deputed for a Rendezvous to the Agents of the Protestant Princes and States, to the end that they might discuss there between themselves the Interests of the Crown of *Swetland* and of the Princes of their Religion, as was desired by the *Swedes*, in point of Precedency; especially since the Pope's Agents did intervene there.

Count *Lodovick di Nassau*, and Doctor *Isack Wolmar*, came to *Munster* for the Emperour; and the Count of *Ausburg*, and Doctor *John Crane* to *Osnaburg*; it being the custome of *Germany* in such-like Cases to send a Personage of great Birth, who was a Souldier, to maintain Decepey, and a

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Doctor

648. Doctor to regulate affairs with Learning, and by the Pen. Count *Lamberg* did soon succeed Count *Aspurg*, who was sent for to the Court; *Don Diego Saeavedra*, and the Bishop of *Borjedenke*, who was afterwards made Bishop of *Cambray*, the Marquis of *Castel Roderigo* Governour-general of *Flanders*, and Doctor *Antonio Brown*, came thither for the King of *Spain*; after whom came Count *Pignoranda* in the beginning of July 1645, who found Count *Zappata* dead, and sent *Saeavedra* back to *Spain*. From the King of *France*, the Counts *Abauk* and *Servient*; and at last the Duke of *Longueville*, who pretending to be called by the title of Highness, caused much hindrance in the carrying on of the business. The Elector of *Baden* sent Baron *Hellare* thither as his Ambassador. All the other Potentates of *Europe* sent their Deputies, for there were but few who were not in some sort concern'd therein: So as the multiplicity of affairs, the weight thereof, and the hardness of the pretences, (some whereof were everlast anon altered according to the success of Arms) was the cause why the Mediators, being drawn from off the main point, left the affair involved in such difficulties as are not yet overcome.

The *French* being confederated with the *Swedes* and *Hollanders*, intended that their Interests should be treated on jointly; but the *Swedes* declared that they would have nothing to do with *Spain*, and the *Hollanders* intended not to meddle with what concerned the Empire; so as *France* was forced to change her form of proceeding; the Princes with whom she was to treat being divided into two Classes, the one whereof included the *Swedes*, Empire, and Emperour; the other the *Hollanders* and the King of *Spain*: and yet this division wanted not difficulties, which were almost insuperable. For the *Hollanders* would not as then listen to any more than a Truce; and the *Swedes* and other Confederates with *France*, declared they would have a Peace. *Castel Roderigo* offered a Blank unto the *Hollanders*, which they might treat of at home.

The *Hollanders* pretended Truce only; and not Peace; for that their Commonwealth being maintained by Arms, thought it would be dangerous to reduce it to Idleness, which they had by experience found to be so. To this the Prince of *Orange* his Interest was added, who getting great advantage by War, would not willingly listen to a long peace. They intended also to make this Truce so, as that if *France* should enter thereinto, she should oblige herself upon any breach to reassume War. But though the other Confederates did not correspond herein, the Treaty of Truce was continued, which was afterwards converted to a perpetual Peace.

New Articles were therefore agreed upon between the Counts of *Abauk* and *Servient*, as they passed thorough *Holland* to *Munster*, on the one side; and the States General on the other: Wherein the parties did reciprocally binde themselves, not onely not to treat of any thing without the assent and participation of the other Colleague, but that the Treaty should be carried on so equally, as if one of the parties should see the others business advance more than its, it should desire the other to proceed no further till its affairs were equally advanced.

The *French* inclined to Peace, because it made for them to have Peace in such a conjuncture of time, as they could not be more glorious; nor more powerful: and it proved very advantageous for them; for thereby they eased the Kingdom of the vast expence they were at by War, and secured themselves from the Conspiracies and Troubles which usually arise in *France* in their Kings minority. It is true, they pretended thereunto upon such advantages as they thought became them; by reason of the great

great Forces they were Masters of, and by the Intelligence which they held in *Germany*, and elsewhere. The *French* Agents ends were those; nor would they ever be drawn to any thing apart from their Confederates concerns. The *Swedes*, and Princes and States of the Empire, were of the same mind. The *Hollanders*, who supposed that by their abundance of Shipping they might assume unto themselves all Traffick during the War between the two Crowns, and thereby swallow up all the Wealth of *France* and *Spain*, seemed not to insist upon their Colleagues sense; for as a Commonwealth, which measures Affairs onely so far as they tend to their own advantage, they knew they could not advantage them more, than by the disadvantages of the two Crowns, leaving them engaged in War; and therefore they seemed to steer a course differing from the rest; and it was thought that thereby they did very much prejudice the business, which was otherwise in a fair way.

The *Spaniards* did really desire Peace; for being weary of so many long Wars, and depressed by the Revolts of their own Dominions, they loved once to put an end to the inconveniencies which people feel by the long course of sinister fortune; and the rather, for that the Kingdom wanting Male succession, the people were less willing to contribute to the Grandezza thereof, they applied themselves to more adequate means, whereby to moderate the high pretences of the *French*, and sought to break the Union of their Enemies, that they might make them more pliable to fair and honest things. They therefore endeavoured to make *Cesar* treat with the *Hollanders* apart, not including the *French*; but the Queen of *Sweden* and her Council carried her self with much faith and constancy towards her Colleagues. They found matters better disposed with *Holland*; for to boot with the aforesaid Reasons and Interests, the business was to be managed by particular men, and more subject to be corrupted. And the *French* gave out that here was the Rent; for some of the *Holland*-Deputies were bribed by Count *Pignoranda*, but none were found guilty; but *Myn here Niderolse*, Deputy of *Guelderland*.

In the first Proposals the *French* projected, that the King of *Spain* should call himself no more King of *Portugal*, nor of *Navarre*, nor Prince of *Catalonia*; that the Elector of *Trevers* should be set at liberty: And they together with the *Swedes*, pretended that the Deputies of the Cities and States of the Empire should assist in the Assembly.

Cesar would not consent hereunto, thinking that it became not his Vassals to appear as Sovereigns in these managements; he demanded the making good of the Treaty at *Ratibone* the year 1632. The *Spaniards* required what had been taken from them, upon the example of the several Peaces made at *Cambray*, *Crespy*, and *Vervins*; and they would not by any means have that the Duke of *Braganza* should be included in the Peace, who had usurped the Kingdom of *Portugal*; and that whilst the King of *France* was in his Minority, wherein they hoped that the face of Affairs might alter: and for their greater security, the Parliament of *Paris* was to take Cognizance of the whole Affair. The War between *Sweden* and *Denmark* being hereunto added, the Treaties slept for eight months. This War was made by the *Swedes*, not so much concerning the Sound; as to keep the King of *Denmark* from meddling with their Affairs, as Mediator of Peace, whom they held to be their ancient Rival.

The Mediators did at this time demand the Deputies, that they would shew their Plenipotentiary Patents. The *French* denied to deliver theirs, till those of the Emperour and the *Swedes* had delivered theirs; which was thought

1648. thought to be a pretence to prolong time, whilst by reason of the War with Denmark, they had not been delivered at *Osnaburgh*, and their Mediator was wanting.

The Plenipotentiary Patents came at last to the Officers of the Crown, as was agreed upon by the Mediators: and from January to June, the time was spent in general Propositions. Upon Count *Oxenstern's* coming to *Munster* to agree the Proposals which were to be jointly made by the *Swedes* and *French*, the Confederate Crowns took advantage by the Victory had at *Tubire*, and by other proceedings of the *French* and *Swedish* Forces, and obliged the Emperour to set the Elector of *Triers* at liberty; which caused much prejudice afterwards; and they protested that unless this were done, they would be gone, and leave all things unperfected.

The Emperour gave way thereunto, and restored all his possessions unto him, except it were *Philipsburg*, which being in the hands of the *French*, was not spoken of by them; and this was thought to be the effect of haste which they made to have him freed, to oblige that Elector, and that he might speak no more of that place. It was moreover granted that the States of the Empire might be called at *Munster* and at *Osnaburgh*.

In the beginning of December, the Imperialists and *Spaniards* gave in their Propositions: the *French* did the like; and upon these the business lasted for three whole years: for when the Articles were to be concluded, they were disturbed or altered by accidents of Arms.

The *Spaniards* said that the *French* did sometimes grant, sometimes gain-say things that had been agreed upon. The *French* said that the *Spaniards* did sometimes assent unto, sometimes make difficulty of Proposals that were yielded unto.

The Writing which after a long time the *French* gave in, contained: That all the Confederates of France should be satisfied, and have their Interests decided together with those of the Crown: That for the affairs of Italy, the *French* were ready to agree unto what the Pope, the Venetians, and the other Potentates of that Nation should think fit, whilst they should not be prejudicial to his Christian Majesty: And that the Princes and States of the Empire, and of Italy, should be bound for security of these Treaties.

The *Spaniards* thought this Writing rather likely to break the Treaty of Peace, than to continue it, since the number of the Confederates with France were not named; and some Chapters thereof were not to be admitted of by the *Spaniards*, whilst it was therein mentioned, that neither the Princes of the Empire, nor those of Italy would be bound to maintain the Peace between the two Crowns; nor that the Pope nor Venetians would accept of the Office of being Counsellors to France: All which the *Spaniards* said were unsubstantial, and denoted with what designe that Instrument was made. They therefore did briskly oppose it, and pretended that the Mediators themselves did know the rubs which were cast in by the *French*, and that they had desired the Mediators to moderate them, who wist they might not be forced to that, till the Duke of *Longueville* should be come. In which interim they exhibited the new Plenipotentiary Patents in the same form as was judged by the Mediators to be agreed upon on the 20th of November, 1644. This was also found by the *Spaniards* to differ in nine points more than the Nuntio and Cavalier *Contarini* had contrived.

A Truce was propounded by the Mediators to Count *Pignoranda* six days after he was come to *Munster*; as well for that it was necessary to the better negotiating of Peace, as that they might assist the Venetians, who desired

desired help against the *Turks*, to the benefit of *Christendom*: But nothing was concluded therein; for though the *Spaniards* seemed willing to assent thereunto, the Interests of many Princes, besides the *French*, were so differing, as they could not agree therewith.

The *Spanish* Agents offer'd to remit all to the Mediators; but the *French* suspecting some deceit, said, That they had no authority to make compromises, but that they had order to make Peace, which they were ready to do. They tried all their power with the Mediators and States of the Empire to have the *Portuguese* admitted, and were very earnest herein, that they might not abandon their Friends; which the *Spaniards* complain'd mightily of, saying, That this was to puzzle the whole Treaty; for they knew if this were done, the *Spanish* Agents had strict orders to forego *Munster* presently.

The *French* were at this time more feared than loved in the Assembly; for their continual Victories made all men apprehend that they might end in the common Prejudice. Their Demands were obliquely fomented by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who desired the Protection of France to be maintained in his Electoral Title, and in the possession of his Dominions; which the *Swedes* did sorely threaten, who were worse satisfied with this Prince than with any other, for having broken the Peace which he had made at *Ulm* with the *French* and *Swedes* apart from the Emperour; which was the right way to bring on the general Peace at *Munster*.

The Prince of *Orange*, who knew the States inclination, wish'd the *French* that they should not care for making the Deputies of the *United Provinces* come so soon to the Assembly, but that they should first seek their own advantages by other means with the *Spaniards*: for otherwise they would be deceived by the *Holland*-Deputies, who were already won by the *Spanish* Agents; and that they should no sooner be come to *Munster*, but that the Peace would be concluded apart, as was by them desired; and that it would be better for them to treat in *Holland*, where about the Religion and civil Government they would hardly agree. The *French* suspected this advice, considering that he might give it for his own particular Interest, in keeping his Command, and in making the War continue. They notwithstanding continued their desires by their Deputies to the Assembly, and thought that if they were come with a real resolution of cooperating friendly, according to the establish'd Covenants, they might expect a glorious and good Peace. The Council of France foresaw therefore, that though the *Spaniards* should conclude of Peace upon any whatsoever conditions, yet since it made for their interest to make use of those disorders which usually arise in a King's Minority, they might break it upon some new pretence, upon any troubles in France, especially when they should be sure of the disunion and disarming of the Colleagues; it seeming almost impossible that these two Rival-Nations should continue long together in Peace. Count *Servient* came Extraordinary Ambassador into *Holland*, and made it appear plainly to the States, that the true way to make a firm and lasting Peace, was to binde themselves in an undissolvable Union, and in obliging themselves to take up Arms each other for their Confederate, in case that the Agreement should by any accident be broken.

This business was treated of above three months: for though the *Hollanders* should assent to the Proposal, yet they did not understand themselves obliged to take up Arms, unless the *Spaniards* should break the Peace in *Flanders*. But *Servient* insisting, that they should be bound to concur, if it should be broken upon the Interest of *Catalonia*, *Italy*, or *Lorraine*, it was

1648. was at last carried for the League, or *Guarantian Peace*; so called, because they were both of them obliged to defend one another. *Servient* having obtained this, he returned to *Munster* much praised for his good carrying on of this affair, and the *French* reassumed the Negotiation.

Affairs being reduced to this condition, the *Swedes* and *French* Victorious; and *Bavaria* wavering; Count *Tramondorf*, who was already at *Munster*, a full Plenipotentiary from the Emperour, following the *Spaniards* example, endeavoured likewise to captivate the States of the Empire, and to separate them from the Interests of their Friends; but he mist his aim. He sought to divide the *Swedes* from the *French*, but could not. At last, seeing himself in great straits, *Bohemia* like to be lost, together with the rest of the Hereditary States whereinto the *Swedes* had got, he offered *Pinnarolle*, and *Moienneck*, both which were Feudatory to the Emperour, though possess'd by *France*; the full Dominion of the three Bishopticks, *Mentz*, *Tull*, and *Verdune*, which for a hundred years last were held by the same Crown. He offered two Millions of Gold to the *Swedes*; and the City of *Stralsund* in pawn, till full payment should be made. To the Protestants, the possession of the Ecclesiastick Goods for some more years than was mentioned in the Peace of 1645. To *Bavaria*, the Electoral Vote, together with the upper *Palatinate*. To the Prince *Palatine*, the lower *Palatinate*, together with the eighth Electoral Vote. The *French* added, that they would have *Alsacia*, *Sangovia*, *Briscovia*, the four *Wallstadts* of Cities of the Forest, *Brisack*, and *Philipsburg*; but this only in protection. At which all were greatly amazed, and the *Swedes* grew jealous.

The *French* spoke high, being fomented by the advantage of their and their Colleagues Forces every where. In particular, the taking of *Courtray* and *Dunkirk* infused apprehension into all men, and particularly into the *Hollanders*; to whom the change of *Dunkirk*, for the enterprize of *Antwerp* being propounded by *Servient*, they would not assent thereunto; considering that the *Spaniards* being engaged in so important a division, it might so happen, that the King of *France* his forces might make further progress. And that Republick seemed not to like to be made to confine, by new acquisitions made by the *French*, upon that Nation, which was now become so considerable, for the largeness of its Dominion, for the number and quality of its People, and by the union of Forces; so as these politick respects increased, and the rather by the Prince of *Orange* his sickness, and succeeding death, who did mainly oppose this Peace, though his Wife was won over by the *Spaniards*. On the 11th of January 1646, the *Holland* Plenipotentiaries came to *Munster*, being thereunto prest by the *French*, who doubted not but to make an advantageous conclusion by their Union.

The *Hollanders* interposed presently in the business between the two Crowns, and were allowed of by the *Spaniards*, though their Enemies, and were treated by them as Agents to a Crown'd Prince; for *Pignoranda* was willing to oblige them, whilst they kept joyned to the *French*. 'Twas propounded to the *French*, that they would deliver up *Heiden*, *Beaupawmes*, *Landrecy*, and *Danvilliers*, with all that belonged thereunto. These as the *Spaniards* said did highly disdain the Proposal, and laboured that the States of the Empire would declare that they would treat with *France* without comprehending *Spain*, nor what concern'd the State of *Millain* a Fee of the Empire, nor the States which make up the Circle of *Burgundy*; which they did, with intention to divide the Interests of the King

King of *Spain*, not onely from the Empire, but from the Emperour himself. 1648.

Then the Mediators endeavoured that the *Spaniards* should cast in some other places, putting them in good hope, that if they would do so, they trusted that the Peace would be concluded. They therefore condescended to yield up whatsoever else the *French* held in *Artois*, or in the County of *Rossillon*; but this would not suffice, declaring by the Writing presented on the 24th of April, that in case they would not admit of all the points and conditions therein express'd, which they held to be just and grantable, they held themselves not bound to observe any thing that they had yielded to, and that they would make higher demands.

The *Hollanders* made new desires, and assured the *Spanish* Agents, that notwithstanding this Declaration, they did firmly believe, that if they would add *Graveling* and *Theonville* to the other Towns which they had already granted, there would be no doubt of an Agreement. The *French* said it would be folly to restore what they did quietly and without danger possess, whilst they were in a condition of making yet greater acquisitions; Wherefore they absolutely refused, and were not at all satisfied.

These Deputies of the *United Provinces* insinuated, that the *Frenchmen's* being so averse to make Peace, was the onely occasion of retarding the Agreement: So as thinking they had done what belonged to them, by having brought the *Spaniards* to reasonable conditions, which would not be accepted of by the *French*, who continued to protest that they held not themselves bound to observe any thing; the aforesaid Plenipotentiaries were the more stedfast in their opinion of continuing Peace with the *Spaniards*, apart from the rest: But before doing this, they made new offers to the *French* of the County of *Rossillon*, of a Truce for 30 years in *Catalonia*, of all the Towns taken in the Low Countries and in *Burgundy*, and of the reciprocal restitution of all that they held in *Italy* appertaining to the Dukes of *Savoy* or *Mantua*: to all which Count *Pignoranda* yielded, the promise being kept, which, as he said, was made by the *French*, that no Speech should be made of *Portugal*, that the Duke of *Lorain* should be satisfied, as also the Empire and the Emperour. Two of their Deputies went to signify thus much to the *French* Agents at *Osna-burg*, who were there to put on the Treaties with the Emperour and Empire, joyned with the *Swedes*, and excluding the *Spaniards*. Here they found things so well ordered, as they hoped all would end well; and answer was made, that they would return within two daies to *Munster*, and that they would joynly subscribe with the Duke of *Longueville*. When they returned, new troubles arose; for the *French* pretended that *Roset* and *Cadaches* were comprehended in the County of *Rossillon*, and not in *Catalonia*. The *Spaniards* refer'd this to the Arbitrement of the Mediators; which was not so soon agreed, but that the *French* Agents presented another Writing, containing, That a proviso must be had that *Cassal* must never return to any of the House of Austria: That the Portion of the Infanta Donna Catherina of *Savoy* should be paid: That the Treaty of *Chierasco* should be observed and maintained by Arms: That the Orisons and *Vatolines* should return to the condition they were in, in the year 1617. That Don Duarte of *Portugal* should be set at liberty before the Treaty were ratified: That all the Goods that were formerly belonging to the house of *Aquavia* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, confiscated by *Ferdinando* King of *Aragon*, should be restored to *Seignior de Angiere* the pretended Duke of *Atria*:

1648. *Atria: And that the pretensions to the Kingdom of Navar should be reserved to the King of France notwithstanding the Peace.* Some dispute arose hereupon, which the French said was made by *Pignoranda* to spin on time, and to conclude nothing; for they said they had been already determined, and that they were now mention'd only to know how they might be established. The *Spaniards* said that they were new additions; but that notwithstanding they were contented they should be decided by the Mediators, by whom at last they were adjusted in the end of February, 1647. The *Hollanders* wrought it so, as the *Spaniards* accepted of an Instrument of Peace presented by the French, which contained 76 Articles; amongst which they included *Portugal*; which the *Spaniards* absolutely refused, and the French were forced to leave it out; but with addition of something else, which the *Spaniards* thought to be contrary to the Declaration of the 17th of September, 1646, which the Interpositors had made, which made it be yet the more believed that the French Agents thought not of any agreement, building upon the assurance they had from the *Hague*, that the States would not treat separately. The *Spaniards* would by no means yield up *Piombino* and *Portolongona*: the Count of *Avaux* who was an Enemy to Count *Servient*, and did not square with *Longueville*, insisted upon the detaining of *Portugal*.

This mean while Count *Pignoranda* made new offers to the *United Provinces*, as well by means of their Plenipotentiaries, as by two Writings given in on the 13th of March, and on the 11th of April; which occasioned that some of the Deputies that were returned home, were ordered to be in a readiness to return to *Munster*; and they writ to all the Provinces that they should send their Deputies to the *Hague*, to take a final resolution touching the Treaties begun in *Spain*.

On the fourth of May the French declared that they had received orders from *Paris*, that the King of France intended to be at liberty to assist the King of *Portugal*; and that if *Pignoranda* did not presently accept of this Proposal, he would demand a Truce for *Portugal* for 30 years, and perpetual Peace for *Catalonia*.

Whereupon the *Spaniards* declared, that if the French held themselves free not to observe what they had at first propounded, to the end that they might occasion Novelties in the affairs of *Portugal*; that it was also fair for *Spain* not to maintain what she had offered.

The Mediators, that the Treaty might not break, told the *Spanish* Agents, that it would farther the business much, if they would admit of a new Instrument which they had delivered to the French, wherein they insinuated how the third Article of the already-thrown-out Writing touching each parties assisting their Confederates might be regulated. To which the *Spaniards* answered, that that Article was so well established already in the first Instruments of Peace, as it needed no further explaining.

Notwithstanding this Negative, the Mediators did still Negotiate; and on the first of June they framed a rough draught of a Clause, which might be severally given, touching the manner how the Confederates might be assisted; which being refused, the Treaty was suspended till the midst of August, at which time they did reassume it, resolving to read distinctly all the Instruments which had been presented by both parties the second time, and to pick out all the contentious points; in which the *Spaniard* said that the French had added, that whilst a League was established between the States and Princes of *Italy*, for the security of the Peace between the two Crowns, they might reciprocally retain the Towns which they were possess

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of in the States of *Savoy* and *Mantua*; which was refused by the *Spaniards*, who were resolved that each party should have that which was theirs restored; affirming, that since *Savoy* and *Mantua* could not dispose of the other Princes of *Italy* as they listed, they ought not to be bound to expose themselves to the prejudice of no restitution till a League were made, which depended upon the Will of others.

After this, whilst the Mediators were negotiating very hotly, the French on the eighth of September declared that they had received orders not to treat any longer, unless *Spain* would first consent to abandon totally the Duke of *Lorain's* Cause: which the *Spaniards* absolutely refused; complaining that the French would be at liberty to assist the *Portugal*, who was an unjust Usurper, and that they must not defend *Lorain*, who was unduly driven out. These things altered as occasions altered; the French were confident in their opinions of being seconded by their Confederates to make use of the weakness of *Spain*, which was at this time not a little threatned by what had hapned in *Sicily* and in *Naples*; and they were strong Reasons to make them lay hold of a conjuncture so propitious for them. But that which appeared to be a powerful Antidote, proved pestiferous Poyson: For the greater that populous and Warlike Nation grew, they raised the more apprehensions in their Neighbours, nay in their Friends.

This was one of the chief reasons which was thought made the *Hollanders* forego their Engagements and Agreements with the French, and which made the pretension good of treating apart from their Colleagues; wherefore the next June, without making it known to the Mediators, they concluded a Truce, not much unlike that of the year 1612, to the great distaste of the French, as contrary to their Conventions; whereat they were highly scandalized, and sent to *Holland* to complain thereof. Ambassador *Pan*, who was Deputy for *Amsterdam*, did so much, as this City of and by her self made good what was done, against the other six Provinces. These would have saln to some other resolution; but the proceedings of France made the *Hollanders* so jealous, as they bethought themselves of their business: and being afterwards left by the *Spaniards* to their own free will, to accept either of Truce or Peace, the Truce was at last changed to a perpetual Peace, as being that which establish'd them to be a free and Sovereign State, excluding all pretensions which the King of *Spain* or any of his Heirs could have thereunto.

They therefore appointed the 30th of January for the subscribing of this their particular Treaty: Whereupon the French put in their Protestation before it was published; which made the *Hollanders* desire a further time from *Pignoranda*; but he foreseeing that if the business were discovered it might easily be diverted, declared not only that he could not give way thereunto, but that they should establish it before they went out of the House where they were, or that the Treaty should be for ever broken, and all the Writings burnt.

They therefore signified to the French Agents by two of their Colleagues, that if they should not admit of the advantageous Conditions which were offered them by *Spain*, they could not defer the concluding of this their Treaty apart. The French demanded 15 daies time to dispatch away an express to the Court; without the consent whereof, this being a new thing, they could resolve nothing. Whereupon the *Hollanders* desired the *Spaniards* that an authentick A& might be made, whereby they might be bound to keep the same Conditions with France concern

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1648. ning Peace, for two months, which were already granted them; and this was readily granted.

Two days after, the Duke of *Longueville* return'd to *Paris*; and the Express which was sent being come thither before him, the Queen sent for the Marquis of *Egmont*, who was the Apostolick Nuntio in *France*, and for *Cavaliere Michel Morosini*, the Venetian Embassador, that they who were very intelligent persons might examine the Conditions of Peace which were newly exhibited; and should speak their opinions therein. They had several meetings herupon, and having well weighed the business, told her Majesty, That they thought them very fair and advantageous: whereof the Mediators were soon advertised; who visited Count *Pignoranda*, and told him, That the *French* were ready to continue the Negotiation; and to end all Controversies, they in the name of *France* offer'd to refer the Six undissolved Articles to be terminated either by the Queen of *Sweden* alone; or by her joyn'd with the States of the Empire, or by those alone, or by the *United Provinces*.

That therefore they might begin the Articles which were refer'd by *Pignoranda* to the Arbitrement of *Holland*, and reassume the Treaties where they were left in *November* and *December* the year 1647. the Count answered, that he was first engaged with the *Holland*-Plenipotentiaries, and that he could not condescend thereunto, till they should free him of his word; or that the *French* should again declare that they did not assent to that Interposition.

Cavaliere Contarini assured him that the *French* were resolv'd not to admit of it, knowing that the *Holland*-Plenipotentiaries were won over by the *Spaniards*; and so he pass'd on to discourse upon the undecided points; which were, That the *Spaniards* did not intend to yield up the Territories of the Cities which were granted to *France* in *Flanders*, and in *Rosbrouck*: That the *French* should not be suffer'd to fortifie themselves in *Catalonia*, nor in *Cassal*, during the Thirty years Truce: That *Portugal* should not be therein comprehended, nor the freedom of *Don Edward di Braganza*, who was Prisoner in the Castle of *Millain*: That *Piombino* and *Porta Longone* should be restored: That the Fortifications at *Nancy* should not be demolished; and that the time wherein *Cassal* should be restored to the Duke of *Modena*, should be specified. Upon these differences *Pignoranda* told the Mediators, That if *France* did not readily accept of the Conditions which were offer'd, he conceived himself to be at liberty, and not obliged to any thing which had been formerly exhibited.

The *Hollanders* ratified the concluded Peace, with no little diminution of the opinion which the *French* had of them; since if to satisfy their Colleagues, as they were bound to do, they had forborn ratifying but for fifteen days, the *French* believed the *Spaniards* would either have agreed with *France*, or else would have subscribed to any Conditions. *Pignoranda* was aware, that the Department of the *French* might have made the States to be of this Opinion; wherefore as there is nothing which more facilitates the effecting of any thing than necessity when advised by fear, 'tis said that he protect'd to the *Holland*-Agents, That if they had forborn this Ratification any longer, he would have made Peace with *France* upon any terms. Wherefore it was thought that this consideration being added to what had been said, was of great force to make the Council of the seven *United Provinces* at the *Hague* ratifie what they did.

For all this, *Pignoranda* shew'd himself prone to a suspension of Arms the next Empanage, which was thought proper to draw on a good end of the

the Treaties; which he signified to Seignior *Mayerfuich*, who was the only one that remained at *Munster* for the *United Provinces*. But *Servient*, who was also the only one that was now at the Assembly, for both *Longueville* and *Avaux* were gone, being angry at the *Hollanders* proceedings, and thinking himself deluded by the Spanish Agents, refused it, thinking it but a trick to make advantage of the time, and to make it be believed that the *French* desired Peace, which they dreamt not on. He therefore refused another Proposal made by the *Hollanders*; That notwithstanding the two months should be expired, if they would accept of what was at first offer'd them, they would endeavour that the *Spaniards* should grant it: but he published a sharp Writing on the 14th of May, (as he had good reason to do) and within a few daies went to *Osnaburg*, to solicit an end with the Emperour and Empire, excluding *Spain* and *Lorain*.

The mean while, on the 16th of May 1648, the mutual ratification of the *Hollanders* was perfected; and on the 22 of June a new Proposal was made, to facilitate an Agreement between the two Crowns: But *Servient* refused all both in Words and Writing, that they were but tricks to deceive the World; and so he retired from *Munster*.

The *Spaniards* conceiving this mean while high hopes to make great advantages of having thus separated the Union between *Holland* and *France*, thought their designs would succeed the better, for that they found certain Cabals arise of some of the Parliament and other Malecontents, against the Regency, and to pull down the Cardinal.

Pignoranda finding that all the *French* Agents were gone from *Munster*, and that there were none left for him to treat with, he also went about the end of July to *Brussels*, much praised for his wife Conduct of those affairs. He left notwithstanding *Don Antonio Brown*, a person of great capacity, with the same Plenipotentiary power to continue any Treaties that might be made of new; declaring that there was no more need of any meeting, since the Assembly was broken by the *French* Agents, having abused the opportunity of a rational and fair Accommodation. *Don Lewis de Haro*, Conde Duca d'*Olivares*, the King of *Spain's* chief State-Minister, declared, that it was better it should be said that the *Spaniards* had refused Peace, than to have made it with so much prejudice to the Crown, just when Fortune, glutt'd with the prosperity of *France*, began to turn the Wheel.

Cardinal *Mazarine* hearing that the Treaties were embroiled, and being resolv'd to make Peace with credit and advantage to the Crown, forthwith reassumed the business, and made the Nuntio write to *Pignoranda*, offering him a meeting wherein the business might be quickly discuss'd and ended. The Nuntio writ on the 7th of August 1648, to the Count, who accepted the invitation, and answered by the Pope's Interimuntio in *Flanders*, that he would always be ready. The Cardinal caus'd it to be signified again on the 21 of August, and replied on the fourth of September, that it would be best for the preparing of the business, that *Pignoranda* should send some body to *Paris*; who answered, that he knew none on whom to trust more than on the same Nuntio, and on *Cavaliere Morosini* the Venetian Embassador: but the Cardinal seeming not to be therewith pleased, the Count thought good to employ *Francisco Galleretta*, Secretary of State in the Low Countries for his Catholick Majesty. The Affair was agreed upon; *Galleretta* came to *Paris* in the beginning of October, and had conference with the Cardinal, who told him that ancient *Lorain* should be restored to Duke *Charles*, and that the Towns of *Stenay*, *Janitz*, with what belonged unto them, should be reserved for the King of France.

1648. France; and that the Walls of *Nancy* should be demolished. The Secretary answered, That this was to alter the first Propositions; and without any more ado, continued on his Journey: whereof the *French* did highly complain, giving out that the *Spaniards* building upon the troubles of *France*, did in their effects correspond to what they made shew of, making use of the Peace concluded with *Holland*; which though it were not very honourable for them at the first aspect, was in effect very advantageous for their interests, for that the chiefest reputation of Princes lay in what made most for their advantage: That it was glorious for the *Hollanders*, but not much advantageous, since it was known to be contrary and dangerous to their condition, not to keep long in a Government which is Popular, of several Religions, and various Interests, as theirs is; which to keep united, needs nothing but the dread of a powerful Enemy.

The Province of *Zealand* made a great bustling, nor would they ratifie the Peace for a long time; blaming *Knut* their Plenipotentiary for having exceeded his instructions, and for being corrupted by the *Spaniards*: for which, Process was made against him, and he was banish'd.

The Affairs of the two Crowns being interrupted by the making of this Peace apart by the *Hollanders*, the *French* joy'n'd more firmly with the *Swedes*; and being secretly fomented by the Elector of *Bavaria*, they grew more fervent in making an Agreement with *Cæsar*, and with the Empire; excluding the King of *Spain*, whose Agents did no less endeavour to separate the Crown of *Sweden*, as they had done *Holland* from *France*. They had the *Imperialists* consider, That as the Union of the two Houses of *Austria* was the onely way to make Peace between the two Crowns; so on the contrary the separating of their two Interests, was to make the War perpetual between those two Potentates: That the *Swedes* Army was much diminished, and the Emperour's much increased: That the Enemy might be easily driven out of *Bohemia*, and out of the other Provinces which they possessed, and that the Peace might afterwards be made upon better Conditions; and the rather, if civil Discords arose in *France*. But the *Imperialists* fearing to loose *Bohemia*, and being all of them weary of War, said, The prejudice which flourishing *Bohemia* and many other Provinces had suffered, was very great by the prolonging of Peace: That the Coffers were empty, the Armies discontented, the Provinces too much burthened: That all the afflicted Subjects cry'd out for Peace; whereunto they were perswaded by good and unconcern'd friends: That the Peace with *Germany* did put the Emperour in peaceful possession of the Empire; whereas he was in danger of losing what he had yet there by War: That by Peace many Princes would be restored to their pristine Splendor, who were likely to undergo greater miseries by War: That Peace did comfort many distressed people, whom War made miserable.

As for Religion, which ought to be the Rule of all Humane actions, it was to be considered that wise men ought to believe that Religion is settled by Doctrine, by Disputation, and by Integrity of life; and that it may very well subsist without being upheld by interest of State, their Affairs being totally different.

But all these considerations would have been pass'd by, had not another greater been added, which was, that the *Germans* being weary of War, long'd for Peace; particularly the Elector of *Bavaria*, having the *French* and *Swedes* upon him, declared openly for Peace, though with the Exclusion of *Spain*.

The *French* desired an end of War, as well for the apprehension they had

had of Civil war, as fearing that the *Swedes* when they should see *France* embroiled at home, and therefore not in a condition to assist Forain Wars, should resolve to make Peace without them.

Other important reasons were added to these, which made Cardinal *Mazarine* write to *Servient*, that he should employ all his power in appeasing the *Swedes*, who declared themselves irreconcilable Enemies to *Bavaria*; making them see that the Interest of both the Crowns required that this Prince might not onely be preserved, but that his Dominions should be augmented, as being the only Catholick who could dispute the Empire, and take it out of the House of *Austria*. Thus by the *French* mens means the Duke had not onely the Electoral Title, but was put in possession of the upper Palatinate; and on the other side, by his means, who fomented the *French* underhand, they got the important Town of *Brieg*.

By these and the like considerations, an end was put to the Wars of *Germany* which had lasted so long, with the adjustment of *Spain* apart; and by a multiplicity of Articles, Peace was concluded between the Emperour and Empire on the one part, and the *Swedes* and their Confederates on the other part, in *Osnaburg*, on the sixth of *August*, with this caution; That it should not be taken to be of effect, unless Peace were made with *France*; which was made between them and the Empire and Emperour in *Munster* on the 24th of *October* following.

The chiefsum of the Peace was, That all the Princes, States, Cities, and Lordships of the Empire should have the free possession and exercise of their Religion, in the form and manner as was in the year 1624. That the Crown of *Sweden* should for ever enjoy all *Pomerania Citerior*, vulgarly called *Poorpomeran*, together with the Island of *Rügen*, containing the same limits as were held in the Dominion of the other Dukes; and in the further *Pomerania*, the Towns of *Stetin*, *Gratz*, *Gam*, *Golnow*, the Island *Wolin*, the three Imbocatures or Out-lets of the River *Oder*, to wit; *Psen*; *Divenaw*, and the Towns adjacent to the one and the other part, from the beginning of the Territories of *Riga*, to the *Baltick* Sea, and to the Eastern Banks, comprehending the City and Haven of *Wisnar*, with the Fort *Wolfseck*, the Jurisdiction of *Poel*, and of *Neuemcloster*; the Arch-Bishoprick of *Bremen*, the Bishoprick of *Werden*, and the City and Jurisdiction of *Wilshausen*; together with all the Rights possess'd by the last Arch-bishops of *Bremen*, in the Chapter and Diocese of *Hamburg*; with the Priviledges and Grants which they were then possess'd of; (the fourteen Villages which were held by *Frederick* Duke of *Holsatia* de *Gottorpe*, and by those that descended from him, in the Jurisdiction of *Holsatia*; *Trisomico* and *Rimbeck* being for ever to remain to the said Duke *Frederick*.)

To the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the remainder of the furthermost *Pomerania*; and in lieu of that part that was granted to the *Swedes*, the Bishopricks of *Magdeburg*, and *Minden*, together with some lesser Lordships.

The Palatine of *Rhine* was restored to the lower Palatinate, and to all the prerogatives enjoy'd therein before the Rebellion of *Bohemia*; and an eighth Elector was to be made, which was to be the said Palatine: the upper Palatinate, and County of *Camb*, with the Title of Elector, was given to the Duke of *Bavaria*, he being to renounce his pretensions to the thirteen Millions, and all other claims upon the upper *Austria*.

Six hundred thousand Dollars were to be paid to the Landgrave of *Hesse*.

1648. *fen* within nine months space by the Electors of *Mentz* and *Culen*, for restitution of the Towns taken in these Wars.

That the Town of *Brisack*, with all the Territories thereof, the Lant-gravelship of the upper and lower *Alsatia*, and of *Langaw*, the Provincial Jurisdiction of the ten Imperial Cities in *Alsatia*, viz. *Hagenau*, *Colmar*, *sleeslat*, *Weisemberg*, *Landaw*, *Oberstein*, *Rosheim*, *Munster* in *St. George* his Valley, *Kaiserberg*, and *Tarinbaime*, should for ever be incorporated into the Kingdom of *France*; and the King of *France* might keep a Garrison perpetually in the Town of *Philipsburg*, he being to pay three Millions of French Livres in three years, which were to commence when the King of *Spain* should have subscribed the Treaty; and the rest of the Cities and Towns that were taken, were to be restored unto him.

The Emperor and Empire were to relinquish to the King of *France* the right of Sovereignty which they could pretend unto in *Pinarol* in *Italy*; and to take away all occasions of further Ruptures between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, the King of *France* was to pay 494000 Crowns to the Duke of *Mantua*, which were promised him by the late King at the discharge of the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom the Emperor was to give the Investment of the Fee-farms and States which were adjudged unto him at the Treaty of *Chirasco*; *Cesar* promising moreover never to molest the Duke of *Savoy* in his right of Sovereignty in *Rocaverano*, *Olmo*, and *Cesol*, and what belonged thereunto, as if they were wholly independant upon the Empire.

Five Millions of Dollars were to be paid to the Crown of *Sweden*, at three limited payments, with due Cautions.

Many other Articles were specified in the Articles, to the satisfaction of other Princes, States, Cities, and interested *Seigniories*; and in this Peace, all the Confederates, Friends, and adherents, as well of the Emperor and Empire's side, as of the *French* and *Swede's*, were comprehended: And this Torrent of Miseries being thus ended, all those parts were full of joy and content.

The Nuntio *Chigi*, who had carried himself zealously in the Peace between the two Crowns, conceiving when they should be agreed the Protestants would not be so high in their pretensions, as also in the other between the Emperor and *France*; when he knew that in this Settlement certain Conditions were inserted, which were prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, he accounted all his labour and mediation ill spent: Out of Zeal to God and the Church, he forbade the Plenipotentiaries to speak to him any more of that Peace; he shut up his House where all the Meetings had been held, and protested against the Agreement made in *Onsburg*; he made his name, and the names of Pope *Urban* and Pope *Innocent*, be cancel'd out of the Instrument of Peace; he protested against the Subscription made at *Munster* on the 6th of *October*; and he also protested against the Ratification between the Emperor and the King of *France* made in the *February* following, as he had protested against the Peace of *Spain* with the *Hollanders*, by reason of the prejudice that was therein done to the Catholick Religion. And this Nuntio, who had never mediated in the Protestant Treaties, but was against them always, that he might as much as in him lay, restore and sustain the Catholick Religion, and Pontifical Authority, sent back the Presents made him by the Emperor and King of *France*, to the value of more than 14000 Crowns, for reward of the pains he had taken; declaring, That he would have no hand in a Peace which was made to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, the honour whereof he prefer'd before

fore any particular advantage: whereby he merited so much from the Holy Sea, as he was made Cardinal, and afterwards Pope. 1648.

But because Politicians value appearance much, as that which makes good or bad impressions in peoples minds, who are not capable of the secret dealing of Statists; the *Spaniards* denied what had been divulged against them by the *French*, blaming them for having broken the Treaty without concluding Peace, and giving out both in Words and Writing, that the carriage of the Cardinal, of Count *Servient*, and of other of the King's Agents, did not correspond with their appearances.

So as it was easie to make them be thought little zealous of the publick Quiet, and to be hated by those people who with'd for nothing more than to have an end of their miseries; from whence it arose, That it was not hard for those who sought for disturbances, to augment such a pretence, and to cause the Revolutions which are the subject of this History.

The *Spaniards* did also reiterate their complaints against the Emperor's State-Ministers, for not dissuading their Master from separating himself from the Union of their King, now that the *Hollanders* were no less apprehensive of the *French* greatness than were the *English*; so as it was to be believed, that as the one had fallen off from the *French* to avoid their further fomenting their unfatieness, the others would apply themselves to oppose so vast presumptions.

They blamed the *Casarian* State-Ministers of unadvisedness, and pointed particularly at some of them, as if to the end they might possess Lands and Lordships in the Country which was possess'd by the *Swedes*, they had been easily perswaded rather to make Peace with them to recover what they had lost, than to do what was good for their Master. And for these reasons they were a long time resolute not to restore *Frankendal* and other Towns which they possess'd in the lower *Palatinate*: But the *Dutch*, who were open enough in their actions, not listning to such Whispers, seem'd to be content with Peace. They said, It was better for a wise Prince to purchase assured Peace to his Subjects, though upon some disadvantage, than to continue War with uncertain hopes of profit. They observed religiously what they had promised, and thereby won applause.

The *French* on the contrary said, They needed no justification where there was no fault; and did therefore refer themselves to the judgments of such as were best inform'd. Cardinal *Mazarine* did in particular give a very conclusive proof: For Proceess being severely made against him by the Parliament in this point, nothing could ever be justified. Nay, the Counsellours of Parliament who were appointed to make Remonstrances to the Queen, being with Duke *Longueville*, who was then a profess'd Enemy to the Cardinal; and it being commonly said, That amongst other things he complain'd that *Mazarine* had taken from him the glory of making Peace; that being solicited to attestate this publicly, that so they might convince the Cardinal, and prove him guilty. The Duke's Answer was, That his Honour and his Conscience were dearer than all other Considerations, and that therefore he was bound to aver a truth; that in the instructions given him by the Cardinal, and in all the Orders which he had received from Court, he had not onely found the Cardinal always inclined to a fair Peace, but that the Cardinal had also employ'd all his industry to obtain it, though without effect; for the *Spanish* Agents pretending to such advantages, as could not then with honour be granted by *France*, they had never corresponded to that intent, save onely in shew, but always kept a hole open to escape out at, so as he could never know at what rate they desired it.

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Cavalier *Contarini* spoke often to the same purpose, and particularly when, after the meeting at *Munster*, he met with some of the Parliament at *Paris* in the *Garden di Renarda*, to whom upon the like occasion he plainly answered: *That the Cardinal was a good Minister for France, as they would finde when they had lost him.*

The Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns was afterwards continued by the Mediators, and all things seemed to be quieted, unless some things of small moment; for the *Spaniards* making use of the Tumults at *Naples*, of what had hapned at the Battle of *Lens*, and of the Siege laid to *Cremona* by the *French* and Duke of *Modena*; they seemed to have fail'd much in the hopes which they had built upon the Peace with *Holland*, and inclined to an Agreement upon lesser terms than before. But when they found the Tumults of *Naples* lessen, that they would quickly be appeased; when they heard that the *French* had removed the Siege from before *Cremona*; and when they knew that the Tumults of *France* were likely to last, and tended to a Civil War, and that therefore the pretensions of *France* began to grow somewhat less; the *Spaniards* slackned in their former Proposals, and the Tune being changed, changed their Dance. They requited new Treaties, and made it known that the true modern Maxime is, To know how to make use of the present times as far as they are advantageous; which according as they alter, those are accounted wise who know best how to make use of them.

Pietro de Weimbs Intendant of *Luxemburg* did also complain against the Articles of the Peace of *Germany*; saying amongst other things, that the King of *Spain*, so good a friend, and one who had always seconded the last party with unspeakable expence, and with hazard to his Dominions, was left out; and that he who usurped the Scepter of *Portugal* was called King in the Instrument of Peace; and that other Articles were therein inserted prejudicial to the Catholic King.

Notwithstanding all this, the Court of *Spain* though it were thus abandoned, and left to wrestle alone against so many Enemies, and obliged instead of being assisted by her own Subjects, to waste and consume them in defence of themselves, did yet undauntedly withstand and keep down the stoutest Forces of their Enemies, and in particular did vigorously defend the State of *Millain*, assaulted by *Francis* Duke of *Modena*, who was entered into League with the King of *France*, for those motives and Interests, which that they may be the better understood, we will take from a little higher.

The Duke's propension towards the *Spaniards* began to cool, when by the Invasion of *Castro* he confederated with other Princes in the War against the *Barbarys*, hoping (as having deserved well of that Crown) to have them propitious to him upon those occurrences; but he failed of his hopes. These distastes were increased, when upon the same occasion, having leave from the Emperour to levy men in *Germany*, he was not suffered to do by the bad Offices (as he said) of the *Spaniards*, and was served for a second time, losing both his men and money; yet the Duke moderated his sorrow, and attributing the fault to the ill will of some of the *Spanish* State-ministers who were not well affected to him, he did not at all recede from his respect to that Crown. The difference of *Castro* being ended, in the Treaties whereof though the *French* appeared to have befriended him much more than the *Austrians* had done, he forbore not notwithstanding to assigne over his Souldiers willingly to the Governour of *Millain*, who needed them; *Arona* being set upon by the *French*, who offered

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fer'd him better terms for them than the *Spaniards* gave. But he was here cheated of the Moneys that were promised him for the assigning over of the same men; and not at all satisfied with the promise, made him of a good sum of Money out of the Dowry of the *Infanta Catherine* Daughter to *Philip* the Second, due to him as Heir by Will and Testament to his Uncle Prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*: Not long after, the *Spaniards* treated of selling the Principality of *Corregio* to others, excluding the Duke from it, though it were assigned over to him for a good sum of Money due to him from that Crown. The Duke was much nettled at this usage, and pretended that he would not go out of *Corregio*, till he were fully satisfied for the Debts due to him, and for his Charge in keeping it. And beginning to take up Arms, he communicated his intention to Count *Lesly* Captain of the Emperour's Guard, then in *Venice*, as he was going to *Naples*. To these were added the distastes given to his Brother the Cardinal of *Este* at *Rome*, whom the *Spaniards* seemed to treat uncivilly, procuring that Cardinal *Colonne* was preferred before him in the Protection of *Cesar's* Patrimonial States. Hereupon the *French* took occasion to invite him over to their side, knowing how much it would make for them to have a Prince of his parts and courage joyn with them in molesting the State of *Millain*.

Wherefore the Protection of the Affairs of *France* in *Rome* were committed to that Prince Cardinal; which he accepted willingly, though the Duke seemed to be not content therewith; but the *Spaniards* did tacitly grumble, as if this had been done by the Duke's good will. These Jealousies growing dayly, the *French* offer'd the Duke all necessary assistance in case he would break with *Spain*. On the contrary, the wisest of the *Spanish* State-Ministers finding that to exasperate the Duke at this time, would be very prejudicial to the Interest of *Spain*, the same Count *Lesly* propounded unto him, upon occasion of Count *Alonso Montecuculi's* going to *Munster*, that the Emperour in token of the valuation he put upon his Excellency, would declare him to be his Vicar-general in *Italy*. The Duke appli'd himself willingly hereunto, the father for that Duke *Argos* Viceroy of *Naples* had made some overture therein with the Dukes Resident in that City, and sent *Don Vincenzo Tuttavilla* to *Millain* to have intelligence with that Governour; who as he pass'd by *Modena*, found him ready to embrace the offer. But not finding the other *Spanish* Agents willing thereunto, the Proposals, after *Tuttavilla* was gone, were alter'd, the Effects prolonged, and finally the Viceroy's Offers were varied in the most essential parts. So as diffidences began again to arise: for though the Duke condescended to some advantageous Proposals, and press'd the performance, nothing was resolved of; so as he began to conceive that these things were given out rather to make *France* distrust him, than to fix him to *Spain*. Being therefore amidst these Rocks, he resolved not to loose the *French*, whilst he could not confide in the *Spaniards*; especially having such an opportunity offer'd him, as the risings in *Sicily* and *Naples*, which threatened the subversion of that Monarchy.

Cardinal *Grimaldi* was then going towards *Piombino* and *Portolongone*, with Plenipotentiary-power from the King of *France*, to negotiate with the Princes of *Italy*, and chiefly to binde up the Negotiations which were in hand between *Mazarine* and the Duke of *Modena*. At last, after several Treaties, the Confederacie was settled upon these terms: That the King's Council resolved to send the Neapolitan Troops which had lain long in *Piombino* and *Portolongone* by the order of *Signior d' Estrades*, who marched with 4000 Foot and 1200 Horse by the way of *Tuscany* into the *Modenese*

1648. *Modenese*, the Express not coming time enough which was sent from Court to *Grimaldi* with orders to make the Troops advance to *Naples*, whereby the Duke being recruited, he resolved to pass over the *Poe*, and to enter the *Eremense*, which is a fertile Territory, wherein the Souldiers might be maintain'd with notable disadvantage to the *Milanese*. At the news hereof, the Marquis *Berra* was advanced with 4000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and ten pieces of Cannon to *Pomponesco*, to keep the French from passing over the *Poe*; but they seeming that they would pass just over against the *Spanish* quarters, falling down lower at the same time in 17 Vessels, pass'd 1000 Foot upon break of day over the River, and not long after pass'd their whole body over, pursuing the *Spaniards*, who fled from *Pomponesco* to the Gates of *Eremona*; against which City the Duke would have made some attempt, had he not been obliged to forbear by the great store of Rain, by the bad ways, by the approaching Winter, and for that the Forces which he expected from *Piemont* were not yet come; so he was forced to Winter in the Enemy's Country, distributing his Troops, part in *Cassalle Maggiore*, which was abandoned by the *Spaniards*, part in *Riverole*, and the rest in the neighbouring Villages, where they lay quiet till the February following, at which time they began to draw into the Field: For the Count *Haro* who was made Governour of *Milain*, instead of his Father the Constable of *Castile*, mustered 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, wherewith he pretended to drive the Enemy from their quarters before more recruits could be brought to the Duke.

Which the French perceiving, the Duke, being so advised by *Estrades*, thought to advance 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and to keep the *Spaniards* from beating up his quarters, to place himself between *Bosolo* and *St. Martino*. *Haro* advanced with such fury, as that he broke the Enemies Right Wing, on the head whereof was the Duke of *Modena's* self; who thinking he could not avoid a total Rout, advised *Estrades*, who guided the Left Wing, to retreat, whilst he hindered his own mens disorder. But *Estrades*, thinking that the *Spaniard* would be the more encouraged by so sudden a retreat, and that greater mischief might ensue, advised the Duke to get behind his Squadrons, wherewith he would withstand the Enemy till night, by advantage whereof they might afterwards both of them retreat joyntly. He straightway took the advantage of a certain House, and two great Ways, which were inclosed with thick strong Hedges, where the French fought manfully for three hours space, and till the Sun being set, they might retreat to their quarters in good order.

The Fight was fierce and bloody, many perished on each side; the action was glorious, all the Generals having signalized themselves with undaunted valour. *Estrades* received a Musquet-shot on his Curass, and had two Horses killed under him: The Duke won great glory. Both Armies being thus retreated, the French Wintered without any other considerable event; but the Duke having made new provisions for the next Campaign, they reassumed Arms on the beginning of March, with successes of important consequence; for the Marquis of *Caracena*, who was now Governour of *Milain*, resolving to give proof of his sufficiency in that place, after he had put all things in good order, went to *Cremona*, thinking that by driving the Enemy from the greater *Cassalle*, he might the better defend the Passes over the *Poe*: he therefore took a little Island within the River just over against that part, and he with the rest of his Army quartered at *Casalo*, three miles off, to assist to the maintaining of the Island that he had taken, which the French went to recover, but were repulsed,

repulsed with some prejudice, and with the loss of their Boats; which made the Duke to gather all his Troops together, and with them, and those recruits which were then brought him by Marshal *Plessis Pralin*, hoped to make good *Cassalle*, and by the addition of those French which were landed at *Lirici*, and were already on their march towards him, to alter the face of affairs. Wherefore having furnish'd that place with Victuals, he prepared to assault the aforesaid Island, and to drive the *Spaniards* out.

Caracena foreseeing the Designe, and the difficulty of maintaining the Island, drew his men out of it; and mustering his whole Army at *Cremona*, thought by drawing the Trench from *Rebeteo* to the Ditch of the City, which was about twelve miles in length, to keep the French from advancing further, and to make them give over their first intentions: but at last the Duke's Army being grown to be fourteen or fifteen thousand men, he by the advice of the Marshal, and of the other Commanders, resolved to assault the Trench, and came within sight of it on the 30th of June in a glorious order; the Forelorn-hope advanc'd with some Volunteers, and assaulted the Enemies Trench in several parts, which though they were stoutly defended by the *Spaniards*, were notwithstanding quickly overcome by the French, and the Artillery taken, many Officers and Souldiers made Prisoners; amongst which Count *Galeazzo Trotti*, Lieutenant-general of the Horse. Yet did the Victory prove bitter, by reason of the *Asailants* loss, amongst which was a Son of Marshal *Plessis Pralin*, who advancing courageously in the first Files, was slain by a Musket-shot. By this fortunate success the French should have fallen upon *Cremona*, which in this confusion would soon have yielded; but they forbore the attempt for two reasons; the one was necessity, for they wanted Victuals, and Artillery to batter: The other, for that the whole Council of War agreed that it would be better to pass over the River *Adda* without engaging in any Siege, and march into the bowels of the State of *Milain*, whereby depriving the people of gathering in their Harvest, which was yet in the fields, they might ruine them: but they failed in this; for being forced to tarry for the getting of Victuals, they were forced to tarry at *Cava* longer than they thought to have done. Howsoever they attempted to pass over at *Macastorna*, and at several other parts; but still in vain, by reason that the River was so swoln by the great fall of Rain, and by the *Spaniards* vigilant Guards. They therefore retreated to *Crosta*, and advanced to *Spinadesco*, and from thence with their whole Army drew near *Cremona*, placing their Artillery against the Fortifications which the besieged raised at the Mills upon the *Poe*.

The Marquis of *Caracena* was glad that the Enemies Army, which he feared would have pass'd over *Adda*, sat down before *Cremona*; for knowing that he could relieve it as he listed, he thought to make them wait their Forces there to no purpose. He therefore re-enforced the Garrison again, and failed not in the part of an expert and valiant Commander. Wherefore the French knowing how hard it is to take Towns that may be relieved by Water, they sought to keep the *Spaniards* from coming upon the *Poe*, but failed; for other Armed Vessels coming out against them, they forsook their Boats and got to land. The Duke of *Modena* would have fallen upon the City with all his Forces, as being but weakly walled; which being gotten, the Castle might be brought to yield the more easily, being to be invironed by a few men. He alledged the Example of *Torsona* when Prince *Thomaso* took it; and was seconded in his opinion by Marquis

1648. Marquis *Villa*, who was then come thither with a recruit of 3000 Horse and 2000 choice Foot, accompanied by Marquis *St. Andrea*, Lieutenant-General *Mombrune*, and by Marquis *Monte*, who commanded in the third place. But Marquis *Plessis Pralin*, and other French Commanders diverted them, making them resolve to fall onely upon the Castle, because they had not Foot enough to assault the large compass of the City in several parts, and for that the Castle being taken, the rest would soon be had. This advice prevailing, the French pass'd over the Water which runs by the side of the Castle, and advanc'd against the Half-Moon of *Ambrosio*, where they fortified themselves. *Don Alvaro di Chignones* Governour of the Castle came out against them and fought them; many of both sides were slain: of the French, Monsieur *de la Lieue* Marechal of the Camp, and Monsieur *Guillotiere* was mortally Wounded. And of the Besieged, Count *Piatti*, *Don Giuseppe Monpauone*, and *Don Carlo Stampa* were slain. The Duke then endeavour'd to block up the *Poe* with a strong and long Chain, but did no good; for the Besieged fallying out ever and anon with many choice Souldiers, hindred them; amongst other Sallies one was remarkable, made by *Don Diego Quintano*, a Spanish Camp-master, by night, on the 19th of August, where both sides fought bravely, where the same *Quintano* with many other brave Officers were slain: and of the French, Count *Vaian* was slain, and Count *Nayayles* mortally Wounded. Other actions past daily, wherein sometimes one, sometimes another had the advantage; but the French fared always worst. They were chiefly prejudiced by Marquis *Villa* his failing to pass over *Ada*, who went from his quarters to the Camp to advise with the Duke and Marshal, where whilst he staid expecting the springing of a Mine which the French gave fire unto, he was slain by a Cannon, with much sorrow to the whole Army, and much grief to the Dutchess of *Savoy*, of whom he had deserved very well by his long and faithful service; yet the French continued the Siege more fervently than before; and though they were still worsted, yet they forbore not making attempts.

At length the expected Forces from France not appearing, who were retarded by the troubles which hapned in that Kingdom, the French Army being much lessened, and the Spaniards increased, they resolved to raise the Siege. The French discamped on the 8th of October, and retreated to *Castore*; and when they had carried their Artillery, Baggage, and Sick folks to *Monticello*, they went to *Rebecko*. Thus did this Campaign end unfortunately, which was thought at first would have proved glorious for France.

The Austrians happiness was afterwards Crown'd with the Marriage between the King of Spain and his Niece *Anna Maria* Daughter to the Emperour *Ferdinand* the 3d. She was first designed for a Wife to the Prince of Spain, who dying, and the King of Spain having no Issue Male, he resolv'd to marry her himself; and writ to the Emperour, that in remembrance of his Daughter the Empress, he had chosen her for his Wife, whom he intended for his Daughter.

The Marriage-Ceremonies were made by the Cardinal *d'Arach*; and the King of Hungary married her on the 8th of November in the King of Spain's Name.

The

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The SECOND BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The Queen being displeased with the Parliament, goes out of Paris with the King and the whole Court; Retreats to St. Germain. Great Rumours arise hereupon. The People incited by some seditious people, take up Arms. Both sides prepare for War. The City is at last besieged by the King. Before which several accidents happen. The Duke d'Elbeuf is with great applause chosen General of the Parisians. The Prince of Conty and Duke Longueville come to Paris. Conty goes to Roan, and Longueville is declared Generalissimo. The Siege continues with advantage to the King. Arch-Duke Leopold sends to offer himself to the Parisians. Victuals grow scarce. The Inhabitants are aware of their loss. An Agreement is endeavour'd. Peace concluded. Agreement is made in Italy between the King of Spain and the Duke of Modena. The King of England is beheaded by the common Hangman. The Spaniards make divers attempts in Catalonia. Some proceedings in Flanders.

WAR being resolv'd upon against *Paris* by the King's Privy Council, consisting of the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinal, the Marshals of *Milleray* and *Villeroy*, the Abbot *della Riviera*, and Monsieur *Tilliere* Secretary of State; it was held expedient that the King, together with all the great ones of the Court, should go out of Paris; to the end that the Sun being vanished which illuminates the City, she might remain in that obscurity wherinto her own indiscretion had concentrated her. About the beginning of the year 1649, the Queen and Cardinal went in a Coach together after Dinner to *L'Hofelle d'Orleans*, to agree upon many things with the Duke touching their Majesties going out of the City, and how it should be done.

But it being hard that this should be done by so many Princes and Commanders in War, lest the people should take up Arms and hinder them from going out, (especially since it being in the dead of Winter, they had no excuse to go out for Recreation) the Twelfth-night Feast was thought a fitting time, when throughout all France, and particularly in Paris, great Fealings and Jollities are used to be had, as well amongst Plebians as Citizens, at the solemnization of the King of *Bavaria*; it being supposed that when

1649. when all men should be intent upon their Cups, or going to bed, they might then effect their intent.

The hour and moment being appointed, the greatest difficulty lay in getting the King and Queen out. The business was given in charge to Marshal *Grammont*, who was returned from *Flanders* the very day of the Declaration made the 28th of October, with the French Guards, *Swissers*, King's Cavaliers, and *Mazarine's Gens d'Arms*. The Prince of *Condé* and the Cardinal went to his house to Supper, waiting for the appointed time. The mean while the King and Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, went out at the back-gate of the Garden, and finding *Grammont* there, who had ordered all things with great secrecy, they got into Coach, and were conducted by the Marshal and some few Guards out at the Gate *delle Conférence*, where were the Duke of *Orleans*, Cardinal, and many of the Court-Lords. They stop'd in the midst of the way, expecting *Madamofelle d'Orleans*, who was advertised somewhat late, and divers others, who had their Rendezvous appointed there. The Prince of *Condé* went after midnight to waken his Brother *Conty*, his Mother and Sister, who lay then in his Palace, all the doors whereof he caused to be shut, took the Keys himself, and acquainted them with the Courts designe, and that he was bound to follow it. *Conty* and his Mother prepared to go with him; but the Dutches of *Longueville* remembering that her Husband had paid his Parol at *Noisy*, saw that he was to make good his word; since it was the Court that fell upon *Paris*, in which case he was engaged to declare for the Parliament. She therefore thought that if she should go to *St. Germain's*, she should anger the Duke her Husband. And for that cause pretended that being great with Child, she was not fit to travel; and so without giving any cause of jealousy, she avoided going out of *Paris*. She notwithstanding advised *Conty* to follow his Brother, since he was not engaged to the Parliament, unless her Husband should first engage, who was then in *Champagna*. *Conty* was advised by his Sister in this as he was in all things else, and sent a Servant to tell the Coadjutor, that he followed the Prince his Brother, being forc'd by him so to do. And whilst he was at *St. Germain's*, he received news every day from his Sister and the Coadjutor, by the means of his *Vallet de Chambre Verboquet*, who like a Country-Peasant went to and fro between the Court and *Paris*. It was good luck that *Longueville* was not at *Paris*; for if he had been there, the Court could not have resolved so soon, lest the Duke might have revealed the Resolution, and had caused the King be stay'd, or otherwise might have pretended to have tarried in the City. The Dutches sent him word presently, telling him, That it was time for him to come to *Paris* according to appointment; but he thought it not good to declare himself, till the Parliament had openly declared against the Cardinal: for that otherwise the Parliament might alter its minde, and he might be deceived. He therefore went to *St. Germain's* to expect what would be resolved upon; which caused great jealousy in *Paris*, where the bottom of his policy was not founded. This was the reason why the Duke of *Elbeuf*, of the House of *Lorraine*, elder Brother to Count *Harcourt*, declared openly for the Parliament, that by making himself Head of that Party, he might better his Interests in Court.

When their Majesties went out, they left three Gentlemen behind them to with the Lords and Great ones to follow them. The Duke of *Elbeuf*, Duke of *Bullion*, and all the other Princes and Gentlemen had notice thereof. *D'Elbeuf* went to *St. Germain's*; but as it was thought, rather to observe what the Court did, than to tarry there: for pretending that he had not

not a convenient Lodging appointed him, and that his Mother, Wife, Children and Family were in *Paris*, he returned thither that he might assist them.

The Duke of *Bullion* lay sick of the Gout. Before the Queen went out, she writ two Letters, the one to the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, the other to the Coadjutor. She acquainted the Arch-bishop with the reasons which had induced her to go out, and recommended the Kings service to him. She writ the Coadjutor to go to *St. Germain's* the next day to treat of some important particular business. The Letters were delivered; the Coadjutor shewing a readiness to obey, got the next morning into his Coach, but was stop't by the fury of the people, who flocking in great numbers about him, would not suffer him to go: But it was thought that this was done by agreement between him and some of the more popular fort. The next Morning by break of day the whole Regiment of the French Guard and *Swissers* went out of the Suburbs where they lay, with Drums beating, and pass'd Company after Company towards *St. Germain's*, not being hindred by any, though it was known that they went to trouble *Paris*; perhaps because they would not appear to be the first that should make the breach, especially being without a Head who might be capable to issue forth Orders. Yet towards night they shut up the City-Gates, and suffered none to go out; the people being risen of themselves, who kept many of the Nobles and Courtiers from going out, and plundered and broke many Coaches, committing many other insolencies, whereby all that belonged unto the Court were much endangered.

The news of the Kings going out of *Paris* being known the next morning, the *Frondeurs* were amazed, the rather for that they saw the Princes of *Conty* and *Marfiliack* had followed the Court; and thinking that *Longueville* would do the like, contrary to the Agreement made at *Noisy*: But they were a little better comforted afterwards, when they saw the Prince of *Marfiliack*, who returned to *Paris*, pretending some particular affairs, but indeed purposely to speak with the Dutches of *Longueville*, and with some of the chief *Frondeurs*, to assure them that the Prince of *Condé* and himself would be as good as their Words, and that they could do no less than go out of the Town with the King, since they could make no open declaration till they saw the Parliament wholly engaged. *Marfiliack* prest them to make a Decree in Parliament, as they had done against Marshal *d'Ancre* in the year 1617. and leaving *Gourville* at *Paris* to sollicite them, and to come and advertise them when it was done, returned the next day to Court. The Parliament met, and the aforesaid Decree was propounded; but of 200 that were there, there were but nine that voted against the Cardinal. For the securing of *Paris* and the Suburbs, they ordered such Guards, as none durst carry forth any Arms or Baggage either by day or night: That all Governours of Towns should suffer Victuals and other necessaries to be brought to *Paris*: And that no Cities should receive any Garrisons or Souldiers.

These Orders were observed in *Paris*, where the people were bound to obey; but were laugh'd at by all every where else: but the greater part of the Parliaments of the Kingdom adhered to that of *Paris*; and had they sent out Letters, greater novelties would certainly have ensued.

Before the King went out of *Paris*, he writ a Letter to the Provost of Merchants, and to the Consuls, which was delivered them the next Morning after he was gone; wherein he declared, That he would not have gone out by night, had he not been advertised, that some of the Parliament,

1649. holding intelligence with others of the Kingdoms Enemies, would attempt something against him. This Letter was accompanied by three others, one from the Regent, another from the Duke of Orleans, and another from the Prince of Conde; wherein they affirmed, that it was they who had perswaded the King to go out of Paris, knowing for certain what Plots were in hand prejudicial to his Majesties service.

The next day the King sent a Letter by Monsieur Sordiere Lieutenant of the Guards, wherein he commanded the Parliament to remove to Montargis; but notice being had hereof, it was not received: and they decreed, That the King's Servants should return to their Majesties, to desire them to nominate who they were that held intelligence with the Enemy, that they might be proceeded against as guilty of High Treason. Hereupon the Court sent to know whether they came resolved to render obedience, and to remove the Parliament to Montargis; but they answered, *They had no other order but to desire his Majesty to nominate those who held intelligence with the Enemies to the Crown*: So by the Prince of Conde's counsel, they were dismissed without further Audience: For he, contrary to the opinion of all the rest, said, they ought not to be heard; for it made for him that there should be troubles, to the end that he might make himself necessary, and carry on his own Interests. But he seemed to be moved hereunto, thinking that the people would not be averse unto it, whilst Forniere one of the Sheriffs of Paris, coming with some other Deputies to have Audience of the Queen, assured her, that the People were ready to render obedience; moreover, that Monsieur Bignon had private orders from the Frondeurs, that if he could not do otherwise, he should yield, and pass his word that they would withdraw; for they feared that the People growing desperate at the King's leaving of Paris, might turn against them, as the occasioners of this disorder. But the Court, by Conde's means, would give no Audience; which served for an occasion to the Frondeurs to make it appear, that their Interests were defended by the Peoples publick cause, and made them take up Arms, and to oppose the King's Authority; whereby the Parliament being encouraged, they fell to make Decrees against the Cardinal, which put all things into confusion and disorder.

This removing of the Parliament was the first thing wherewith the King made the Parisians affraid: for next to the Court, this Parliament is of most advantage to the City, by reason of the many Presidents, Counsellors, Advocates, Notaries, Proctors, and Sutors. The Chamber of Accounts was ordered to remove to Orleans, and that of the great Council to Orleans. The latter sent their Deputies to the King to acquaint him with their grievances; which not being listned unto, did exasperate mens mindes the more, and brought many over to adhere to the Frondeurs, who had been otherwise minded, finding what prejudice they were likely to receive by this removal.

The Frondeurs making use of this for their own ends, on the 8th of January, the Decree against the Cardinal being past in Parliament, he was commanded thereby to be gone from Court, and to go out of France within eight daies, all men being forbidden to receive him, and every one permitted to persecute him. The execution of this was humbly desired from the Queen, as shall be said: and by the advice of Broussel and the other Frondeurs, the Provost of Merchants, who is like our Lord-Mayor, and the Sheriffs, were obliged to chuse Commissaries to raise men, under the colour of conveying Victuals to Paris.

The Council of State made a severe Prohibition be presently published,

lished, That none should sell either Beeces, or Sheep, nor any other Victuals, to any Parisian. To begin the Siege, St. Denis was presently seized on, a Wall'd Town two Leagues distant from Paris, where the King's Army was quartered; which quarter was commanded by Marshal Fleissier Perain under the Duke of Orleans, who was the King's Lieutenant-General; and the Troops under Conde were quartered at St. Clow, a Town standing upon the River of Seine, at the same distance from Paris as St. Denis, commanded by Marshal Gnammont. The High-Dutch having taken Berzy, were quartered at Charbon: these had expresse orders to deal moderately with the Parisians, and not to do any thing but hinder the carrying in of Victuals, without any noise or scandal, to keep so from irritating the People, who have no other fault but in too easily believing a few seditious folk, who are enemies to quiet. Thus the passion of the Male-content predominating over the ignorance of the common People who feed upon the desire of Novelty, all fair proceedings being interpreted the effects of fear, the resolution of continuing War was established.

Paris may be called the Eye of the whole Body of France, a compendium of the whole Kingdom, a World in a little, for it abounds in all things desirable either for convenience or delight. It is divided into three parts, the one is called the City, the other the Town, and the third the University; which are divided by the Seine, which, taking her original in Burgundy, falls into the Sea at Havre de Grace. In the beginning of the City it divides its self into two parts, and then joyning again makes two Islands, one whereof is that of Notre Dame, the other of the Palace. These three parts are joyned together by ten Bridges; of which those of Notre Dame, the Exchange, and St. Michael, are worth observing, being all of them covered with Houses and Shops; but above all, the new Bridge, which was begun to be built by Henry the 3d, and was finished by Henry the 4th, is most considerable both for situation and structure. This City is thought to contain above a Million of souls: it wants not stately Edifices, richly furnished: it hath in it above 200 Churches richly adorned: it brings unto the King a yearly revenue of above a Million of Pistols. All Arts and Sciences do flourish there: In it are 39 Colledges, 18 Carcs, 172 Streets, 25 Piazza's: It hath 9 Suburbs all very well peopled; there being in some of them above 30000 souls. It is environed with Walls, partly ancient, partly modern, but without any rules of Fortification. The strength thereof consists in the number of People, whereof there are above 100000 men inrolled under the Captains and Colonels of Wards. It abounds in all things; for the Country being every where fertile, furnisheth it with all necessaries; and there being plenty of Money, Merchandize are brought thither from the farthest parts.

And because at the first breaking out of the War, many Courtiers, Officers of War, and Gentlemen were shut up in Paris, it was resolved that none of them should be suffered to go out; contrary to the use of Besieged Towns, where people are not forbid to go out, but kept from coming in. This was done, out of consideration that many persons of quality, and who were well respected at Court, and many of their Wives who were most engaged for the Cardinal, and the kindred of those that commanded, the City might be the better dealt with by the Kings Forces. Moreover, no Munition nor Arms of any sort being suffered to be carried out, the King's Troops were much weakned, for there were not Arms enough to be found within an hundred Leagues of Paris; and the Court was no less

1649. incommodated by the Courtiers having neither Cloathes, Money, nor Credit, as they use to have in the City by means of Merchants and Friends. But at last, most of those that would, went forth disguised in Clowish and Country Apparell; Lords and Ladies past thus disguised, as if they went to the neighbouring Villages to sport themselves, but not without being searched whether they had any Arms or Provisions; which afterwards occasioned much mischief at St. Germain, and many merry tales: Yet leave us to many who desired it, to return to their own homes, thinking it better not to interrupt Commerce. *Paris* not being yet fully surrounded, in this interim many Castles, much Corn, and Provisions of all sorts was brought into the City.

The Marquis of *Uxelles* brought many of the King's Forces before *Corbeil*, a Walled Town upon the Banks of *Seine*; Leagues from *Paris*; which Town they took without much resistance, and fortified it. Hereby it appeared how negligent the *Parisians* were, in not securing that place, which was of such importance to the preservation of *Paris*; but they excused it, saying, That they would not be the first that would break with the King. At this time came the Duke *d'Elbeuse* to the Parliament, where he sat as Duke and Peer of France; he was much solicited by the Parliament and the City, that he would be their Protector, and head them; which offer he accepted, and offered his three Sons to serve them, the Prince *Harcourt*, the Counts of *Rouss* and of *Albano*; all of them valiant and considerable men. This action was so applauded by the *Parisians* and Parliament, that the inhabitants cried as he past through the Street, *Vive le Roy, Vive d'Elbeuse*. The next day he was declared General of the *Parisians* Armies, had the Oath given him, and his three Sons were made Colonels of Horse. He sought to engage the Duke of *Orleans* in the quarrel, but in vain; Wherefore finding his Authority eclipsed by the Prince of *Conty*, his unexpected coming to *Paris*, he thought to flee about and serve the King; which he endeavoured by means of the Duke of *Orleans*, who wrought his peace with the Court, and into favour with his Majesty, to the great satisfaction of the Court, where he was preferred, was made one of the Privy Council, and was made Governour of *Picardy*.

The Dutches of *Longueville* growing hereupon jealous, and in danger of being distressed, since it might be thought her Brother and Husband held intelligence with the Court; wherefore she thought to clear her self by the Coadjutor and chief of the *Frondeurs*, and to make known why those Princes came not, and together with the Counsellor *Longueville*, and the Son of President *Maisons*, told *Gourville* that he must go to St. Germain to acquaint the Princes that the Decree was past against the Cardinal, and that therefore they must needs come to *Paris* that very day, where they should be waited for till an hour after midnight; for otherwise they were resolved to make the Duke *d'Elbeuse* Generalissimo the next Morning, who would use all the means he could to hinder their coming. *Gourville* went presently to St. Germain, and told how affairs went. Prince *Marshall* went to find out the Prince of *Conty* and Duke of *Longueville*, who was come thither the Thursday before; and they agreed to go all together that very night to *Paris*. And *Marshall* having left his Horses, and those of *Longueville*, and of the Marquis of *Noirsmontere*, with his Groom in the Castle-court, he went to wait for them at *Bevaratoio*. *Conty*, *Longueville*, *Rocheaucault*, the Marquises of *Ronsere* and *Noirsmontere* went together with *Gourville* thorough the Yard, following the Marquis St. *Maigrin*. The Prince of *Conty*'s Hat fell off as he went thorough the Castle

Gate-gate, which he recovered, not without danger of being known by Monsieur *Tallier*, who chanced to pass by at the same time; which was the cause why Prince *Marshall* went another way without them. It was strange that a thing done so publicly should not be observed: They came all about midnight to *Porte St. Honoré*, and past freely through the Kings Guards; for *Noirsmontere* was Marshal of the Army.

Marshall seeing *Dongions* Gate shut, (which is a Tower that stands over the Castle-gate, or Kings Palace) it being near midnight, thought the Princes had been taken Prisoners, and thought to save himself: But not finding the Horses where he left them, he knew they were gone, so he went along the River that night to the Suburbs of St. Germain, where he found that neither *Conty* nor *Longueville* were come, and that the Parliament had already declared *d'Elbeuse* General; but being seen with the chief Counsellors of the Treaty of *Noisy*, and knowing what had past, the Princes were at last received upon their Attestate; though the Duke *d'Elbeuse*'s friends being jealous, gave out that *Conty* was come from his Brother to deceive them; which caused such jealousies in the *Parisians*, as they set a Guard upon *L'Hôtel de Longueville*, where they were all lodged. *Conty* sent his Secretary *Saracine* to Counsellor *Longueville*, offering to go live in the publick Palace of the City as they did; and the Duke of *Longueville* sent for his Wife and Daughter thither, shewing thereby that he put himself into the hands of the people; which made them confide in him; and here his Wife was delivered of her second Son, called Count St. Paul, who was Baptized with great solemnity by the Coadjutor, and had the City of *Paris* and the Dutches of *Bouillon* for his God-mothers, and was named *Charles Paris*. The Dutches of *Longueville*, notwithstanding she lay in, would always assist in Council; nay the people fearing, by reason of a false report that was given out, that she was gone to St. Germain, she rose out of her Bed, and shew'd herself at the Window, whereby all were appeased: and from thenceforth *d'Elbeuse*'s credit decreased, and the Coadjutors Faction grew considerable, and *Conty* and his Sister were much esteemed.

These Princes went the very day of their arrival to the Parliament, where one of them sat as Prince of the Bloud, the other by way of honour. And after some dispute *Conty* was declared Generalissimo, and *Longueville* equal General with *d'Elbeuse*; but he would not accept of it, not so much for that *d'Elbeuse* pretended precedence, as for that he was told the Parliament thought to detain him, whereat he was scandalized: Wherefore pretending to go to his Government of *Normandy*, he went from *Paris* thitherward; which made the Court suspect that he intended to make himself Duke of *Normandy*, in case things should proceed as he imagined.

Hence it was that when he came to *Paris* he began to conceive great difficulties, and inclined too close with the Court. It is said that he left his confidant *Priolo* at *Paris* to make his peace with the King; to which purpose Abbot *Oudedei* sent Francis *Scappi* under pretence of carrying a Procuration to *Bluet* Advocate of the Parliament, to save the moveables of his Chamber which were in the Cardinal's house. This *Scappi* was taken for a Spy, and being slept at the Gate, was imprisoned; but was afterwards set at liberty by *Bluet*'s means, that Ticket not being found about him which he carried to *Priolo* for he had wisely swallowed it. He saw and treated with *Priolo* often, under pretence of speaking with some of his acquaintance of the *Swissers* Guard, but indeed to draw him over to the *Parisians*.

1649. *Jan.* Having got a Passport from the Parliament, he went to *Orléans*, and spoke with *Ondeder*, who together with *Longueville's* negotiations, discovered from *Priolo* whether the Prince of *Condé* did really hold any intelligence with his Brother. *Jan. 11.* *Orléans* being with his Wife and Children at *Paris*, was won over by *Longueville* to join with the *Parisians*, hoping thereby to compose his affairs touching *Sedan* the better. He offered his service, which was gladly accepted for his great skill in commanding an Army; and being a Prince of high thoughts, and various resolutions, he fell to improve the confidence which he had long held with the Prince of *Condé*, whom he acquainted with what was done.

The Marshal *de la Motte* offered his service also to the *Parisians*, who was a friend of *Longueville's*, and had a particular pique to the Court, and particularly to Secretary *Tilliers*, by reason of his long Imprisonment. The Duke of *Bullion* gave his Wife and Children, as *Longueville* had done, for pledges of his fidelity to the Parliament. The Parliament being encouraged by so many Princes and great men, grew more confident, and in the presence of the Princes ratified the Decree against the Cardinal; ordering all Captains and Souldiers not to come within 20 leagues of *Paris*; and those that were advanced to retire presently to the Frontier-Towns, prohibiting the submitting of Victuals or Ammunition, and gave out Commissions for raising of Horse and Foot. Monsieur *di Berne* was made Governor of the Artillery, and of the Arsenal of *Paris*, and a Council of War was chosen, with a President of the Grand Chamber, and two Counsellors, who were *Broufels* and *Méverdeau*. They resolved moreover to fortifie the Suburbs; but nothing was done, save cutting Trenches at the ends of such Streets where the *Corps de Guard* were kept without the Gates. The City-council, besides what was voluntarily given by many particular men, imposed 50 Crowns upon every Gate whereinto a Coach might enter, or else a Man and Horse armed; and upon every little Gate and Shop ten Crowns, or else one Foot-Souldier. The Bastile was held for the King by Monsieur *Trembley*, who delivered it up to the Duke of *Elbeuse*, desiring onely for his credit that a piece of Cannon might be brought before it; for which he was much blamed; and *Broufels* was put in his place, who made his Son *Louvier* his Lieutenant.

The first Regiment of Horse (which was raised in two daies) was given to the Marquis *de la Bollaie*. And whilst all men wondered that they saw not Duke *Beaufort* appear, he came to *Paris* on the 13th of January, galloping through the Streets: that he was not known; for he had not yet won that reputation with the *Parisians* which he got afterwards, but was rather thought to have made his peace with the Court, it being known how much his Brother Duke *Mercurio* had dealt and obtained at Court for him, and for the Duke his Father. For the better knowledge whereof, we must repeat from a little before what had passed to this purpose.

The Cardinals friends knowing that his greatness in *France* was not upheld by his own strength, but that it was protected by the Duke of *Orléans*, and Prince of *Condé*; and that therefore depending upon the abatement of others, he must minde their satisfaction so much, as not to be able to serve the King so faithfully as one who depends not upon others, but onely upon the King; they insinuated into him, that not so much for his own Interest, as for the King's, he must so root himself, as not to own his Fortune from

from others, but meerly from the King, and from his own worth; mens miudes being too variable in Court, which he had not formerly considered; Since being an *Italian* Cardinal, he propounded nothing to himself at the first but how to serve the King, as long as his Majesty should have need of it, intending afterwards to retire, and peacefully enjoy the Glory and reputation which he had won; and make it known how advantageous it is for the Kingdom to have a State-minister, who is unconcern'd in *France*, and a Forainer, who having neither Kindred nor Friends, minded nothing but the service of the Crown.

But as this did on one side seem to make his service acceptable, on the other side it met with so great oppositions, as his friends held themselves bound to let him know, that one thing which did authenticate the Malecontents boldness, was, that he should be in *France* without any tie of keeping there, since that being there himself alone, he might at any time withdraw, leaving both the publick and particular affairs in confusion. So as it being dangerous for Princes to change State-ministers, who were already instructed and capable of State-Affairs, do serve them faithfully, he was to take upon him Charges and Employments in the Kingdom, and to bring his nearest Relations into *France*, to give the greater assurance of his tarrying there, and of his fidelity to the King. He therefore resolved to send for three of his Nephews and one Niece, who came from *Rome*, though with no good will of the Pope's, who cared not for the Cardinal, for his having backt the *Barbarini*, and hindred the Decree against them, for being guilty of great misdemeanours against the Apostolick Sea.

The Cardinal had but one Brother of St. *Dominick's* Order, who was made Cardinal a little before, and two Sisters who were married in *Rome*, the one to Count *Girolimo Martinuzzi di Fano*, the other to *Lorenzo Manzini* a Gentleman of *Rome*. One Daughter of the first of these Sisters came into *France*, and two Daughters and one Son of the second's, who were very affectionately received by the Queen: so as those Gentlemen were happy who could enjoy their conversation, they being likely to be the most considerable Ladies of the Court, which occasioned envy; and hence grew distractions against the Cardinal's Government; not onely in such as thought that the moneys of the Crown would be largely expended in their Portions, but which imported more, in the French Ladies, who seeing Strangers (who usually are worse looked upon in *France* than any where else) were scandalized that they should be more favoured by the Queen than they, and get richer and better Husbands. For the Cabal of Women prevailing much in that Nation, there was but few of them who were not mastered by their passions, as were also many Lords and Princes; So as it was no wonder if this grievance spread further. Duke *Beaufort*, and his Father the Duke of *Vendosme* being Prisoners, Duke *Mercurio* who was the onely one of that Family that was suffered to remain in *France*, did all he could to get his Brother's liberty; but if he should work it underhand, and against the will of the State-ministers, it would cause no quiet to his Family, nor facilitate his Fathers return; wherefore he endeavoured by his friends means to let the Cardinal know that he might win over that whole Family to him, which was powerful, and of high blood. *Beaufort* was got out of the Castle of *Vincennes*, who made known to the Cardinal by the Marquis of *Ampou*, that he would be willing to side with his Eminency, and that he would ingage himself his Brother should do so likewise.

1649. The Cardinal embraced the motion, and *Mercœur* having by his Letters assured the Queen of his zeal to her service, divers Treaties were had touching his return to Court: her Majesty was well inclined to it; for she trusted in *Mercœur's* quiet nature, but did not as then correspond with *Mercœur's* desire, because the Prince of *Condé* was no friend to his Family, for *Beaufort's* having appeared against him in the beginning of the Regency; and the Cardinal would conclude nothing in it without *Condé's* knowledge, who returned victorious from the Battle of *Lens*, and seemed much averse unto it when he first heard thereof. Wherefore discovering *Condé's* averfeness, he let *Mercœur* know by means of *Madam d'Ampous*, that he should not advance any further, he being come to *Anet*, a Castle belonging to his House; left by *Condé's* means, who was denied nothing, the Court might be bound to order something against him. Thus *Mercœur* was forced to keep away, and to go privately to *Paris*, to consult with his Friends how he might compass his desire. He conceal'd himself in Advocate *Bluet's* house; and resolved to let *Condé* know, that if he pleased he would be his friend and servant, and be obliged to him for his return. *Marquis Vieville*, who was then great with the Prince, was thought to be a fit Mediator; he undertook the business, and propounded it to *Condé*, who at first seemed backward in it, remembering that *Beaufort* had not dealt well with him. But knowing that he had no reason to be angry with *Mercœur*, and that he might take his Word, he was persuaded by *Vieville*, and did him good offices at Court; Which the Cardinal perceiving, he let *Madam d'Ampous* know that the Prince began to be more gracious; and that he hoped to work *Mercœur's* return to Court within a few days: yet it was long in effecting, by reason of two things; the one, that though *Beaufort* had given it under his hand to his Brother, yet he propounded other ways to the Cardinal by his Cousen the Duke of *Nemours*. And having some about him who persuaded him to make his Peace himself, without being beholden to others, he came *incognito* to *Paris*, and scorning his Brother's negotiation, cross'd the Treaty by means of *Nemours* and the Marshal *d'Osire* whom he employ'd. The other obstacle was, because *Condé* would appear the Author of this Family's return, to the end that it might be the more obliged to him; which *Mercœur* liked not, who was desirous to be obliged to the Prince, but not to own the whole favour to him, because if he should be brought to Court merely by his means, he could receive no favour but by his mediation; Whereas if the Cardinal had a hand therein, he should receive the favour immediately from the Cardinal, without the means of others. *Mercœur's* Friends were sufficiently troubled to think how they might carry on this business; and the means they found, was the Prince his own concernment; for *Vieville* told him, That if he would take upon him to bring that Family back to the Court, he would be obliged to maintain all the Interests thereof, and to prefer them before his own, which he could not mention till the House of *Vendome* was satisfied.

The Prince approved of this reason; he promised to favour his return at the present by his approbation, and to foment it vigorously if it came to the Council. Affairs being brought to this pass, *Madam d'Ampous* continued her desires: The Cardinal resolved to end it, now that *Condé* withstood it not, and told *Madam d'Ampous* that *Mercœur* was much bound to the Prince for his manner of proceeding with him. *Mercœur* kept still conceal'd in *Paris*, but was advertised of all things; but being afterwards to return to his Castle of *Anet*, *Beaufort* having troubled this Treaty, the Cardinal

Cardinal sent Abbot *Ondedei*, together with Advocate *Bluet* to him, who discourf'd long with him. *Ondedei* wish'd *Mercœur* to write to the Cardinal to intercede with the King for his return: The Duke answered, that he had written often, but never received any return; and that therefore he need not write again: That his actions were caution sufficient for his serving the King faithfully; and that though his return to Court would be a particular favour, which he would acknowledge from the Cardinal. But that notwithstanding he desired he would not be offended if he came not thither unless it were to some purpose; for if he came, he must sollicite his Father's and his Brother's return; which if the Cardinal were unwilling to, he was ready to renounce all favour, and to return to from whence he was come. *Ondedei* found this to be so generous a resentment, as he persuaded him the Cardinal would grant it; which not being to be done unless the Abbot should return to *Paris* to acquaint the Cardinal with it, it was thought fit that the Duke should come thither also *incognito*, that Answers might pass more readily, and Resolutions might be more easily taken. Being in *Paris* in the house of *Marquis Vieville*, he met there with some impediments by the intrigues of his Family; but at last, having overcome all difficulties, and the Cardinal being satisfied with what *Ondedei* had said, he received an Order from the King to return to Court; which he did, and lighted at *L'Hofelle de Vendome*, from whence *Ondedei* brought him to the Cardinal's Lodgings; who after many Embraces and Careffes, brought him to kiss the King and Queen's Hand.

When he had spoken with the King, *Condé* took him by the hand, and was with him about a quarter of an hour in a corner of the Chamber, reciprocal shews of good will passing between them: But their Discourse was interrupted by the Prince his pretending too neer Friendship, and too strong engagements to his friends; and *Mercœur* not being able otherwise to give satisfaction to the Prince with Loyalty to the Court, went presently to *Paris*, and renewed the Treaty which had been formerly in hand touching his marrying *Madamofelle de Guise* Sister to the Duke of *Guise*; which business if there had been no other Irons in the fire, had been accomplished; but *Beaufort* cross'd it, who had no minde that his Brother should marry: Wherefore the Cardinal, by his Friends persuasion, began to think again upon what had been propos'd by *Madam d'Ampous*, touching the Match between his Niece *Mançini*, and *Mercœur*: But considering afterwards, that it might be more advantageous for him, that Duke *Beaufort* should marry one of his Nieces, whereby an alliance with two or three great Families might be made. For by marrying *Beaufort* to *Mançini*, he might reconcile himself perfectly to him; and if *Mercœur* should marry *Madamofelle de Guise*, and that the Court should approve of the match between the Duke de *Joyeuse* and *Madamofelle d'Angolefme*; at one and the same time the House of *Guise* would be won, that of *Angolefme* gotten, and a new Consanguinity would be made with the Prince of *Condé*, who was neer allied to *Angolefme*. All parties were well pleased with this, and the Proposal was approved: *Madam d'Ampous* writ thereof to *Beaufort*; he liked it, and at the same time answered his Brother, and gave him his Word that he would observe whatsoever he should promise in his behalf. But then, thinking that he might make better advantage by the troubles in *Paris*, instead of going to *St. Germain's*, according to his promise, went directly to *Paris*; where having conceal'd himself in President *Conieux's* house, after he was got out of Prison, he was sent for by the *Frondeurs*, and hoped to do Wonders: So declaring himself still to be a

1649. great Enemy to the Cardinal, he came to the Parliament, where he was graciously received, had place in Parliament as Peer of France, and was made one of the Generals under the Prince of Conty.

Beaufort did very much Care for the meaner sort of People; to which purpose he made use of several persons, amongst which the Curate of *la Flesche*, and *Chappelle*, who went blazoning forth his Worth and Gallantry through the Streets of *Paris*. Moreover, he hired certain people to make Songs and Verses in his commendations, whereby he did win the good will of many particular persons: For all this, he was held by others to be no wise Prince; and as being a great friend to the Dutchess of *Monbason*, he acquainted her with all his Secrets; which made the other Generals despise him, not revealing any thing of importance to him, lest he should divulge it: wherefore the Regent cared not to negotiate with him; for she knew all by the Dutchess of *Monbason*, which caused other inconveniencies, as shall be said.

And because the Marshals of France sit not in Parliament but when the King is present, the Marshal *de la Motte* was made Counsellor of honour, to the end that by that Title he might enter into Parliament. As for the employments in War, places were thus disposed of; Duke *Beaufort* and Marshal *de la Motte* had the charge of the Western part of the River towards *Orleans*: *D'Elbeuf*, *Bullion*, and *Marilliac* commanded the East-side towards *St. Denis*: The Marquis of *Noirsmontere* was made their Lieutenant-General. The Prince of Conty, who was Generalissimo, being in an Ecclesiastick habit, and but of a weak constitution, went seldom into the Field, but assisted onely in the Council of War, which was held every day in the City's Palace. Count *Fiesca* was given for an assistant to the Duke of *Longueville*, who was to go for *Normandy*; for he sided against the King, as did also Duke *Luynes*, Marquis *Vitry*, and others who went to *Paris*, pretending still to be the King's Servants, but Enemies to the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Longueville* went from *Paris* with a Convoy of 500 Horse; he travelled all night by unknown ways, and concealed himself in a Wood three Leagues distant from *Roan*, treating by some of his party who were disguised, to have admittance.

Which being granted, he went presently towards the River-side which was opposite to the Palace, together with the Marquis *de Beveron*, who met him by the way; and passing over in small Boats, was received together with his Complices; and whilst *Eghestote* was ready to sit down to Supper, *Longueville* and *Beveron* entering into the house suddenly, said, they were come to sup with him. The Son wondered; but seeing his Father and the Duke, he was forc'd to be patient.

The first President *Riv* was told of this arrival the next morning by Monsieur *di Miressa*, Captain of the Duke's Guard; he was much amazed, and struck no less with Wonder than with Sorrow, for he was faithful to the King. When *Harcourt*, who by order from the King was advanced with some Troops to keep the Inhabitants in their Duty, with whom he treated to be introduced, upon this news retreated to *Point D'Arke*, four Leagues off, where Monsieur *Beaumont* was Governour for the King.

The common people flocking together, and desirous to know News, ran to the Palace, and cried *Long live the King, Long live the Duke*: he answering that he was the King's Servant, and Cardinal's Enemy, came down, past with applause through the City, came to the Parliament, made there his

1649. his protestations and offers, soliciting them all to close with the *Parisian* party. The most of those Presidents and Counsellors, and the whole City declared in his behalf, some few excepted; amongst which was the first President *Riv*, who after having tarried two or three days to try whether he could do any good for the King or no, finding all his endeavours vain, went to the Court at *St. Germain*; and divers others went to *Vernon*, a City upon the *Seine*, half way between *Roan* and *Paris*, whither the Parliament was removed by the King's Decree, who declared the Parliament of *Paris* invalid.

The distastes of the Malecontents broke forth also in *Poitou*, for the whole Province turned against the Court, unless it were the Marquis *Rocheposey* of the house of *Chastegnere*, which kept always constant to the King. For which the Bishop of *Poitiers*, one of the said Family, was besieged by the Citizens in his own House for 24 hours: the Abbot of *Rocheposey*, who was his Nephew, together with the Dutchess of *Roan* was detained in *Tours*; and the Marquis, who was head of the Family, and Lieutenant-General of the Province, was not safe in his own houses.

The Court was much troubled hereat, seeing that it was now between those two Great, Rich, and Popular Cities; not knowing what the end of so bold a beginning might prove. But *Roan* chiefly exprest her ill will, for the rest of the Kingdom was as then quiet, knowing that the happiness of Princes doth not consist in lessing the King's Authority. The other Parliaments therefore answered that of *Paris*, That they liked not the Engagement, which was not the way to bring Peace to France, but to put her in a Civil War, out of the capriciousness of a few envious and unquiet Spirits; whence nothing but Confusion and Ruine could be expected.

The scarcity of Victuals and Moneys, which grew daily greater, was added to the troubles of the King's Council, who saw that many Princes and Lords declared for *Paris* and *Roan*. Nor was the Cardinal less troubled for jealousy of *Orleans*, who seemed weary of the War: Nor was he a little cruciated by *Condé's* unquiet disposition, whose constancy in this enterprize he apprehended, who was of a more fiery and lively spirit than the other: but the Cardinal watched him carefully, knowing how apt the French were to change opinion. He was informed that *Condé* treated with the *Frondeurs*; and he was troubled at his being two days out of *St. Germain*: especially it being said, that he was turned over to his Brother's party; which though it were false, yet it smelt of suspicion. The Cardinal did therefore double his diligence in observing the Prince's actions: and thinking that he had suffered some Victuals to be carried into *Paris* which he might have hindred, the Cardinal sent a Confident of his with a small party of Horse to discover if he did so; which *Condé* being aware of, took very ill.

On the 16th of January, *Lagne* was taken, a Walled Town standing upon the *Marne* seven Leagues from *Paris*, by Monsieur *Perfan* Camp-Master; and the *High-Dutch* who were quartered at *Charenton* were removed thither. Some *Polacks* got also into *Menden*, where there was a fair Castle not far off, belonging to the Duke of *Guisse*, whose Inhabitants held for *Paris*; Whereat the *Parisians* were much vexed (though it was no considerable Pass) to see the King's Forces come so near *Paris*. They therefore offered to recover it, but in vain; for the Souldiery in *Paris* were neither enough in number, nor sufficiently Disciplin'd.

The Coadjutor raised a Regiment at his own expence; which was called

1649. *Corinthian*, he being Arch-Bishop of *Corinth*; and being more desirous of Glory and Greatness than the rest, he desired to carry on his designe by appearing popular, and a friend to the Publick. His chief end was to make the Court afraid of him, which through too much goodness sought to win upon these unquiet and turbulent spirits; of which number the Coadjutor was thought to be one, who having Eloquence joyn'd to his Learning, upon the celebrating of St. Paul's day, which is done on the 25th of January, resolved to preach in St. Paul's Church, upon the present occurrences, rather to win Credit with the common people, than to persuade them to Peace.

The Family of the *Gondi*, one of the noblest Families of *Italy*, came from *Florence* into *France* with Queen *Catherine of Medici*; the chief whereof rose to a great fortune under her Government, who was Wife to *Henry the 2d*, and Mother to three Kings. This Coadjutor was Brother to the Duke of *Retz* Peer of *France*, Nephew to the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* by the Father's side; a personage of generous Thoughts, and of lively Spirits, full of Worth, and of a wonderful Wit; but ambitious of Glory, and of more Greatness. The Arch-Bishops of this City are by right Counsellors of Parliament, but not the Coadjutors: but this man, for his Abilities and Wisdom, was made Counsellor of Honour, by which Title he had admittance into Parliament, where winning favour by his profest enmity to the Cardinal, he had a great stroke in the management of publick affairs. His first endeavours were, to grow great with the Dutches of *Longueville*, and with the Prince of *Conty*, excluding Prince *Marilliac*, who was the chiefest in their favour; which made *Marilliac* so jealous, as he resolved to be no longer his friend, which occasioned afterwards many inconveniencies: For the Coadjutor finding his designs vain in this, joyned more straightly with the *Frondeurs*, and with Duke *Beaufort*, who made himself their head, as also head of the *Parisians*, as well for his Condition, as for the hatred he also shewed to the Cardinal.

The Parliament was this mean while so diligent, as nothing issued out but Decrees, Ordinances, and Remonstrances, whereby they thought to maintain the War. And though it had been often known that Princes disliked nothing so much, as to have their actions found fault with; yet the Parliament thinking, that albeit the Regent was not to be removed from her resolutions by verbal Remonstrances, yet they might justifie their pretensions, by publishing the ground-work of their Reasons: they made a Writing, and sent it to *Guinegande* the State-Secretary, wherein speaking freely against the Cardinal, they blamed him for having drunk in ambitious Maxims, and that as soon as he had got the Government of the affairs of the Kingdom, abusing so high a favour, he made himself master of the Kings person, under a new title of Superintendent of his Education; disposing absolutely of all places, Dignities and Towns, Governments, Arms, and Finances, he only receiving the thanks, ordering punishments; and making not onely the fortunes of private men, but of the Publick, depend wholly upon him: that his administration of Government proved a strange piece of policy, clean contrary to the customs of *France*; a continuance of War, the peoples misery, a ruine of the Finances, and which was more, the corruption of the whole Kingdom: That he made War his fixed Star, hated Peace, to the end that he might make his Counsels more considerable, and have the better pretence to raise Moneys, and enrich himself: That he had endeavoured by all means to divide the

the people and the Parliament, and so to make the people take up Arms against the Parliament, to the end that the Parliament being broken, he might be the absolute Master of the Kingdom.

With these and the like demonstrations, they concluded, that they had not taken up Arms, nor made any of these Decrees, save onely to defend themselves against that State-Minister, and for the publick preservation; in which case it was necessary to proclaim the Cardinal an Enemy to the King and Kingdom: That the preservation of Kingly Authority, and of the King, was the sole reason why they took up Arms; which was the onely reason for their particular safety; which was necessarily annexed to that of the King: That therefore this was no act of Rebellion, but an effect of Duty; Wherefore they desired his Majesty to dismiss the Cardinal, and to leave him to the hands of Justice, that he might be an example to Posterity, to deter others from such vast pretences.

The semblance of this Writing had force enough to deceive those, who swoln with their own opinions, did not measure them by what was just, or feasible; hoping by the Cardinal's destruction to appropriate the places and dignities of the Crown to themselves, and to govern *France* after their own manner.

But these bold attempts were opposed by more moderate and wiser men, who were minded to curb these resolutions, and to square all things by the rule of Reason.

The situation of *Corbeile* (by reason of the scarcity of Victuals) being grown considerable, the recovery thereof was thus propounded: That a good body of such as were fit to bear Arms, and should be willing, should attempt this. Wherefore 4000 men were chosen, who were led on by *Beaufort*, *Marilliac*, and *Noirsmontere*; who march'd out of the Town, and being come to *Joycy*, a Village in the midway to *Corbeile*, fell into such confusion, as wanting Bread, but meeting with much Wine in those abandoned houses, they were all Drunk, and fell asleep; some died for cold, some run away: so *Beaufort* was forc'd to return to *Paris* *re infecta*.

At the news of the *Parisians* being gone to recover *Corbeile*, *Condé* mustered the Troops about St. *Clou*, and marched thitherward; and had he come but two hours sooner, he had cut them all in pieces.

Afterwards the Marquis of *Vitry* march'd out of *Paris* with 500 Horse to scowre the Country; and meeting in his return with a Body of the Kings Horse near *Bois de Vincennes*, there hapned a skirmish, wherein *Tancredi de Roan*, a gallant Youth of 18 years of age, advancing, he was slain, whilst he had courageously thrust himself into the midst of the Enemies Troops: He was Son to that *Henry of Roan* who was so famous in the Wars of our times, by *Margaret de Bettunes* a worthy Lady, and of one of the most illustrious Houses of *Flanders*.

Whilst the avenues were blockt up every where by the Kings men, the more to straighten *Paris*, divers Troops went from the parts about St. *Denis* to surprize *Charenton*, and to seize on that Bridge upon the *Marne* two Leagues from *Paris*; which was a Pass of much importance, for the Convoys of Victuals past that way which came from *Brie* a plentiful Province: but it was defended by Monsieur *de Chabot*, so as the Kings men failed of that designe then; whereat the Court being troubled, and particularly *Condé*, who thought it redounded to his disreputation, it was resolved to drive the Enemy from thence. *Orléans*, who envied *Condé's* glory, was not willing that he should thereby purchase more honour: Where-

1649. Wherefore he resolv'd to march himself in the head of those Troops. The Council of War was held at St. Denis, the Souldiers were list'd at Charon, a League from Paris, where being sheltered by the Castle of Vincennes, 3000 Horse were drawn out in Battle-array to fight those that should come from Paris. The Duke of Chastillon, Son to the late Marshal of France, advanc'd with 2000 veterane Foot, and fell with such resolution upon the Trenches and Barricadoes, as a more glorious success could not have hapned. The news whereof coming to Paris, they resolv'd to defend that place with all their might: All the Generals, Officers of War, a number of Souldiers, and many Inhabitants march'd out of the Suburbs of St. Antoine; where Beaufort, d'Elbœuse, with the rest of the Generals, and the Coadjutor, put themselves in Battle-array.

Orleans would not permit that Condé should go to the assault; wherefore Chastillon fell courageously with his Foot upon the Suburbs, and Chaulieu retreated to the Church at the head of the Bridge, where fighting valiantly he was slain, having twice refused quarter.

Chastillon coming towards the Church with his Sword in his hand, was unfortunately shot in the Reins of the Back, by a Musquet out of a Window, whereof he died the next day in St. Vincennes Castle, to the great grief of the whole Court, and particularly of the Prince of Condé. Count Saligny died there also.

Chastillon was about 30 years old, valiant, of a handsome aspect, and of a pleasant demeanour. He left no Children behind him, but left his Wife with Child, who was deliver'd of a Son after his death, who is the onely remainder of that Famous Gaspero Coligny, who was Admiral of France in the time of Charles the 9th.

All the Souldiers of this Station were slain or taken Prisoners, and amongst others of condition, Monsieur de Poitiers Camp-master, and Marquis Coygnack saved himself not without much ado. The Parliament did grievously resent this misfortune, and complain'd much of their Generals for not fighting the Kings Army, which was very weak. The more Reputation Condé won, the more did he exasperate the Parisians hatred; for the whole business was attributed to him, though it were Chastillon that did act, and Orleans that commanded; and so bitterly did they speak against him, as almost forgetting their malice to the Cardinal, they inveighed onely against Condé. The Kings men would have fallen upon the Parisians as they came out of Port St. Antoine, if they had thought that they had been expected; but Condé thinking that in all reason they would have drawn out their Cannon upon that height, which was very fit to have play'd upon the King's Camp, was of a contrary opinion. The Kings men retreated to their quarters, leaving 200 Foot to guard the Bridge. The taking of this Pass upon the Marne proved very prejudicial for conducting Victuals; Wherefore Beaufort and Marsillac went out two daies after upon break of day to recover it; but were forced to forbear going, to assist a Convoy which was brought by Noirsmonstere, and was come from Estampes to Linoy, being ready to be assaulted and taken by the Kings Troops. They had about 500. Horse with them: they staid that night in Vissie, a Village two Leagues from Paris, and went the next morning to Chyly, two Leagues further, where they met Noirsmonstere; where hearing that Marshal Grammont being already come to Borgo della Rena, advanced between Villeneuf and Chyly; instead of going that way, they went lower along the River, and march'd so fast, as the Kings men could not come to the Rear of the Convoy till they entred into Vitry, a place surroun-

1649. surrounded with Vineyards full of Hedges, and joynting almost upon the River Seine. Beaufort and Noirsmonstere halted at the coming out of the Village: and as the Kings men were gotten too within the Houses, Monsieur di Nierlieu Brother to Marquis Vartimore, as he pursued the Enemy, was unfortunately slain by his own party, taking him to be an Enemy; yet Beaufort's Troops were charged, and the greatest part of the Convoy taken before they could get into Vitry: And they would have fared worse, had not the Marshal de la Motte, who was come out with some Forces that very morning, and was joynted to Marsillac, appeared in time, and so opportunely, as falling together with Marsillac upon the Kings men, who were already gotten into Vitry, they drove them back to their main Body; so they entred all of them into Villejeuf, and fortified it. Marshal Grammont having staid a while to expect a recruit, thought it not fit to assault Villejeuf, which was already fortified, especially since the night drew on, and he so neer Paris, so far from his own quarters, as he might have been surprized, with prejudice to the Court; and therefore being contented with having taken the Convoy, he retreated to Medune, and so to St. Clou.

Beaufort's Name was so celebrated by the Parisians, as it was no sooner known that he was out of danger, but above 30000 people, what Men, what Women, ran to where the fight had been, shewing their particular joy towards him, who had fought hand to hand with the Count di Briole a bold and courageous Gentleman.

Though Longueville was obeyed in Normandy by almost all the Province, and that more than 20 Gentlemen had taken Commissions to be Colonels under him; yet being not able for want of Moneys to raise the men that he had promised, the Parisians began to conceive that he had failed the Parliament, which expected much from him; that he held secret intelligence with the Court; and that he sought excuses to evade the assistance which he had promised the Parisians. It was true, he had had some Treaty with the Marquis St. Luke, but without concluding any thing.

The Parisians being thus troubled, as well for the irresolution of the Princes and Commanders, as for the backwardness of the other Provinces and Parliaments of the Kingdom, who though they had been much sollicitated, could never be brought to declare any thing against Regal Authority, found how little steadfast those hopes are which are grounded upon other mens assistance, and began to desire that Peace which they had abused.

The Passes over the Rivers, and chief Avenues by Land, being this mean while blockt up, the Kings Camp grew daily greater, and the Besieged's courage failed. Divers succours came to the King; amongst which, that which was brought by the Count di St. Aignan was a very considerable one. He of himself brought 400 Gentlemen, his friends, and such as depended in the Province of Berry, where he was much beloved, and came with them and as many other Servants to St. Germain, much to his praise, and to the Kings satisfaction. They were quartered not far from the Court, that they might be ready upon any sudden occasion. Monsieur Boisack brought other Forces to Chastres and Linoy, seven Leagues from Paris, so as Paris was also blockt up on that side, and began to be less eager, and to see that they must have Peace, be it either with, or without the Cardinal. So the first heat of War began to cool, and Peace to be desired; whereunto the Court did no less incline.

The Parliament forbore sending their Deputies to St. Germain, lest they

1649 they should be denied Audience the second time: and it became not the King's honour to send Proposals of Agreement to a disobedient City, and to Subjects, who in all reason ought to humble themselves.

At last it was thought fit by some that were well minded, to send *Loy-aque*, Herald of France, from the Court to Paris, with two Trumpets, to intimate his Majesties Intentions and Orders to the Parliament, City, and to the Prince of *Conty*; that occasion might be given of a Treaty, as fortunately was.

On the 12 of February, the Herald was sent with Instructions in Writing; which being a thing seldom heard of, it will not be amiss to relate them.

The Herald being come to Paris, was brought to the Parliament, where he spoke as followeth:

My King and your Master hath sent me, by the advice of the Queen Regent, to you Presidents and Counsellors, and to give you this Declaration, whereby his Majesty doth discharge you of all your Employments, in case you go not out of Paris within 8 days. Being notwithstanding willing that those shall enjoy their places who shall come unto his Majesty within the said time. And because his Majesty understands that this Declaration which was sent on the 23 day of the last month, hath not come to the knowledge of the most of you, by reason of the diligence that was made to hinder it: His Majesty (besides the eight days which ought to be numbered from the day of the Date, which time is already expired) grants you four days more, to begin on this day wherein I give you notice of it. And his Majesty being sensible of the miseries and sufferings of his poor people of Paris, and that he will leave nothing undone to free them thereof, he by the advice of the Queen his Mother, (to the end that none of you may have any pretence to continue longer in your disobedience) hath commanded me to signify unto you, That he promiseth and granteth full security for the Persons, Places, and Goods of all those, without any exception, who shall go out of Paris within the aforesaid time: And this his Majesty doth assure you on the Word and Faith of a King. But if you shall abuse this his Majesty's so great Clemency and Goodness, and shall continue in disobedience to your Master and Sovereign, I am commanded to tell you, that you must not afterwards hope for Pardon, since you will be the ruine of all the Parisians, and the occasion of all the evils that shall ensue.

When he had said this, he gave the King's Declaration, and the same Instruction.

From thence he came to the publick Hall of the City, whereinto being brought, he said: *My King and your Master hath sent me to you the Provost of Merchants, the Sheriffs, Councillors, Quartermans, and People of Paris, to give you this Declaration, which I am commanded to read unto you. Which when he had done, he said: The chief reasons which moved his Majesty to send Testimonies of his goodness to the Parliament, to the Prince of Conty, and to the other Princes and their adherents, was, as they should finde by his Declaration, to give rest to his good City of Paris; to withdraw the Inhabitants from the evil ways wherein they had suffered themselves to be seduced; and to free them from the misfortunes which it was impossible for them to escape, if they should still continue in their Rebellion: that they might easily see his Majesty's tenderness towards them, by his endeavouring to give them proof thereof now, when God had pleased to favour the right of his Cause*

Cause, by the late happy successes. He then desired to be brought to the Prince of Conty, to whom he spoke thus:

My King and thy Master hath sent me to thee Armande di Bourbon, to tell thee by this Declaration, which here I give thee, That thou, together with the other Dukes, Peers, Princes, Lords, and their Adherents, are guilty of High Treason, for not having come unto him; he be commanded you, within three days: and because it may be, that this his Declaration came not to you nor your Confederates knowledge, His Majesty, by the advice of his Mother the Queen Regent, hath commanded me to tell thee, that he grants thee and thy Adherents four days space more, to begin from this day, to come to his Royal Court. And to the end that neither thou, nor the rest may have any excuse to continue longer in disobedience, His Majesty by the advice of his Mother the Queen Regent, hath commanded me to tell thee, that he gives thee full and free security for thy Person, Places, Goods, and Government; as also for all the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and Lords thy Adherents, in case thou and they come to him within the prefixed time. Whereof if thou satisfiest, I am commanded to tell thee, and them, that you shall all incur the punishments therein contained. All these Instructions were signed and sealed by the Secretary of State Guinegaude; and the King's Declaration was of the same tenour.

The Herald appeared at the Gate of St. Honoré, accompanied by the Engineer *Petite*, who was purposely come from Paris to the Court, and came before the Sentinels at Sun-rising, where he sounded a Call, demanding to speak with the Captain of the Guards, of whom he demanded entrance, which was denied him; and the Captain sent news hereof to the Parliament, Prince of Conty, and to the Commonalty.

The Houses were met, and having tarried till three hours after Dinner, they resolved not to receive the Herald nor the Kings Letters, supposing that they imported little of satisfaction. But they returned him answer, That they durst not receive him, nor listen unto him, out of respect and obedience, since it belonged not but to Sovereigns with Sovereigns, though the ancient stile of my King, and thy Master cannot be used to a Sovereign, but to a Subject. Adding, that they had chosen Deputies to make their submissions known to their Majesties, if they might have Passports sent them. To this *Petite* answered, That it was contrary to all Respect and Obedience, to refuse admittance to those that were sent by the King; and that the Herald had no other Orders but to execute his Commissions. Here he again demanded to be let in, and that his Majesties Letters might be received; which being again denied, he sounded a second Call, and was again refused; Monsieur *Fournier* being come thither in the name of the City, and Monsieur *di Maison* on the behalf of the Prince of Conty, to tell him that the City nor the Prince could return no other answer than what the Parliament had done.

The mean while night came on, and the Herald sounded the third Call; and expounding his Commission aloud by word of Mouth, left his Letters upon the Barricado, and returned towards St. Germain.

When he was gone, the Packets were taken and carried to the *Corps de guard*; Whereupon two Letters were written, one to the Chancellor, another to Monsieur *Tilliere*, wherein they were desired in the Parliaments name, to get a Passport for those that were appointed, from the King, to represent unto his Majesty, that their refusing to hear the Herald was not an effect of disobedience, but of reverence due from faithful Subjects,

1649 who professing themselves to be such, could not admit of an Herald, which was usually sent from an Enemy to an Enemy, and not from a Patron to his Vassals; wherefore the said Deputies would wait upon his Majesty to receive his Commands.

The resolution was well received; for after some dispute in the Kings Council, the Queen granted Passports to Monsieur Tallon, Monsieur Eschiliand, and to Bignon the King's Advocate, who going to St. Germain, had the means to introduce a fortunate Treaty.

Two reasons made the Queen willing to confer of Peace; the one, by this means to moderate the Parisians bitterness in general, by the sweetness of the Word Peace; to foment the effects of those that desired it, and to withdraw themselves from a greater danger, as was insinuated unto her Majesty by the Cardinal, thinking it did not misbecome her Princely Piety, to pardon the Errors of Subjects.

The other, out of the continual jealousy she had of the Prince of Condé, by reason of the great sway he bore with the Army, and by the dislike which he daily won in the Court and Council, where he was so firm to his own opinion, as few durst oppose him, though in some things they thought their own opinions better, because their Fortunes lay in France, where Condé was a Prince of the Blood.

But the Cardinal, who had no establishment in France, save what was grounded upon her Majesties great goodness, was looked upon by Condé, as an obstacle to all those pretences which might prejudice his Patron; Wherefore it became him to be in continual apprehension of some change of mind in him, in respect of his Brother, Sister, and Brother-in-law, who were all of the contrary party.

Treaties of Peace were still kept on foot by the Pope's and by the Venetian's Agents, and some hopes seemed to be revived therein. Cardinal Mazarine sent Monsieur Brancart to Brussels on the 17th of January 1649, to invite Count Pignoranda to an Interview, as was desired by the said Count some months before. Pignoranda accepted the motion, seemed willing; and till he could put himself in order, sent Don Juan Friquet to advertise the Cardinal of his coming.

Friquet came to St. Germain, and began the business: The Cardinal stood still upon generals, not permitting Pignoranda to stir from Brussels; but writ him, that if he did not confide in Friquet, he would write to him, and send some other Confident to him, who might freely acquaint him with the Kings intentions; and notwithstanding the objection that was made against Friquet for not having sufficient Plenipotentiary-power, he should be received by the Cardinal, and the King's mind should be sincerely communicated to him.

Whilst Affairs were thus, the siege of Paris continued, and the Generals, to keep themselves from being reduced to extremity, sought for all necessary Provisions. To which purpose Prince Marssiliack went out with some Troops to back a Convoy of Victuals, which was brought by Marquis Noirsmonstere from the Brie by the Valley of Grobois the 19th of February, which was assaulted by Count Grance with the Kings Forces which were under him at Lagny. But when Marssiliack was come to succour the Convoy, the Kings men forbore attempting any thing against the Marquis, who had warily placed himself in an advantageous place, and made towards Marssiliack, who marched along the open fields, and charged him. And Grance's veterane Forces having the better of the unexperienced Parisians, Marssiliack was presently abandoned by six of the first Squadrons, had his Horse

1649 Horse slain under him, was Wounded, and taken Prisoner by the Kings Forces; who whilst they strove whose prisoner he should be, Count Roson came in with five Squadrons, and charged the Kings men so briskly, as Marssiliack, making use of this confusion, freed himself from these Foot; and though he were on foot, and wounded, took a Horse from a Souldier, and got away with Count Mathe.

Grance, being reinforced in this skirmish by some of his own Squadrons, fell so furiously upon the Enemy, as he routed them immediately. Roson was mortally Wounded and taken Prisoner, together with divers other Officers, and as many as were not slain. Whereupon Grance marched into La Brie, sackt the Castles of Lasogny, Sercon, and Villemenen, and assaulted the very Town of Brie, which was begirt with an ancient Wall, and defended by the Inhabitants; but he forced them to surrender the Town.

The said deputed persons were brought before the Queen as she sat in the midst of the Council, where having done their due reverence, Tallon told her how a Herald had appeared at the Gate of St. Honoré just as the Parliament was late, to speak with the Assembly from her Majesty: Whereat all the Councillors being surpris'd, they knew not what to think of it; but that it was to try her Subjects fidelity, and to see whether they would treat with the King their Master, in another manner than Vassals do when they receive his Commands. That they therefore thought they had not disobeyed, knowing that Heralds are not sent but to Enemies or equals; wherefore they pretending to continue the glorious Title of most humble Subjects, thought it the lesser evil to dismiss him, and to take the course which they had taken. Wherefore they presented themselves before her Majesty with sorrowful Souls, and humble Hearts, to intreat her to accept of her Parliaments excuse, who had not heard her Herald, for fear of offending her Royal Dignity, or prejudicing her Sovereignty, of the preservation whereof they had a greater care than all the World besides; by which refusal, she might finde the obedience of devoted Subjects, and the innocency of their Councils, which aimed at nothing, but the preservation of Regal Authority, against the power of the Enemies of France; concluding, that if she had sent him as to Sovereign personages, she might see their respects, and that they acknowledge their happiness consisted only in their obedience. To assure her Majesty whereof, was the expresse cause of this their coming. But if she sent him as to criminal people, they were come to submit themselves to her Will, and to be punisht by her.

The Queen heard these words with her wonted goodness, and afterwards commanded the Chancellor to assure them, that she was satisfied with the Declaration which they had made: but that she could not be fully content, unless their Words were accompanied by Effects; and they might then assure themselves of her good will toward them, and of her care for preservation of the Persons and the Fortune of all of them without exception.

The Duke of Orleans added, That he wondred exceedingly why the Parliament did not readily render obedience to the Queen, being in all reason oblig'd to do it; and since they might promise themselves all fair dealing, both in general and particular, from their Majesties Clemency. Condé spoke to the same purpose, adding, That the Queen aimed at nothing but the good of the State, and the preservation of the Regal Authority, and the welfare of every particular person.

These men returning to Paris, made their report unto the Parliament; whereupon they no sooner began to treat, but Don Jussippe Arnolfs was brought

1649 brought in to disturb it; who was sent from *Brussels* by the Arch-Duke on the 24th of February to *Paris* incognito, with Letters of Credence, which he presented to the Prince of *Conty*, whilst he was in private conference in *L'Hôtel de Elbeuf*, with the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Bullion*, the Marshal de *la Motte*, the Coadjutor, the Presidents *Concieux*, *Nivion*, *Viola*, and *Broussel* the Counsellor. The one of these Letters was sealed, and sent to the Prince of *Conty*. The other was sent open to the Parliament. He was privately treated with by *Saracine* Secretary to the Prince of *Conty*, to finde out what he would be at: the *Spaniards* by him made specious proffers to advance onely as the Princes and Heads of that party should please; and that they desired nothing but to see *Paris*, and to procure a general Peace. This was the Hook that caught the Prince of *Conty*, for he thought it a glorious thing if the Kingdom might be restored to Peace at the first unsheathing of Swords. He therefore dispatcht away the Marquiss of *Noirfontaine*, Monsieur *Laigne*, Monsieur *Roussière*, and *Briquigny*, who was stoppt at *St. Quinten*. The sum of *Arnolfini's* business was, that the Arch-Duke would advance the *Spanish* Troops and those of *Lorain*, to free *Paris*; for which the *Spaniards* required a cautionary Town. *La Motte* propounded *Corbie*, but with small hopes of getting it out of his Brothers hands, who was Governour thereof, and was firm for the King. There were better hopes in the Treaties between the Dutchess of *Monbason* and the Marquiss of *Oquin-court*, who being in love with her, it was hoped that she might get *Peronne* from him; but neither did this hit: For *Oquin-court's* affection to the King, and his honour, prevailed over his love to *Monbason*; besides that this Proposal was refused by the Parliament, who thought it unbecoming them to assigne over a Town of *France* to the Enemies of *France*, whilst they were in treaty of a general Peace, which would prove a perpetual reproach to the Loyalty which they professed to bear unto their King. There was nothing therefore done in it more, than that *Arnolfini* was heard in the Parliament, where he appeared, and explained the Arch-Duke's Letter, and then gave in his Commission, the Contents whereof was, That he was sent by his Master the Arch-Duke to the Parliament, where he could not think but he should be welcome, since he brought the offer of Peace, which was by all Christendom so much desired, and so necessary for the quiet of the two Crowns. That it was true that Cardinal *Mazarine* would not make Peace two years ago, though he might have done it upon very advantageous terms for *France*. But that after the King went from *Paris*, the Cardinal propounded an Agreement with *Spain* upon very large terms, saying, that his chief motive therein was to chastise the Parliament-Rebels, and to reduce them to reason. But that the Catholick King did not think these exhibitions fair nor safe at this conjuncture of time, thinking that it would be a shame for him to make use of such means, so to oppress the Capital City of the Kingdom. That his Majesty thought it not safe to treat with one who was condemned by Parliament as an Enemy to the King and Kingdom, since the Parliament is to register and authenticate the Treaties of Peace. But that as his King would make no other advantage of this conjuncture than an honest and permanent Peace, he had sent him to the Members of Parliament, who he knew were concern'd in the real Interest of the King and State, to offer them to be Arbitrators of the Peace, and that his Catholick Majesty would willingly submit to their judgment, wherein if they would not be Judges, he would permit the same Parliament to chuse Deputies out of their own Members, and to let them be in what place they pleased, yea even in *Paris* if they would; and that the King of

Spain

Spain would send his Deputies thither, to treat of, and to conclude a good and convenient Peace, sufficient to give lasting quiet to the two Crowns. In which Treaty the Duke of *Lorain* should be comprised, who refused to accommodate himself to the Cardinal, but kept joyned to the *Spanish* party. That he had declared he had well-nigh 20000 men upon the Frontiers; and that he would pass his word not to meddle with any of the Towns of the Kingdom, as he easily might do, considering how bad a condition they were in; there being but 200 Foot in *Peronne*, as many in *St. Quinten*, and fewer in *Chatelet*, and proportionally in other Towns. That he had offered all these Forces to serve the Parliament if they should have occasion for them; and that they might make use of them as they should please, and make them be conducted by *French* Officers, such as did depend upon the Parliament, or that they might take what other course they pleased to free themselves from all fear that the said Forces should do any thing otherwise than for the service of the Parliament, and according to their intentions. And in case they should have no occasion to make use of them, he would pass his word they should keep upon the Frontiers, and do nothing, whilst the Peace was negotiating. He concluded with desire of an Answer, which he might carry back to his Master.

These offers were debated in Parliament with diversity of opinion, according as men were diversly concerned; the greater number were minded rather to yield to the lawful fair pretences of their King, than to be obstinate in those pretensions, which, being fomented by Forreigners, must needs be ruinous. The most of the Generals were of this sense, who being sorry that they had entred into this Labyrinth, sought all means to reconcile themselves to the Court, and to reap that satisfaction by submission, which is easilier in the Clemenoy, than in the Justice of a Sovereign. They considered that they were not of themselves to withstand the King: That the *Parisians* were weary of the Siege: That their Victuals grew daily less: That the people would one day value Bread more than all the Victories and advantages of the Parliament or Princes. That to throw themselves into the Arms of the *Spaniards*, who were naturally their Enemies, was to shun an April-shower, and expose themselves to a Winter-tempest; for that doubtlesly they sought to weaken both parties equally; that they might put the Yoke upon them both. That if the *French* could so ill endure one sole Forreigner, who was so affectionate, and so advantageous to their King, it was to be imagined that so many others who were naturally Enemies to *France* would be more hateful to them. That if they had taken up Arms to obtain satisfaction from the Court, they ought to endeavour the getting of it in this conjuncture of time, than which they could not with a better; whilst for fear they should close with the *Spaniards*, the Court would be glad to come to an agreement. These things being thus reflected upon, the first President, the Presidents of *Mesmes*, and *Viola* for the Grand Chamber, the Counsellors of *Chamont*, and others for other Chambers and Courts, were chosen to go as Deputies from the Parliament to the Queen, to thank her for having received their former Members so gratically; to desire her that she would make good her words, and raise the Siege before *Paris*: as also to carry her a Copy of the Arch-Duke's Letter, and acquaint her with what *Arnolfini* had said, that their Majesties might see how sincerely the Parliament was minded not to fall from their due obedience; by which generous action they hoped to regain the Regent's favour, and make her yield to such an agreement as was desired by those that were wisest both in Parliament and *Paris*.

The

1649. The Princes sent also Messengers with secret Instructions not to confer with any of the Kings Deputies, save jointly with those of the Parliament of Paris, of Roan, and with those of Duke Longueville; and that touching the manner of Conference, they should do as those of the Parliament did, and regulate themselves according to the conference at Ruel. That if those that were sent by Longueville, and by the Parliament of Roan, should not be come to where the meeting was to be, they should wait their coming.

That if the Court should insist upon any Instruction contrary to this Instruction, they should presently send word to the Prince of Conty, and do nothing till they should have received an answer.

That in case the Court-Deputies should pretend that such a condition were repugnant to the full and absolute power which the Deputies ought to have, and that they should refuse to do any thing without their present consent, they should demand time to let Conty know it, that there might be no interruption in the Conference.

That they should be careful to give daily intelligence of what should pass: That they should demand for the Parliament and for Paris all that was demanded at the Conference of Ruel: That they should pretend for the Parliament, and for all the Territory thereof, whatsoever was demanded by the Parliament at the Conference of Ruel: That they should also insist upon the execution of all the Decrees of Parliament for the ease of the people, and for a discharge of all the Taxes for two years for the Parishes belonging to the Territory of Paris, and for 8 Leagues about the City, in respect of their being ruined by the passage, and by the abode of the Kings Army: That because the people could not expect ease, nor the State safety during the War, they should insist upon proceeding of the Treaty of Peace; and that they should name some of the Parliament, and of the Prince's people, that it might be proceeded in effectually and unimpeded by any that were concern'd in the War, and before Spain could make advantage of the present discords of France; and to oblige the Arch-Duke, who had offered the Parliament to become Arbitrator of all differences, and to see all the promises performed, that nothing should be undertaken against the Kingdom, as appeared by a Letter of the 10th of February; and that in case of denial, the Deputies should enter their Protestation against whatsoever mischief might thereby happen unto France or Christendom.

That the Article of Oblivion should be confirmed in terms answerable to the Treaty of London in the year 1606, made with the late Prince of Condé Father to the now Prince, unless they should have other Instructions touching this particular.

That if during this Negotiation the Generals of the Army should commit any novelty, the Conference should be interrupted: That it should be required that affairs should return to the same condition that they were in when the meeting was granted; till such time as the wrong done might be satisfied: That the said Deputies should observe this Instruction, not communicating it to any; and that if there should be any dispute therein, they might produce the Article treated on to the Deputies of the Parliament and Duke of Longueville, and to those of Roan, governing themselves according to the same Article, and write word what was done.

The Prince of Conty treated notwithstanding still secretly with the Counts Fuentes and Garcies, by the means of Noirsmonstere and of others; and insisted that Noirsmonstere should engage himself that the Spaniards should advance their Forces to the River Aisne in Champagne, where their

their passage was hindered by Marshal Fleissin Walin, when the Conference of Ruel was interrupted, and that of St. Germain began.

The Princes interposed many troubles, to afford time to the Negotiations of Flanders, and did still insist, that the Cardinal might be persecuted; not that they hated him so much as they seemed to do to the ignorant people, but for that this was the most plausible pretence of continuing War to the people, who were already weary of sufferings.

Monsieur Saracin was at the same time sent to Roan by the Prince of Conty, to acquaint Longueville with those Treaties, who negotiated still with the Arch-Duke by means of Monsieur Stantibon, to foment the Councillors of Roan, who were greater Friends than those of Paris: But Saracin discovering that Longueville was not so partial to their Interests as was believed, he wisht him to conclude the Treaties of Agreement with the Court, which were already begun by the Prince of Condé's Mother, who piously endeavour'd to appease her incensed Children, and was the chief motive of making Condé friends with his Brother and Sister, who were jealous of Beaufort's power in Paris, whom the people did passionately love, to the trouble of all the rest, especially by reason of his trait joyning with the Coadjutor, whose ready Wit all men feared.

The Presidents of Parliament being come to St. Germain, the first President represented to her Majesty in the presence of the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and of the Cardinal: That the Kings going from Paris was prejudicial to his Authority, the face of affairs having altered countenance; their Majesties affections being turned into hatred of their people, who were by hostile acts enforced to defend themselves.

That the faithfullest and most partial amongst them were surprized, and compelled to act contrary to their profession: That in the height of all these disorders, the Parliament had always strove to preserve their respect unto her Majesty: And though they were bound to receive a Letter from the Arch-Duke, and to listen to the Contents, yet they had returned no answer, nor taken any resolution thereupon: and that her Majesty appearing satisfied with the submission of the Kings Subjects, they hoped that she would be pleased to make her Forces keep 20 Leagues from Paris, and afford them conveniency for Victuals for so vast a City, whereby she would enlarge the Hearts of the People, of whose fidelity the Parliament sent her new attestations.

He then pass'd to what had been said by him whom the Arch-Duke had sent, shewing the reasons that made the Parliament hear him; and desired her earnestly that she would allow them 1200 Measures of Corn daily, as long as that Treaty should hold.

The Queen answered, That it had been better for France, and more for the honour of the Parliament, not to have accepted the Letter; but since it had been done, they must seek to make amends by a good Peace: That she could say no more now, by reason of the Chancellor's indisposition, but that she would supply by Writing what was wanting in Words.

Then the first President and the President of Mesmes went to visit Orleans and Condé, with whom they discoursed long about the means of a good Agreement. They treated also in the Queens Cabinet with the Cardinal in presence of the Princes. They insisted upon the opening of the Passes; and after much contestation, the Princes promised them they should be satisfied as soon as the Parliament should have sent Deputies with power to

1649. to treat and to conclude: Which being speedily done without loss of time, they sent people chosen for that employment; and the business began on the first of March, not without some danger of sedition amongst the meaner sort of the people of Paris, who incited by the fomenters of the troubles, ran in great numbers to the publick Palace, crying out, that they were Sold and Betray'd; whereat well-minded men were troubled, who looked for such inconveniencies as usually happen when the Rabble-rout prevail: and they were forced to send some Troops daily out of Paris, for a Convoy to those little Victuals, which the neighbouring people, allured by great gain, ventured to bring thither; though those that went out met sometimes with the Kings Forces, and were but ill treated.

General Turenne kept this mean while in Alsacia with the French and High-Dutch Armies, and though he by his long and faithful service had won great honour in the Wars, and esteem at Court; yet thinking that this was not answerable to his deserts, but pretending that many promises made unto him had not been performed, he likewise meant to make use of this occasion, and that being at the head of an Army, he would become Arbitrator of the differences: to boot with these instigations, he was allured by his Brother the Duke of Bullion one of the Generals of Paris; and upon hopes of that party, which was more reputed far off than at hand, he came also into the number of the Malecontents, so to revenge himself for the injuries which he conceived he had received, and to better the condition of his Family, by making the Court gratifie his pretences, particularly of having Sedan restored to his Brother: and the like were the ends of all the others; none daring as yet to appear so ambitious, as to dream of being Head of any Province which was lawfully possessed by the King. Being therefore resolved to effect these his designs, he retarded his march towards Paris, notwithstanding that he was sent for several times by the King. The Cardinal discovering this, sent Monsieur Eruart to that Army with Moneys, and with Instructions to keep the Germans Loyal, whereby Turenne could not effect what he desired. So, finding that he was followed but by a few French, who were not able to defend him from the danger of being imprisoned by the Germans, who were not well pleased with him for the like affront done by him some years before to General Rosse, he withdrew with some few of his Domesticks from the Army which he had commanded with much Glory and Honour, and his Army remained obedient to the King, commanded by General Rosse. Turenne kept in the neighbouring Towns, expecting some turn of Fortune: and though he could persuade none of the Army to follow his perilous Fortune, he advanced to relieve the Parisians, who were encamped at Vitry and Villeuve, and had thrown a Bridge over the Seine, somewhat higher, where it joyns with the Marne, thereby affording means for Victuals, which were brought, though but in small quantities, from Brie and thereabouts to the City; the Army being encamp'd abroad on the West-side.

Marshal Rantzau's misfortune may be added to that which befel Turenne; he was Governour of Dunkirk, and being no friend to Condé, yet having caused jealousy in the Cardinal, he thought good to make him his friend; and came to St. Germain, where, on the 28th of February he was arrested and sent to the Castle of St. Vincent; and Grinoliere his Serjeant-Major, as also Priore Prisiere his Secretary, were imprisoned in Gravelin.

This mean while the Conferences between the Kings Agents and the Deputies of Parliament began, who though they abhor'd the Cardinal's presence, pretending that being declared guilty by the Parliament, it became them

1649. them not to Treat with one that was. Condemned; yet it being the Queens will that he should be there, or that else she would condescend to nothing, he was admitted, though against the good will, not onely of the Deputies, but also of some of the Court, who intended to cast all the Odium upon him, and thereby to gain so much more the affection of the People, and to make it be believed that they were onely they who were the Authors of the Agreement: Whereunto both sides being well inclined, Peace was concluded on the 11th of March, upon these Conditions.

That all Hostility should cease, and that the Passes should be opened: That the Parliament should go to St. Germain, where the King being in his Seat of Justice, the Declaration and Articles agreed upon should be verified: And that then the Parliament should return to Paris, to perform their Employments: That in the year 1649, all the Chambers should not meet upon any whatsoever pretence, unless it were to receive some new Officers, and for the Merchants affairs; wherein upon such cases nothing should be treated of, save ordinary things tending to the Civil Government of the City: That the Declarations of May, July, and October, in the year 1648, which were made in Parliament, together with those of the 6th of January 1649, and till that present time, should be void and null, save what concerned Criminal affairs between particular parties: That all the Letters under the Kings Seal, sent upon the last Commotions of Paris, as also the Declarations and Decrees made by the Privy Council in that point, from the 6th of January to that instant, should be abolished: That all the Fortes raised in Paris and out of it, should be cashiered, when his Majesty should have caused his Forces to retreat to the usual parts upon the Frontiers: That the Inhabitants should lay down their Arms, and not reassume them without the King's permission: That he who was sent by the Arch-Duke should be sent back without any other Answer: That all Writings and Moveables should be restored to those from whomsoever they had been taken: That the Bastile and Arsenal, together with the Artillery and Ammunition therein, should be put into his Majesties hands: That the Prince of Conty, the other Dukes, Peers, Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, and Gentlemen, and all of whatsoever condition, should be restored to their Statu quo, as if nothing had happened; and that their past actions should never be questioned: That those who would not be concluded in this present Treaty, should receive no favour or assistance whatsoever from the City of Paris, nor from any others: That the King should return to Paris as soon as his occasions should permit him: That those who had raised any Moneys, Forces, sold any Moveables, Warlike Ammunition, or Victuals, either out of the Arsenal of Paris or elsewhere, should be freed from giving any account thereof: That the Election of Xantes, Coignack, St. John d'Angely, taken from the Court des Aydes, and attributed to the Court des Aydes at Guienne, should be restored to the Court des Aydes at Paris, where they were before the Edict: That in case the Parliament of Roan should accept of this present Treaty within the space of ten days, the King would take order for the abolishing of the new Six Moneths, and the re-uniting of all the Officers of the said Six Moneths, and of part of them, to the body of the said Parliament: That the Treaty of the Parliament of Provence should be put in execution, according to the Form, Tenour, and Letters sent by the King, for the revoking and abolishing the Six Moneths of the Parliament of Aix, and Chamber of Requests, in conformity to the Articles agreed upon between the Deputies of the Parliament

1649. *liaments of Paris. Concerning the discharge of the Taxes propounded by the Election of Paris, the King would be informed of the state or condition of the said Elections, as soon as the Forces were retreated, and would provide for the ease of the Grievances of the said Election as he should think fit: That when Deputies should be sent to treat of Peace with Spain, his Majesty would be pleased among them to send some of the Parliament, who should have the same Authority as the rest.*

According to all Maximes of War, or Civil Government, the King ought not as then to have made an Agreement, since, in case the Siege had been maintained yet 15 days, the City was reduced to great extremity, and the seditious People might have been punished according to their disobedience: yet a deeper and more secret Maxime prevailing, it was condescended to, though with some prejudice to the Court, onely, as was believed, out of the jealousy of the Prince his actions; and that Condé thinking that by the Peace the Besieged's hatred would rest wholly upon him, and the praise upon the Cardinal, it is said that he endeavoured to get all advantages for the *Parisians*, though they were reduced to so straight terms, as they ought rather to beg pardon, than to demand Conditions. But were it out of this, or any other more secret reason, many bad effects ensued upon it; for the *Parisians* seemed to be but badly content with the first Articles, and much more, for that the Parliament had refused to take protection of that of *Roan*. Wherefore when the Deputies of the Chambers were seen to sit in presence of the Prince's and King's Officers, as if they had been Commissioners from a free Commonwealth, the people were so scandalized thereat, and grew so indiscreet, as the Decrees which were before revered as Oracles, became scorn'd and detested. And then the Usurpers of Regal Authority were aware, that whilst they would have climb'd too high, they fell from their own Tribunal; and instead of getting the Government of publick Affairs, they lost the lawful right of judging what was particular.

At the same time when the Parliament began to treat apart, the Princes began to Negotiate their Agreements separately, every one according to their particular Interests, pretending to be totally dis-engag'd from the Parliament, whilst they saw that the Parliament, which was the *primum mobile* of the War, and with whom they had confederated, endeavoured Peace. The *Frondeurs* were very fierce for War till the Conference at *Ruel*, where the chiefest of them were wrought upon; *Longueville*, by his Brother the President of *Maisons*, *Viola* by the Prince of *Condé*, *Cogreux* and others, though they were in some sort engaged with the Arch-Duke. The Prince of *Conty* and Dutches of *Longueville* broke with the Coadjutor, for that he being *Beaufort's* Confident, and having drawn all the *Frondeurs* and people to dance after his Pipe, he went about to blindfold them, and make them serve his designs, and his proper Interests, and not that of their Families. Thus, during the time of Conference of Peace, the Prince of *Condé*, who desired to reunite them to himself, and not to let slip so seasonable a conjuncture, sent his Confident *Monsieur de Mousay* to complement them.

The Dutches of *Longueville* confer'd long with *Mousay* upon the point of Reconciliation, and bid him assure the Prince, that she would carry her self to his satisfaction when Peace should be concluded.

After these Treaties, though *Conty* had made his peace with the Court without *Beaufort* or the Coadjutor; yet when they had discovered their discon-

discontents, they forbore not to do all they could to make *Conty* stick to them.

He and the Dutches his Sister were well inclined thereto, being otherwise unwilling to lose the fruit of their Declaration, and that of the Duke of *Longueville* in favour of the *Parisians*; which consisted in mitigating the peoples hatred of *Condé*, thinking, that thereby she might become more necessary to the Court, and more considerable with her Brother, who till then had not too great an esteem for her.

Some told *Condé*, that the Court being in the posture it was in, the true way to get advantage on both sides, would be to let the Prince of *Conty* head the *Frondeurs*; yet he who then scorned the *Frondeurs*, and who hated *Beaufort* particularly, by reason of the great esteem the *Parisians* had of him, resolv'd absolutely to sever *Conty* from their Interests, and by little and little to destroy that Faction; which being dispers'd, he might afterwards more easily pull down the Cardinal, or make him comply totally with him.

The occasion of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Liege*, which at this time was presented, confirm'd him in this opinion; believing, that if he could procure that dignity for his Brother, he might establish his House the better. The Canons were divided, many whereof had recourse for protection to *France*, against the Elector of *Culen*, who would have his Brother chosen Coadjutor. That they might engage the King of *France* in their Interests, they offered to chuse the Prince of *Conty*, who sed his Brother with these hopes, to make him abandon *Paris*, and to bring him to *Compeigne*, where the Court then was, and where he acquainted the Cardinal with his designe: he who received the testimony of his confidence, whilst the War of *Paris* lasted, could not but assist him; but considering afterwards, that it was not good to embroyl *France* in the affairs of *Germany*, and against the House of *Bavaria*, between whom there was good intelligence held, seemed to proceed so reservedly in the affairs necessary to effect this designe, that the mean while the Elector making his Agreement, all the Princes hopes vanished; which was thought to be one of the reasons of his complaints, and his beginning to distrust the Cardinal.

These designs proving vain, *Conty* and *Longueville* reconciled themselves to the Coadjutor, and appeared outwardly to be good friends, though jealousies remained inwardly between them; for *Conty* could not depend upon any one.

The Duke of *Bullion* seemed somewhat distast'd at these Negotiations between the Parliament and Court, and their hopes in *Paris* being revived by the drawing down of the *Spaniards Flemish Army*, he thought it strange that his concerns should be given over. He therefore moved the Prince of *Conty* and the Dutches of *Longueville* not to make the Agreement; but to go with their Troops into *Normandy*, and being assisted by the *Spaniards*, to continue the War there, hoping hereby to effect his designs, and to make the Court grant his pretensions.

This Proposal being liked by the other Princes, they thought to fall upon it; but it was laid aside, as well for the difficulty which would be found in executing it, as for that *Bullion* made his peace otherwise, by the Prince of *Condé's* means, with whom he had still had good intelligence. But the Duke of *Longueville*, not being put by virtue of this Treaty into possession of his Towns, nor into his Government of *Normandy*; which was a new motive to him and *Conty*, to put on any resolution, rather than

1649. to abandon the Dukes Interest; the Abbot de la Riviere, by consent with Condé, made a particular Agreement be propounded by Monsieur de Flamerin to the Prince of Conty, whereby the Duke was to be re-possessed of all his Towns, and Conty should have the Government of Danvilliers for his security, if he would yield the name of Cardinal to la Riviere.

This Negotiation was managed and concluded by the Prince of Marsillac, with intention to let Longueville know that the Prince of Conty was cause of his re-establishment, and thereby to joyn them closer together; as also to keep la Riviere (who was then in great favour with the Duke of Orleans) stedfast to Conty's Interest, who concurring in all things with his Sister Longueville, intended so to establish themselves as they should not be defrauded of their pretensions when the King should be of age.

Thus was the agreement made between the King and Parliament; whereupon the Cardinal seeing the Courts condition bettered, declared that he would not now yield unto any of the Propositions formerly pretended unto by the Spaniards, since he saw himself in a condition of being able to withstand them, unless some new Emergencies should disturb him.

The Pope's zeal, and the like of the Commonwealth of Venice to facilitate Peace in all parts, made the Arch-bishop of Tarzo, who was Nuntio, and Pietro Basadona the Venetian Embassador in Spain, to provide against the Evils which the affairs of Paris made them apprehend; wherefore they intreated his Catholick Majesty to command his Plenipotentiaries, that notwithstanding the novelties that were risen, they should not defer nor obstruct the making of Peace. They obtained their desires, and the Catholick King ordered that the Treaties should be drawn to an end, and yielded to all things that were fair and honest.

The Nuntio Bagin and the Embassador Morosini informed the King of France immediately of this generous act, and gave notice to Count Pignoranda, that Count Brienne had signified to them, that if he should think fit to return to Munster, the Court of France would send a person of quality thither with Plenipotentiary-power: That if he would not go thither himself, he should send some other with sufficient power; and that at the same time others should be dispatched away from the Court of France: And that if he himself should please to come to any place upon the Frontier, the Cardinal's self would come thither, and so a conclusion would sooner be made; it being still to be understood, that nothing should be altered which was agreed upon at the meeting at Munster.

Pignoranda answered, He marvelled how the Regent had so suddenly altered Maximis, varying from what Monsieur Vautort had both insinuated and express: That this so great a change occasioned a just scandal, since France not making good what she (as he said) had promised but a few days before, the King of Spain should be tied to grant those Articles which he had always held unreasonable.

Upon the 24th of April the Nuntio and Morosini answered this dispatch; and though Pignoranda would not hear of any Treaty, they named Verbins, Noyon, or Crespy to be the places of meeting. Adding, that all things might easily be accommodated if the Count would speak with the Cardinal; yet they declared in the close of the Letters, That the French intended to treat onely upon the points which were undecided; which the Spaniards did totally refuse, saying, That the Kings Agents being gone from Munster without having concluded any thing, the meeting and

and Treaty was consequently dissolved, so as all was to be recommenced. 1649- That if France would agree to this, the King of Spain's Deputies should go to any place that should be appointed within a Month or six Weeks; for which time there should be Truce, which the Arch-Duke should readily yield unto; and that if the Cardinal would speak with the Count, he would send him either alone, or accompanied by others, as he should be advertised.

The Nuntio and Morosini sought to promote the business, and sent Secretary Lorenzo Paulucci to Brussels, to sollicite what they were preparing in Writing. Pignoranda was pleased hereat, as well in respect of them who sent the Secretary, as for the Commission he brought; and the Spaniards giving out that they had discovered during the short time of his abode there, that the French had no minde to make Peace, Paulucci returned without doing any thing.

Soon after his return to Paris, the Mediators writ to Pignoranda and to the Internuntio at Brussels three Letters, of the 29th of May, the 27th of June, and 10th of July, containing, that the French persisted in the proposed Meeting, and in the desire of Peace, and propounded the building of a place of Interview upon the confines of the two Dominions, where the Meeting might be had. And in the first Letter, which was written to the Internuntio, they mentioned, that the French were fully resolved not to alter any thing that was digested at Munster, intending to Treat onely upon such points as remained undecided. The Spaniards accepted of the Meeting propounded by the Cardinal, and of the building of the place for interview; and Pignoranda gave notice, that as soon as this should be made, he would send Don Antonio Brun, who was the King of Spain's Embassador in Holland, and Plenipotentiary in the Treaty of Peace; and that he himself would advance the next week after towards the Frontiers, that he might be the readier to agree unto what the Cardinal should resolve upon: and the place for the building of the place for interview was appointed to be between St. Quintain and Landrecie.

This readiness was commended by the Nuntio, and by Morosini; which they witnessed by Letters from Compaignie; but whilst Pignoranda expected answer to what he had written, the Cardinal sent Letters by a Trumpeter on the 26th of July, desiring him to send him word to what place he might send a Friend, to whom they might reciprocally communicate their mindes touching the principal points of the Treaty: adding, that he thought it would be convenient he should send a friend of his to him, so the end that it might be conceived by hearing both parties, whether businesses were in such a forwardness, as that a speedy conclusion might be hoped for; because if this were not done, he thought this Meeting would be useless to the publick, and troublesome to their own particular selves: and that no time might be lost, he thought it would be good to chuse a place upon the Frontier which he should like best for the Meeting; and that he should send him a Pass by Monsieur de Lyone, the Queens Secretary, whom he had destined to that purpose.

The Cardinal did this, for that he found that Pignoranda sought to engage him in this Conference, not out of any desire he had to make Peace; but that he might make the World believe afterward, that the Cardinal had broken the Treaty of Peace for his own particular ends; and that he might thereby draw upon him the Odium of the people, by shewing him to be the occasion of all the War.

The Spaniards sent him a Pass for Lyone; and at the same time that Pignoranda

1649. *Pignoranda* parted from *Brussels*; he sent an Express to the *Hague*, to acquaint the Ambassador *Brunz* with all this, who came with great speed to *Cambrey* on the 13th of *August*, whither *Pignoranda* was come four days before.

Lyon had audience as soon as he came to *Cambrey*, whom *Pignoranda* asked, *What Propositions he had brought?* Who answered, *His Instructions were to know what the King of Spain's Pretensions were, touching the points undecided at Munster.* *Pignoranda* found then that his designe was discovered, and said, *They were not to talk any more of the Treaty of Munster, for that the Civil War of France had altered the face of Affairs, and that they were to begin the Treaty again.* *Lyon* replied, *That agreement was made between the King and the Parliament of Paris: That all was quieted.*

After a long Dispute, *Pignoranda* demanded, *That France would abandon the Interests of the King of Portugal, and likewise Catalonia: That he would repossess Duke Charles of Lorain, and restore the Spanish Towns that were taken, and that then they would discourse upon other points.*

Lyon was hereat confused, and said, *There was little signes that he desired Peace, since four Kingdoms were demanded before the Treaty should begin: That to abandon Portugal, and Catalonia, was to make the King of Spain Master of them; for it was certain they could not defend themselves without the aid of France: That no mention was to be made of Lorain; for that there was no Treaty between the King of Spain and that Duke, whereby that Country was to be restored to the Duke.* He further added, *That if he intended to end the Treaty, he must not dream of the weak condition which he fancied to himself that France was in, for that it was able to continue War yet twenty years longer, with the like Vigour as at first; and that the Popes Nuncio, and Cavaliere Contarini, who had been the Mediators at Munster, and were not now far off, might interpose themselves with the like Authority, and might adjust that great Work, if they were desired to undertake it.* Which *Pignoranda* would not give way unto, saying, *That the King his Master must first write unto him about it.* Whereupon *Lyon* asking, *if these great Personages should return, and should undertake the business, how he would receive them?* *Pignoranda* replied, *He would place them in a great Hall, and would honour them as Agents of great Princes.* Whereby he discovered his designe.

Whilst Affairs went not according to *Pignoranda's* liking, he exaggerated mightily against the French, saying, *Their onely end was to cheat men with the hopes of Peace, whilst they meant nothing less.* He wrote again to the Mediators, declaring, *That since the French would not moderate their Pretensions, nor come to any reason, they needed not discourse any more upon a meeting; but that if they had a desire to treat in an usual way of Treaty between Christian Princes, the King of Spain would not make a moments delay, but would reassume the business, and he desired them to get him a Pass to return to Spain.*

In this interim Cavaliere Contarini came to the Low-Countries: He visited the Arch-Duke, spoke with *Pignoranda*, sought to stickle in the differences; and having sounded the true sense of the Spanish Agents touching the Peace, he found them seemingly very ready to treat; but that whilst, according to their customs, they seemed to do this, they did the contrary. He pass'd from thence to France, where he found the world well inclined, and the Queen very desirous of Peace. But the Spaniards standing stiff to their Resolution to annul all that had been done at *Munster*, and to begin the Treaty again; and the French being resolved not to speak of

of any thing, but of what was left undecided, there could no middle way of accommodation be found; so as all treating vanish into smook.

Wherefore the Cardinal express'd himself with much confidence to *Contarini*, and acquainted him with the reasons why he would not go from any thing that had been discuss'd, and been brought to maturity at *Munster*. One whereof was, *That since the whole weight of the Government lay upon him, and that the King had trusted him with all the concerns of the Crown, he thought it not fit to give advantage to Forreigners, and to bereave those of the Nation thereof, whom it was better to fasten together, though upon some disadvantage, than to disunite them with advantage to the Enemy: and the rather, for that he knew he could not miss of a good and glorious Peace with Spain, when France should be all of a Piece.* The other, for that the Spaniards at the same time when they treated with him of Peace at *St. Germain's*, and when they complain'd he was backward in yielding to some Articles, making the Parliament and the People believe that by *Arnolfini* the Cardinal made large offers to make Peace upon any terms with Spain, to the end that they might bend their Forces against the *Parisians*: that it was far from truth that he did so, to revenge himself upon the Kings Subjects, whose Love and Union he did by all means endeavour; assuring himself, that at last they would know his right intentions, and his Rivals cunning; whilst all good French-men would contribute towards breaking the Plots of the Kingdoms Enemies, and make them yield to the just Proposals made by his Christian Majesty.

But if these Reasons made the French the more resolute to stick to their first Resolves, other causes perswaded the Spaniards not to budge from their second pretensions: For their Cause was much strengthened by the Peace with *Holland*, by the quiet condition of *Naples*, the success of the Enterprize of *Cremona*, and by the Novelties that had hapned in France. The Marquis of *Caracene* laying hold of this so favourable conjuncture of time, sent Marquis *Serra*, in the beginning of *February*, with 7000 fighting men against the French, who were quartered in the *Cremonese*. He at the very first storm'd the greater *Cassal* upon the *Poe*, *Boretto*, and other neighbouring Towns. Count *Arese* and Don *Francisco Sersales* fell upon *Pomponesco* with another Body of men, wherein Monsieur *de la Visiere* commanded with 300 French Foot, and forc'd them for want of succour to yield the Town upon fair Conditions. Which Enterprize was followed by the acquisition of a little Fort, built by the Enemy, between *Pomponesco* and *Viadana*; the Defendants whereof yielded upon discretion to the Enemy.

Count *Galleazzo Trotti* General of the Horse, drove away some Foot from *Gualtiero*, a Palace between *Bressel* and *Vastalla*, and over-ran the *Modenese* with no small prejudice and terror to the Country. And greater disorders would have hapned, had not the Duke wisely listened to an Agreement, which was introduced by his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Parma*, and afterwards concluded by the two Marquisses *Calcagnino* and *Gosfredi*, since all succour from France was vanish'd, which was the foundation whereupon the Duke declared himself.

The Conditions of this Peace were, *That his Highness should dismiss all the French Souldiers and Officers, and send them the nearest way into Provence: That his Highness should be bound to observe the Agreement made the year 1634, for the relief of the Milanese, upon promise that the Catholic*

1649. *Catholick King. should do the same to the Duke upon all occasions : That a new Garrison should be put into Correggio, in like manner as was before : That the Rents which Don Mauritio di Correggio did possess in that Territory, should be restored unto him, according to the Agreement of the year 1634 : That the Duke of Merandola should continue under the Protection of the King of Spain, without any hindrance to be made by Modena : That the Subjects of each side, who had in this War served against their Master, should be restored to former favour : That the Prince Cardinal D'Este Brother to his Highness should renounce the Protection of France, upon assured promise to be abundantly recompenced for whatsoever he should loose thereby.*

This Peace being made, the *Spaniards* fell to greater and more conspicuous Enterprizes, before France could be in a condition to withstand them; and since there was no place which did more incommode *Flanders* than *Ypre*, seated between the River of *Lis* and the Sea, back'd by *Gravelin* and *Dunkirk*; the Count of *Fuenseldagne* sat down before it with the *Spanish* Army on the 12th of *April*, fearing no good success: for he was to make and guard a Line of Circvallation of five *French* leagues in compass, to keep off the Sallies of a great many Defendants, who were very well fortified without, and in a perfect condition of defence.

The little, but strong Town of *St. Venant*, neer *Ayre*, did with its Garrison much molest the adjacent parts; wherefore *Fuenseldagne*, when he had put all things in good order before *Ypre*, pass'd over the *Lis* with part of his Army, set upon it, and within six days brought it to Capitulation, which was no little help to the other Enterprize; and then return'd to the Camp before *Ypre*; and the Arch-Duke advanced to *Commigne*.

Count *Beauvieux*, Lieutenant to Count *Palvan*, who was then absent, commanded in the Town with about 2000 Foot and 200 Horse, who defended themselves so valiantly, as it became the Arch-Duke to re-enforce his Army, and to go himself to the Camp with the Forces which he had with him, and to cause General *Lamboy's* men to come thither also, resolving to take it before the *French* could relieve it.

On the 6th of *May*, two days after his arrival, he made *Don Gaspero Bonafaccio*, the Marquis of *Sfondrato*, and Signior *Stopullura*, assault all the Counterscarps, which were taken not without mortality on both sides; and forc'd the Defendants within eight days after to beat a Call, and to surrender the Town upon honourable terms.

Ypre being thus taken, and *St. Venant* lost, the *Spaniards* thought they had done enough, and for the present attempted nothing else; for their Forces were much lessened, and the *French* were much increased.

The *Spaniards* thought to reap no less advantage in *Catalonia*, by the same troubles in *Paris*; for there wanted a Viceroy there, Marechal *Schomburg*, who commanded there, being returned to France. So mustering a good Army, commanded by *Don Jovan di Garay*, they thought to carry *Salsona* and *Cordona*, Towns in the midst of the Province, seated on the left side of the River *Lobregate*. These places were very convenient for holding Intelligence with divers of that Province, and whereby they might facilitate the taking of *Flix* and *Miraut*, Towns which were fortified and Garrison'd by the *French* and *Catalonians*, seated between *Lerida* and *Tortosa*, beyond the River *Ebra*.

The *Catalonians*, who remained still at the Devotion of the King of France, hearing by their Agent Doctor *Siviglia*, that the King was gone from

from *Paris*, and of the Troubles there, dispatcht away a Messenger, by whom they offered to abandon their own Country, and to come and assist his Majesty if it were needful. The Messenger was staid three Leagues from *Paris* by a party of the Prince's, had his Letters taken from him, which were read in the Parliament, to their no little shame; who saw thereby, that a forrain and far-distant Nation offered to do that, which the Kings natural Subjects refused.

Here my Author enters upon the Relation of our late Troubles of England, which were so damn'd and unparallel'd Rebellious, as I, who, I praise my God, never contributed any thing therewnto by action, do wish with all my Soul, that they were for ever buried in Oblivion, and am resolved never to write anything that may recal them into memory: wherefore I must crave my Author's pardon if I trace him not therein; save onely in what he says by way of short Character of our Blessed and Barbarously-murdered King Charles the first, in these following words:

“ An unparallel'd goodness was observed in him, and so free a Soul, as his Ruine was by many attributed more to this than to any thing else. He was in all the actions of Conscience infinitely pure. He feared God greatly, was given to Spirituality, and made himself known to understand, and to be capable of all Knowledge. He was milde in Commanding, free in Treating, generous in his Favours, in his punishments Merciful; and to winde up much in short, which might be said of his Conditions, His Life was a Compendium of Moral Vertues, and the true Idea whereunto every Prince (set his Religion aside) would be proud to conform himself.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The THIRD BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The continued Jealousies between the Court and Parliament of Paris are related. The Siege and Succour of Cambray. The King goes from St. Germain to Compeigne. The Duke of Vendome returns to France. Treaties of Marriage between the Duke Mercœur and Mademoiselle Marcini Niece to the Cardinal; which caused much envy in many Princes and Ladies of the Court. The original of the distastes between the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal. The King returns to Paris. The proceedings of Duke Beaufort, and of the Frondeurs: Their Ends, Designs, and Interests. Troubles arise in Provence. The Insurrection and War of Bourdeaux. Divisions and Factions in the Court of France. Liege surprized. Castro in Italy taken. Those of Parma are routed in the Bolognese. The falling from favour of Marquis Gaufredi, Favourite to the Duke of Parma. The Emperor marries the Princess of Mantua: And Duke Carlo marries the Arch-Duchess of Inspruch. The Spaniards attempt against Ceva in Piedmont, together with what hapned in those parts.

The War of Paris being thus ended, Peace consequently ensued; contrary to the intention of the *Frondeurs*, who were declared Enemies to all quiet: and it was wrought by the means of the first President, and of other well-minded Citizens, who resolved to have Peace upon any terms, and not to expect greater necessity, nor vain hopes given by those who desired troubles: and though there was no mention made of the Cardinal in the Articles, yet all the Decrees of the King and of the Parliament being annull'd, he by consequence remained in *Statu quo*. This was a blow by the by, and covered by those who would not give matter of contestation to the *Frondeurs*, and it was wink'd at by the Princes: For though they appeared to be sincere in their actions in the beginning of the War, yet Interests altering afterwards, all except Duke Beaufort began to order their particular affairs apart by Treaty with the Queen; so as the people presently conceived they held private intelligence with the Queen; and that they designed to get Money of the City, and to regain favour at Court. The Duke d'Elbœuse was one of these, who got nothing in this War but scorn and hatred. But the Prince of Condé got much more hatred, who was held to be the Author of the Siege, and of all the misfortunes.

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When Peace was made, Beaufort invited Duke Longueville to continue Friendship with him, and to joyn with him in making head against the Court; but Longueville being a wise Prince, laughed at him, and would not listen to his Proposals, nor would he by any means busie himself any more in Troubles. Beaufort tarried still for all this in Paris, being inamored of the peoples applause; and went not to St. Germain to reverence their Majesties, under pretence that he would not see the Cardinal, as did the other Generals, who visiting the King and Queen, complied with the Cardinal.

In the Conference of Peace held at St. Germain, the Abbot de la Riviere renewed the Proposition of Marriage between Duke Mercœur, and Mancini the Cardinal's Niece; the Duke of Orleans and Prince of Condé would move it themselves to Mercœur. And because by the Treaty of Paris, it was propounded that the Duke of Vandomme, instead of being Governour of Britany, should be made Lord High-Admiral, which place was taken from him by the late King; the Queen, who was not well pleased with that Family, desired Mercœur to accept the Place, thinking thus to satisfy him, and to revenge her self of the rest. Orleans and Condé were of the same minde, being glad to see Vandomme and Beaufort humbled; and they did what they could to persuade Mercœur to it: but he thinking it unfit to accept of what did of right belong unto his Father, refused it, unless it might be with the Duke his Father's good will.

The Queen was indued with the place of Admiralty, after the death of the Duke of Brets, and enjoy'd all the Emoluments thereof; and yet she was content to forego them, so as the Marriage between the Cardinal's Niece and Duke Mercœur might take effect. She therefore excluded the Duke of Vandomme, and his Son Beaufort, out of the favour of the Prince of Condé; but Mercœur being constant to his Father's Interests, who being reconciled unto the Queen, was restored to his Estate in France, and was with great submission brought to Court, it was not hard for him to overcome the Contrasts of Fortune. Vandomme (though he shewed the contrary) did inwardly rejoyce to see his second Son Beaufort in such favour with the Parisians; for he thereby grew more considerable at Court, where the Cardinal's Friends continuing to shew the necessity of keeping this Family in obedience to the King, they considered that the Marriage of Mercœur, and his Father's satisfaction, hapning at the same time, they should both have won the good Will of those Princes, and have fastned the Cardinal better. Vandomme and Mercœur were well pleased with these Proposals, whilst by alliance with the chief Minister of State, they might raise up their House, which was in a low condition. The Cardinal on the contrary knowing what bad effects come usually of Marriages made for Interest, and not for Affection, seemed to be far from exposing himself to more Persecution and Envie, which do usually accompany rising Fortunes; but being finally overcome by the reiterated Reasons alledged by his Friends, and being much more convinced by the necessity of getting a considerable support in the Kingdom, and that he might win Beaufort from the troublesome thoughts that were insinuated into him by the *Frondeurs*, which might cause more disorders, he suffered the Treaty to proceed.

But the Duke of Bullion and Count Chavigny infused Jealousies of this into the Prince's minde, moved thereunto principally out of self-interest; for Bullion thought that by raising a contrary party in Court, he might make himself necessary, and manage his return to the possession of Sedan the better. And Chavigny being displeased to see himself totally excluded

1649. from Government, hoped, that if the Prince should reassume the government of Affairs, he might come to his former condition. He therefore durst not at first meddle in dividing the Royal Family, nor oppose the Prince to the Cardinal: But *Condé* being very sensible of his own Interests, he told him afterwards, That nothing could be denied to his desires; and that he might easily obtain the Admiralty, if he would desire it: That he had reason to pretend thereunto, since he was possess'd of the estate of his Brother-in-Law the Duke of Bresse, and ought therefore to inherit that, as well as his other Possessions; and that he might reap great advantage by obliging many in the distributing of Places at Sea, and by the Commands of the Fleet. Wherefore the Prince was easily persuaded, being like those Plants which being shaded upon by the Sun, grow strong and lively, and when the Sun sets, fade and languish; for sometime approving, and sometime disapproving the designe, he seemed not to assent thereunto: And yet he made it be known under hand by Monsieur *Mazarin*, a follower of his, That he could be content the Admiralty were conferr'd upon him. Nor was it only the Duke of *Bulion*, and Count *Chavigny*, who sought to interrupt this Marriage; but President *Perant*, Superintendent of the Prince his house, and who had been his ancient Servant, failed not to inform him of what he thought fit.

The Prince, who had the honour of Arms and the desire of Glory added to the greatness of his Birth, approving of such Counsels, grew full of jealousies and suspicions, which lessened the friendship and confidence which he seemed formerly to have in the Cardinal, and occasion'd the disagreements which ensued: for seeing that *Paris* had been by his means reduced to Reason, and knowing how the people were minded towards the Cardinal, he designed to assume unto himself all Regal Power, and to make himself sole Arbitrator of all things. He therefore carried himself Imperiously at Court, making small account even of the Queen; and thought wholly to abolish the *Frondeurs*, to the end that their Heads being quell'd and dispers'd, they should not be able to oppose him: but as the strength of a weak Twig joy'd to many others, gives not way to a great piece of Wood; all the Prince's Cunning, and his Partakers Wits, seemed to aim at nothing but at keeping mens minds and interests divided: And the *Frondeurs* studying also how to keep *Condé* divided from the Court, did all they could to keep *Beaufort*, who was then little less than Idolatrized in *Paris*, from fastning to the Cardinal; insinuating unto him, that to keep himself in the esteem which he was in, he must appear an irreconcilable Enemy not only to the Queen and Cardinal, but even to his Father and Brother, as he beyond all expectation did.

Condé was also troubled to hear that the Cardinal treated touching the having of the Government of *Bicardy* from the Duke of *Elbeuse*, who was Governor thereof; which notwithstanding did not ensue, for that the Prince was not agreed upon; and for that it was not considerable without the particuler Government of the City and Citadel of *Amiens*, which were held by the Duke of *Chaulnes*; as also of *Peronne*, which was in the possession of the Marquis of *Ochenmont*, of whom the Court had then some jealousies, for having received the Dutchess of *Chevrenx* into that Fort, when she returned from *Flanders* during the War, without the Kings permission.

By reason of two Accidents which casually ensued, *Ochenmont* grew so afraid, as made him get into favour with the Cardinal, and become his partial friend. And thus it was: As some of the King's Guards went to the Frontiers of *Flanders* to joyn with some other Troops of the King's; though

1649. though they had no order to touch upon *Peronne*, yet being desirous to go thither, the Marchioness his Wife was jealous, that the Gates upon them, refused them entrance, and sent word to her Husband, who commanded the Army upon the Frontiers as Lieutenant-General; and a Gentleman of the Cardinals coming thither at the same time, whom he suspected was come to make him Prisoner, he forsook his Command, and went to *Peronne*. Which case the Cardinal commiserating, and *Oquincourt* not daring to come neer him, the Cardinal chose a place to *Oquincourt's* liking, to speak with him; and clearing him of his jealousy, *Oquincourt* was so obliged to the Cardinal, as he contracted great confidence with him, and was ever afterwards his intimate friend.

The Court kept thus for a while at *St. Germain*, intimating their intention of coming thither, whilst all things were in a peaceful condition. But War hapning afterwards in *Flanders*, by the *Spaniards* falling in upon *St. Venant* and *Ipres*, it went to *Compeigne*; and though this was a necessary remove, the seditious people forbore not to whisper against the Cardinal, who the more they murmured against him, the more did he endeavour to keep up the Kings splendor and dignity; which caused the turbulent Commonalty of *Paris* to publish defamatory Libels against the Kings Agents, to make all men think that the Court intended not their quiet; which made the Duke of *Orleans* go to *Paris* about the beginning of *June*, to certify that City of their Majesties real intentions; which he did, to the great satisfaction of all that were well minded. And hereupon the Provost of Merchants, the Sheriffs, Councillors, Colonels, and the rest who make up the Common Council, meeting together, resolved to issue out Inquisitions against the Authors of the said Libels, and against those that printed or published them. They also thanked his Highness for his good affection, and beseeched him to use his power in bringing the King to *Paris*, which would be the true means of dissipating all the fluctuations of that wavering people: to which purpose they deputed some to be sent to his Majesty, to represent this their so general desire. The care of the universal Government was not for all this given over; but the War with *Spain* being reassum'd, the King was in a condition of raising an Army of 25000 good veterane Souldiers; which it being questioned whether they should go, some propounded the falling upon *Doway* in *Flanders*, others upon *Avennes* in *Hainault*, and others propounded other Enterprizes. But the Cardinal being assured that there were not above 600 Foot in *Gambray*, was of opinion that they should fall upon that place, which was then in the *Spaniards* possession; which was not any part of the *Low-Countries*, but was in the late War with *Flanders* taken by the *French*, and was given by the King to Marshal *Baligny*, who possess'd it as Sovereign thereof for some years, till Count *Fuenter* recovered it. By which example, it was said that the Cardinal hoped to be endowed with it, when it should be taken; or at least to be made Governour of the City and Citadel. Wherefore it was thought he betook himself thereunto out of self-interest. The Prince of *Condé* was invited to this so considerable business; but he, being then at his Government of *Burgundy*, refused the employment, blamed the resolution, interposed many difficulties; which were all thought excuses to cloak his aversion to assist the Cardinal in his fortune: And at his return to *Paris*, he spoke against the Marriage between *Mercœur* and *Mancini*, had often conference with the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Beaufort*, was visited by the Presidents and chief Councillors of the Parliament, and began to swallow that *Maxime*; That much mischief must be

1649. *be done, to receive much good.* He blamed the Court for rewarding injuries, and neglecting good turns, as in the case of *Vandosme's* Family; and began to slacken his adherence to the Court, and his confiding in the Cardinal, which till then he had cultivated. He blamed him for aspiring to the absolute Government, and gave him signs that he could not approve of his company in Council, having found him an hindrance to his secret ends: wherefore to render him hateful to the people, he strove to make him be believed the Author of all the violences; that he endeavoured to raise jealousies between the Queen and him; that instead of defending him as a Friend, he cross him in all his designs, whereby to force him to joyn with the *Frondeurs*. The Merits of this Prince, who had deserved so well of the Court, mixt with other representations whether true or false, caused such jealousies, even in those who were most affectionate to the King's service, as use to usher in highest hatreds. So as the Cardinal, that he might sweeten him, studied to keep this first agitation from breaking further forth: and though the Prince did not undertake the business of *Cambray*, yet he alter'd not his former design; but in lieu of the Prince, employ'd Prince *Harcourt* therein, and sent all the Kings Forces, which were come from several parts, to that affair; which as they cross the River *Some*, were found to be more than were believed; all of them experienced men, and well in order. And whilst they encamped sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, to conceal their true designe from the *Spaniards*, Count *Palvan*, with 4000 Souldiers gathered together in the Maritime parts of *Flanders*, began to scowre the Campagna, as well to secure the Towns which were held by the *French*, as to draw some of the Enemies Forces thither, and so to weaken their Army: towards which the Arch-Duke marched from *Brussels* to joyn the whole Army together; which was for the most part come then from *Doway*, *Valenciennes*, and *Lille*.

Whilst the *Spaniards* were a while in this uncertainty, the *French* about the end of *June* sat down before *Cambray*, with much wonder to both parties; as well in regard of the greatness of the City, which had in it both a Castle and a Citadel, as for the difficulty of the Enterprize. But the *Spaniards* appeared to have been so careless of the Town, by reason of their undervaluing the *French* Forces after the troubles of *Paris*, as all men thought that so important a City absolutely lost: especially the Governour Count *Garce*, a *Spaniard*, being then absent, who at the first news thereof came thither in a Country-fellows disguise. The *French* began to make the Line; which because it was to be of a great circuit, could not be digged with such diligence as was requisite.

Cambray is one of the greatest Cities, and of most importance, which the *Spaniards* have in those parts, distant onely three Leagues from the Frontiers of *Picardy*. It lies on the right hand of the River *Schelde*, five Leagues below the rise thereof; which therefore is not there very broad. The way for Convoys to the *French* Camp was very convenient, but somewhat long, they being to come from *St. Quintins*, and *Peronne*, to *Chastellet*, a Fort not far from thence; from whence they were brought to the Camp.

When the *Spaniards* heard of the Siege, and knew the danger the Town was in, by reason of the small number of Defendants therein, they forthwith sent 150 Officers thither, who being discovered by the *French*, were for the most part taken Prisoners; and the whole *Spanish* Army in a body marched towards *Buchain*, a strong Castle upon the *Schelde*, three leagues below

below *Cambray*, to provide for the safety thereof, which consisted in speed; for had they tarried till the *French* had compleated the Line, the succour would have been very difficult. The Governour, who knew the Enemies Works, which were as yet open on two or three sides, writ to Count *Fuenfeldagne*, That the City was in danger to be lost, unless it were speedily relieved: and mentioned the way to do it, which was to march straight forward with the body of the Army towards the Fortifications, feigning to fall upon one Quarter, and to send 2000 Foot to another Quarter which was not yet intrenched; so as the one or the other of them might easily enter where they were least looked for. This Letter was intercepted by the *French*; and being decipher'd, was sent to Count *Harcourt*, that he might so order his Affairs, as to disappoint the Enemies.

The *Spaniards* assaulted the Quarters; The *French* thought assuredly either to take, or to cut in pieces the 2000 men that came to relieve the Town; but notwithstanding they got in, no man knew how, nor no man withstanding them. Some would have it, that it was by the negligence of an Officer, who quitted a Barricado to run to hear a noise that was made in another part; but be it what you will, it hapned so unexpectedly, as all were amazed at it, yea, even the *Spaniards* themselves. The *French* imputed it to the *Germans*, who as strangers might perchance have been favourable to the Enemy. But the common Opinion was, That it hapned by a very great Mist that fell then, and by the negligence of an Officer that guarded the Barricado. *Harcourt* hereupon rais'd the Camp, to the great discontent of the Court; for it was thought his Forces were such, as he might have taken it, although the relief was entered. He retreated to *Cambresis*; whereat the Arch-Duke being very much joy'd, as having saved a place of such importance, he sent the Marquis *Sfondrato* with 6000 men toward the Wasties of *Flanders*, to observe *Palvan's* proceedings; propounding nothing to himself during that Campaign, but how to keep the *French* from making more attempts. Thus the Armies kept for some days near one another, wanting many necessities.

The King and Court kept still at *Compeigne*, and were the more displeased with this accident, for that they saw the *Frondeurs* and other Malecontents of *Paris* rejoyced thereat, as if they had thereby received a great Victory; being so blinded with hatred, as the *French* were seen to rejoyce at their own ruine, lest good success might have increased the Cardinal's Reputation. *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor, and others who envied his fortune, gave out, That he was the cause why the King did not return to *Paris*; rendering him thereby hateful to the Inhabitants, who got much by the Courts being at *Paris*: and so highly were they incensed against those that were of the Royal Party, as in scorn the *Frondeurs* called them *Mazarinians*.

Two things did much trouble the Court and the Cardinal, to whom as chief Director, all both good and bad success were attributed; so as he resolved to go himself to the Camp, upon pretence to treat of general Peace with the *Spanish* Plenipotentiary *Pignorandu*, who was to that purpose to be at *Valenciennes*, as was agreed upon by the Pope's Nuncio and the Venetian Ambassador. On the 22 of July he went to *Chastell-Cambrey*, where the King's Army lay, and was accompanied by the Dukes *Randolph* and *Mercœur*, the Marshal *Villeroy*, and *Plaisir d'Armen*, together with divers others of the Court: He was received in the Camp with all applause due to his Eminency.

Where he had divers consultations with the prime men whom he admitted

ted to the Treaty; and inviting them frequently, encouraged them to shew their Worth and Valour. Then causing the Army to be mustered, he presented them with considerable Donatives, particularly the Dutch Commanders; declaring, That he never had the least suspicion that *Cambray* was relieved through any miscarriage of theirs; and that the King was of the same opinion, from whom he brought Letters to General *Obem*, wherein his Majesty expressed his opinion of their innocency: and by these and other civilities endeavoured to sweeten them, who for the imputation falsely laid upon them, threatned to forsake the Service, as being freemen, and Forreigners; and did win upon their affections, for all the French could do to their prejudice. And there being nothing that makes Souldiers willinger to hazard their Lives, than to shew them a means how to make amends for their sufferings, he moved that they should march into the Island of *St. Armand*; (a rich and plentiful Country, seated between the Rivers *Scheld* and *Scarpe*) Which being agreed upon, the French marched into that fruitful Island, and entred into the midst of it without any opposition, (for their coming was unexpected) and pillaged whatsoever they pleased, to the as great confusion of the Inhabitants, as grief of the Spaniards, who were generally blamed by all *Flanders* for their inadvertency therein. The Arch-Duke went thither, to see whether the Enemy were to be fought with or no, and driven from thence; and took up his Quarters there, where the *Scarpe* falls into the *Scheld*, to keep the French from advancing further. And since his Army could not fight the French, being fewer in number, he by the advantage of situation defended the Passes, and sent for Souldiers from *Flanders*, and from all the neighbouring Provinces, to increase his Army. The French quartered in this opulent Country for above two Moneths, running up and down without doing any thing; till finding it needful to possess themselves of some place behinde them, whereby they might facilitate the bringing of necessaries to the Camp, and keep their Cavalry without any trouble in the Enemy's Country; Count *Harcourt* rose on the 7th of August from the Abby of *Denaïm*, where he was encamped after the Spaniards had retreated to *Valenciennes*, and went to *Arloux*, between *Doway* and *Bocheim*, which is a small tract of Ground Islanded by the River *Scarpe*, and by the Rivolets of *Sluce* and *Sally*, five Leagues from *Arras*, where he staid some days, as well to hinder the Spaniards from bringing Provisions to their Camp from *Doway*, *Cambray*, *Bocheim*, and other places, as to get Victuals for his Army. And not long after parting from thence, he encamped within sight of *Valenciennes*, and went himself in person with 1500 Horse, and 2000 Commanded Foot, to assault the Town of *Condé*, situated in a place where it is not overlooked any where; having a no contemptible Castle, which is watered by the Rivers *Escaut* and *Aisne*. Count *Broglio* had the charge of assaulting the Town given him; which he did with incredible speed, and lodged suddenly upon the Counterscarp of the Town, and forced the Enemy quickly to surrender it; Colonel *Gronde* marching out of it on the 24th of August, with 500 Foot, and 50 Horse, which were Convoy'd by Monsieur *Beauvais* to *Valenciennes*. Upon this advice the Arch-Duke advanc'd to *Mortaigne*; but hearing that that place was lost, went neer *Tourney*, summoning together all the scattered Souldiery, and the Country-Militia, to keep the French from making further progress, who marched even within sight of *Brussels*, though not without the inconveniency of want of Victuals, which were to be brought from afar off, the Convoy whereof being encountered neer *Quésnoy* by 1000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, commanded by

by Colonel *Bruch*; they after a lusty Skirmish pass'd happily on, the Spaniards being somewhat indamaged, and pursued even to the Ditch of *Quésnoy*, losing 80 men; and the French losing not above ten, and Monsieur de *Sassé* who was taken Prisoner.

The Cardinal returned to *Compeigne*, before the Army went into that Island, and found the Prince of *Condé* come thither; who prest that the King might return to *Paris*; wherein he was seconded by the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Court removed from *Compeigne* to *Paris*, with such general applause and satisfaction, as it might be rather said to be a glorious Triumph, than an usual arrival. Then the Articles of Marriage were treated of between *Mancini* and Duke *Mercœur*, wherein the reversion of the Admiralty was promised him, after his Father the Duke of *Vendosme's* death: but when all this was upon concluding, the Prince of *Condé's* jealousies mar'd all. The Match between the Duke of *Candale* Eldest Son to the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Cardinal's other Niece the Countess *Martinuzzi*, was also treated of, and agreed by all parties interess'd; but not effected, for reasons which you shall hereafter hear.

The more the Kings Authority did increase in *Paris*, the more did that of the *Frondeurs* decrease; who notwithstanding ceased not to be Enemies to the Cardinal: and all men observed *Beaufort's* proceedings, who for his Reputation, and to maintain himself Head of the people, would appear to be faithful to his party, by going to visit their Majesties at the Court, without visiting the Cardinal, glorying to be the onely man in the Kingdom who made head against him. But though he was admitted by the King, the Queen, to shew that she could not tolerate the little esteem that was put upon her in the prime Minister of State, seemed not well pleased with his Visits; whereat he, in a distasteful manner, flung out of the Room, saying aloud in a scornful manner, *That he would return thither no more, since he was so badly received.* And though the Cardinal applied himself to moderate the unquiet Spirit of this Prince, who by the peoples adherence might cause new Convulsions, to which purpose he made great proffers to his Parents the Duke and Dutches of *Vendosme*; yet all proved vain: for, as it was said, the Prince of *Condé* did underhand endeavour to keep them at odds, that the Court being weakned by a contrary Faction, he might thereby the more increase his Authority, and govern in the Council as he listed. And *Beaufort* by this means got an opinion amongst the people of being undaunted.

But whilst by often frequenting the House of *Montbasen* as he pass'd to and fro from the Court, during his abode in *L'Hastelle de Vendosme*, he exposed himself to the will of the Kings Guards, being told of what hazard he ran, he changed his Lodging, and lodged in the Street of *Franelles* neer *St. Enstace*, and nearer to *la Hastelle de Montbasen*; whereby he shewed his distrust of the Court the more. Now because since the Decree of the 2d of March, the Parliament was not called for publick affairs, whereat the Court was well pleased, the *Frondeurs* being back'd by the Malecontents, promised to make both that and all the supreme Chambers meet, at the usual Audience of *St. Martins*; and though it was agreed upon by Articles, that the Chambers should not meet without expresse leave from the King, yet they said these were unsufferable errors; and complained much that the Cardinal had replaced Monsieur d'Emery in his former place of Superintendent of the Finances: but they were not aware that this was done merely by *Condé's* means; who having won much favour at Court,

1649 after the War of *Paris*, saw it necessary to have the Superintendant of the Finances his Friend; so as contrary to the opinion of all men, and contrary to the Cardinal's pleasure, he would have him restored to his Place, declaring, That none was so fit for it as *Emery*; which made *Condé's* action the more suspected, and more vigilantly observed. But *Emery* continued not long in the place; for being seized on by Sickness, he died soon after, and the Marshal *Milleray* succeeded him: and though *Condé* was he who was to be blamed for the replacing of *Emery*, yet he turn'd the fault so cunningly upon the Cardinal, as all men attributed it to the Prime State-Officer; which made the Court and Court-Officers to be hated by the people, who hoped that being fomented by him, they might facilitate what they had agreed upon. But whilst things went thus at Court, the Emergencies which arose in other Provinces were no less remarkable; which will occasion us to look a little backwards.

Amongst several ways found out to raise Moneys, the Court had resolved to introduce *Semisfry*, which is an addition of as many Officers as were before, to the end that they might not exercise their places as before for the whole year, but by turns, from six months to six months; whereby not only much Moneys might be raised by the sale of Places, but the exorbitant authority of Counsellours was thereby moderated. Orders being issued forth for the putting the *Semisfry* in practise in *Provence*, as it was in *Normandy*, the Count *d'Alais*, Governour of *Provence*, undertook the work; and without acquainting the Court what Novelty it might occasion, caused the Kings Commands to be published, and gave order for the sale of the new Places; wherein some of his Domesticks interressing themselves, negotiating their own advantage with the Purchasers, considerable Commotions arose; whereof one was, That one called *Lughet*, that he might make way for others, was one of the first that bought one of the said *Semisfry*; which did so anger the Counsellours, as he was not only looked upon as a new Companion or Fellow-brother, but as an Enemy to his Country, and ere long was unhumanely treated: for as he was one night at Supper with his Friends, certain people came in Masked, and slew him; whereat the Governour was so scandalized, as he caused several that were thought complices, to be imprisoned, that the Malefactor might be found out: which not being done, (for those that were guilty were elcaped) he banished those from the City whom he suspected most, and particularly those who had most opposed the new Edit in the Parliament; who withdrew to their Country-houses; many of them going to *Carpentras*, a City in the County of *Avignon*; who though they were asunder, held such Correspondency with their Friends who remained in *Aix*, the Metropolis of *Provence*, and with other Friends in the Country, inasmuch as a considerable number being assembled together, the Count grew jealous, who being unprovided of Souldiers, and wanting part of his Regiment who were embarked in the Fleet which went to *Naples*, thought himself not able to withstand the contrary Party; if they should attempt any thing. So as he treated of Accommodation, which was concluded by suspending the new *Semisfry*, and with leave for those that were banished to return home; whereat those Counsellours were so puffed up, as they made a numerous Faction against the Governour, which intrench'd upon his Authority, punish'd his Adherers, and did in open manner withstand the usual form of chusing Consuls; whereat the Court being displeased, the Queen was often acquainted therewith, and with'd to consider what inconveniencies might ensue, unless speedy remedy were taken. But the King's Council having then their hands full

full of the Troubles of *Paris*, and growing apprehensive of the Actions of many Lords, they put him in hopes, saying, That when the Affairs of *Paris* should be settled, they would send him sufficient Forces to punish the Peccant; and wish'd him wisely to dissemble.

But the Count being impatient, instead of concealing this Advertisement, did participate it to some others, whom he thought his Friends; the knowledge whereof coming to the contrary Faction, distrusts increased, and means used to cancel the fault, was by running into a greater contumacy: So as the Parliament of *Aix* following the Example of that of *Paris*, grew licentious; and as the *Parisians* had detracted from the Cardinal's Administration, representing to the King the necessity of pleasing his people, by taking all Employment from him, and driving him out of his Kingdom; so did the *Provincials* pretend to the removal of their Governour; to which purpose they sent unto the Court, threatening, That in case of denial or delay, they would no longer obey him.

He on the contrary pretended to sustain himself by the power of his Friends, and of the Nobility; and seeking rather to revenge than to secure himself, drove all that he suspected out of *Aix*. And because Monsieur *de la Tour*, who was Friend to one *Beaureville*, the Advocate-General of the Parliament, did stir up Sedition more than the rest, he caused him to be imprisoned, threatening to make him an Example. But the people, as a Torrent which swells by the concurrence of several Rivulets, took this for Violence, and for a private Revenge; and upon pretence that upon the 18th of January a Souldier of the Guard had wounded a Servant of a Member of Parliament, took up Arms, and fill'd the whole City with Sedition, inasmuch as had it not been for the Arch-bishop of *Arles*, and the President *Seguiran*, who by their Credit and Authority moderated the Uproar, somewhat of fatal might have hapned: yet the people were not pacified, though for the present they laid down Arms; for their jealousies increasing, as novelties multiplied, two days after, on St. *Sebastians* day, which is usually celebrated in a little Church without the Gate, by the procession of many people, a Country-fellow cry'd out, That the King's Party would shut the Gates of the City as soon as the Procession was gone out. Whereupon grew so great a confusion, as that the Governour's Palace being begirt and besieged by a numerous rout of armed men, they reduced him to such straits, as to escape so eminent a danger, he was forced to treat, and to yield that he and all his men would go out of the City, as he did; whereby the Parliament was freed from the fear of the Souldiers, and of the Governour. Whereupon a Decree was suddenly made for abolishing the *Semisfry*, for joining with the Parliament of *Paris*, for the recalling of Consuls, for restitution of the places taken from the *Baron de Brass* and from Monsieur *Signiram*; and finally, for the observing those Orders only, which should be from that time given by the Count *di Garces*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province: To whom they were content to submit, that they might make it appear they had done all this not to forgo their obedience to the King, but only that they might not be subject to the violence and private passions of their Governour; with all which they acquainted the Court, and made excuses suitable to their Delinquencie.

The Count *d'Alais*, being much troubled at this Affront, betook himself to provide all things necessary to chastise those who had so far forgone their Duties. He got together about 5000 Foot, and 150 Horse, besides 600 Volunteers of *Provence* and *Languedock*. He took *Chasteau Regnaud*, *Borba*, *la Roque*, *Maxsargues*, *St. Pole*, and other Towns which had declared

1649. red for the Parliament, and were of no great consideration, not being in any posture of defence; and he encamped before the very City of *Aix*, which is seated upon the River *Are*, greatly peopled; but begirt only with a bare Wall, and Towers after the ancient manner: from whence 200 men sallying out, they were all taken and cut in pieces, and they would have proceeded farther, had not a Gentleman come at the very time, who brought Pardon and Peace subscribed by the King. Whereupon the next day Arms were laid down on all sides, and the Kings Soldiers were sent some into *Piedmont*, some into *Catalonia*.

But though Peace was made in *Provence*, War was kindled in *Gnienne* between the Duke of *Espernon* the Governour-General, and the Parliament and City of *Bordeaux*; whereof to understand the occasion, we must make here a short digression.

By the example of the Commotions of *Paris*, a Faction was formed by certain Councillors of Parliament in *Bordeaux*; who by conversing with the Wife of Councillor *Mirat*, and with some other Women who met together in her house, began, like the *Frondeurs* of *Paris*, to pry into businesses not competent to their Callings, which was to meddle onely in Civil and Criminal affairs, and not to busie themselves with State-affairs, which belongs onely to the King's Privy Council. *Mirate* was a crafty man, of quick and unquiet thoughts, and reputed very wise; he was held to be the chief of all the rest; amongst whom was President *Pichon* a Brother of his, Monsieur *Feyarde*, Monsieur *d'Alem*, and divers other turbulent and ambitious Spirits. These were assisted by Advocate *Constans*, and by Monsieur *di Fontenelle*. At the first risings against the Duke of *Espernon*, this Faction was fomented by Monsieur *de la Vie*, who was Advocate-General; a proud pretender, who intending to juggle out the first President *Bernet*, that he might have his place, whereby he might wrestle with *Espernon's* Authority, whom he loved not, made use of the troubles of *Paris*, which made men lay aside all respect, and made it lawful to infuse jealousies into the aforesaid Councillors, and others of unquiet Spirits, such as were *Messieurs Blanck*, *Moueslu*, *Remont*, *Espagnet*, and chiefly the President *Dass*. Their designe being to enhance their pretended Authority under the Name of *Parliament*, that they might govern the City; they began to declaim against the Duke of *Espernon*, terming him Proud, Avaritious, Violent, and of contrary ends to those which belonged to a wise Statesman: they laid to his charge that he sent Corn out of the Country, under pretence of uniting the Frontiers, but indeed to make Merchandise of it; That he oppressed the people, and threatned them. They declared, that what they did was for the ease of the Country: they insinuated into the people, that *Espernon* intended to lay two Crowns upon every Tun of Wine, from which the King had exempted them: That he sought to disarm them, so to make them more pliable to his Will: That to that purpose he had begun to draw the Canon out by night from the Castle of *Ha*, and to bring them into the Castle *Trombette*, from whence he might batter the City. By these conceits they won upon the people, who listening after whispers, the Duke was invited to the Assembly, to provide by his presence for things necessary, and to send the Kings Forces (which lay about the City) ten Leagues off. But the Duke, who knew the designs were different from what they appeared to be, that he might not be enforced to any thing contrary to the Kings Authority, or being unwilling to be unhandisomely dealt with, thought not good to come thither, but retired to his house at *Cadigliack*. The soberest of the Parliament

liament got the rest to abstain from all Sedition, and sent two Councillors, *Salomon* and *du Vall*, to him; who whilst they prevailed with the Duke to send the Troops ten Leagues from *Bordeaux*, whereby all things were quieted, the impatient and indiscreet people took the Palace of *Ha*; whereat the Duke being highly scandalized, he presently demanded the restitution thereof from the Citizens and Parliament: but they denying to do it, fell from their intention of depositing it into the hands of the Magistrates of the City, by reason of a Letter which they received at the same time from the Parliament of *Paris*, which was full of fair Promises; and by the Duke's denial to desist from fortifying *Libourne*, which he did, by reason of a rising of the people in the Town. Thus their displeasures grew greater, and President *Dass* sent for some of the most seditious into the publick Hall, who abused some of the good Inhabitants, and drove them out of the City; among which, Secretary *Clave* and Monsieur *di Duboy*; and then they declared themselves more openly, and took up Arms under pretence of defending the Country; and a Council of War was chosen, wherein the first President was obliged to assist, together with some Counsellours.

The first thing this Council of War did, was to send word to the Country-people thereabouts, willing them to take up Arms; which they did, and presently took the Castle of *Vargy* near *Libourne*, which was immediately after Besieged, and retaken, together with the destruction of the place, and of all those in it, by the Camp-master Marshal *Marine's* men. Moreover, two Frigates, three small Vessels, and 12 Brigantines were armed by them; they took four Brigades of Foot into pay, and several Troops of Horse; and to supply expences, they made use of the publick Moneys, imposed Taxes, and did whatsoever was necessary for maintaining the War. The Duke armed also, but sought to appease the *Bourdellois* rather by fair means than by foul; and though the two of his Letters which he wrote to the Parliament, and two which he wrote to the Commonalty of *Bordeaux*, were but unhandisomely answered; yet he seeming not to take notice of it, offered that if they would forbear fortifying *Libourne*, his Forces should not approach *Bordeaux*; and that he would get the King to take away their Grievances, and to give all just satisfaction. But all was refused, and the Trumpet which brought news that the Peace of *Paris* was concluded, was threatned to be hanged.

And immediately Monsieur *de la Vie* was sent to Court, to make it be believed that the *Bourdellois* were the Kings most faithful and obedient servants, but Enemies to their Governour, who had treated them ill, and been too haughty in his Government. They then made the Marquels of *Chamberet*, an old and hardy Souldier, Commander of their Troops; they took the Castle of *Lormont*, and put Forces thereinto: Two of *Crequy's* Horse-Troops were cut in pieces by the Peasants; and the Country-people of those parts were so resolute in rebellion, as some of them being besieged by Monsieur *di Marin* in the Church of *Labbone*, they refused to yield, and chose rather to perish by fire.

Then the Parliament of *Bordeaux* writ to the Parliament of *Tholouse*, inviting it to joyn with them, and to keep the Forces of *Languedock* from falling down into *Gnienne*: And the Vicount *Virlada*, in the name of the first President, and of other the Kings good Servants, went to *Tholouse* by the approbation of the Duke of *Candale*, who was son to the Duke of *Espernon*, who was for Peace, and propounded to that Assembly, That it would be an honourable and commendable action for the Parliament of

Languedock

1649. *Languedock* to be Arbitrator of the difference of the *Bourdelois*. Which advice being embraced by those of *Tholouse*, they forthwith named *Messieurs di Carminada, di Fresars, di Carlines*, together with the Advocate-General *Marmieffe*, to interpose in the business, and to negotiate an Agreement: Which *Espernon* approving of, he sent Monsieur *de la Barthe* to pass all due Complements, and entered cordially into the Treaty of Agreement; to assist whom, came the Count *d'Argenson* with Orders from the Court to use all means to mollifie the exasperated Spirits of both the sides, to reduce the Parliament to its Duty, and to make the Duke of *Espernon* contented with what the present conjuncture of time would allow: but in effect, not to do any thing to the Dukes prejudice, nor without his consent; for the Court was well enough pleased with the courage which he had shewn in the Kings service.

In the beginning of April, *Argenson* went with the Count his eldest Son from *Cadillac* to *Espernon*-house, which made the *Burdelois* suspect him, as the Duke would have done, had he gone first to *Bordeaux*. *Argenson* was received with much demonstration of confidence by the Duke, and told him, That the whole business consisted in three points; in relieving the Castle of *Trombette*, in reducing the Parliament and People to their obedience, and the third (which he thought would make much for obtaining the second) in building the Citadel of *Libourne*: Which were the three things from whence all the disorders of *Guienne* did proceed. From thence *Argenson* went to *Bordeaux*, where, after having been received with much respect, he propounded to them the victualling of the Castle of *Trombette*; wherein many difficulties were met with, which by his dextrousness were at last overcome; and the Parliament consented thereunto, though it were much opposed by the seditious sort, and particularly by *du Salt* the Advocate-General, who notwithstanding his great age, and the place which he held, appeared always one of those who did most oppose the King's service. And here it is observable, that whereas in the Parliament of *Paris* the younger sort were most contumacious, in this of *Bordeaux* the elder were most cross, and did by their Rhetorick work upon the younger; who by joining with them, occasioned that disorder which had almost made the whole Assembly rebellious; for there were but few that kept within the bounds of Duty: and though *Bernet* the first President was the King's good Subject, yet was he of so weak parts, as he was not able to oppose the seditious, fearing continually to be assassinated.

When the *Frondeurs* saw they could not impede the Parliaments resolution of victualling the Castle of *Trombette*, they seduced the people to hinder the effecting of it: which occasioned some delay; wherefore *Argenson*, who feared the Castle might be in some straits, writ to the Governour Monsieur *di Hautemonte*, to know what condition the Castle was in; and being answered that it could hold out yet for twenty days, he immediately sent his Son to inform the Duke thereof, who was preparing to relieve it by force, though he had but two Brigadoes of Foot, and about 1000 Horse, with some *Provencial* Gentlemen, and without any one Piece of Artillery. Thus was he already gone from *Cadillac*, and come to *Castres*. The Count met the Duke upon his March, and gave him an account of the Castle, and that the Parliament had given way to the victualling of it; whereupon the Count promised to stay one whole day, to see whether they would do it or no: And the Count return'd that night to *Bordeaux*, and caused 200 Sacks of Meal be brought to be put into the Castle. As soon as he was come, some commotion arose amongst the people, which by Monsieur

Monsieur *Pichon* was appeased. The Count went to finde out his Father, and acquainted him with what *Espernon* had promised; he went to the Parliament to sollicite what they had promised; he told them of the Dukes march, and spoke with so much reason, as they promised again what they had done formerly; but met with the same difficulties in the execution of it. The March caused great complaints, the *Frondeurs* were wilde, a number of people ran to the Arch-bishop's Palace, crying out, That they were betrayed, That whilst *Argenson* was negotiating in Parliament, *Espernon* ranfackt the Country.

Young *Argenson* was in great danger, being begirt by the people who exclaim'd; but by giving them good words, he appeas'd them: and though some Musquet-shot had been made at his Chamber-window, over the Arch-bishop's Gate; he made no words of it, to keep from exasperating them: the Duke advanced the mean while to *Gradigan*, to relieve the Castle by force; but being advertised by *Argenson*, that the Parliament had promised to convey Corn into the Castle the next day, he said he would tarry one day longer at *Gradigan*; and then he found he had been too hasty in his March; for he was within two Leagues of the City, and his neighbourhood had discomposed all things: and it being found in the Council of War that he had not Forces enough to effect what he had designed, it was resolved, to save the reputation of the Kings Forces, that old *Argenson*, who was come to *Gradigan* to the Duke, should return to *Bordeaux*, and promise the Parliament that the Forces should be led up higher into the Country, if they would renew their promise that the Corn should be carried in, as it was by *Argenson*'s mediation; for the Corn was delivered to *Hautmont*, the Duke retreated to *Cadillac*, and the Forces marched towards *Agen*. *Argenson* staid in *Bordeaux* to negotiate other affairs, and his Son went to acquaint the Duke therewith; so as whilst things were in a fair way of agreement, the Duke of *Candale*, who had been always with his Father, and who did by no means like these Wars, went to Court; and Affairs would have been adjusted, had it not been for a new Emergency.

A little unfinished Fort which *Espernon* caused to be erected at *Libourne*, was the occasion of these Commotions: For when the Duke retreated to *Agen*, he caused two pieces of Artillery to be put into that small Fort, or Redoubt, some Powder and Morter-pieces. When this was known at *Bordeaux*, the City fell into a great disorder, the Parliament and people exclaim'd that this was a new trick of *Espernon*'s, who had not kept his promise, and the Kings party ran hazard of their Lives. Count *Argenson* was then at *Cadillac*, whither the Parliament writ unto him, acquainting him how the Duke had broken his promise, by not leaving things in the condition they ought to be. Of this the chief President writ particularly to him, and intreated him to come to the City and to appease the people: Whereupon the Count, who was not purposed to return, did notwithstanding prepare to return, and to take his Son with him, to *Bordeaux*.

At his entrance the people shewed him their discontents, and broke out into a thousand Contumelies and Imprecations against *Espernon*, saying, They had been abused in their giving way to the Victualling of the Castle of *Trombette*, which otherwise could not have held out above three days; and that Agreements had been directly broken. Whence *Argenson* perceived the commotion of that City to grow greater than ever. The Arch-Bishop, who was of the Family of *Bethune*, endeavoured as much

1649. as he could to appease them; but the peoples hatred to the Duke was such, and their desires of revenge so great, as nothing could pacifie them. The *Frondeurs* could not endure that *Argenson* should live in the Arch-Bishops Palace, but thought to keep him and his Son as Hostages till the works about *Libourn* should be slighted; but not being able to make them Prisoners publicly, they made them be told by some of their Friends, That they were not safe in the Arch-Bishops Palace, and that the wisest among them could not secure them against the rage of the people: That therefore they thought their best course would be to retire to the Castle or Palace of *Ha*, where they might be safer. *Argenson* quickly found their designe, and answered, That though he apprehended nothing where he was, yet he was ready to obey the Parliament, and to go whither they listed. So he and his Son were carried to the Castle of *Ha*, whereof the Counsellour *Espagnote*, who was one of the chiefest of the Seditious, was Governour: as soon as they were entred, the Guards were doubled; and the next day, orders were given, that they should not be suffered to go out. The people were grown so tumultuous, as their Rulers could no longer govern them; for some 6000 of them came to the Castle-gate, crying out, That *Argenson* was a Traitor, a false man: That he together with *Espernon* intended to ruine them; and that they must kill them. The Parliament being acquainted with this Uproar, sent the chief President together with divers other Counsellours, to the Castle of *Ha*, to prevent inconveniencies; but as they pass'd along the streets, they were railed upon, and had had stones thrown at them, had not some that were of power amongst them, kept them from further outrage. But the prime President was so frightened, as when he came into the Castle, he could not speak. They soon told the Count, That all was lost, unless he took order that the Fortifications about *Libourn* might be demolished: But *Argenson* told them, He was not Commander of the Province, nor Governour of *Libourn*. So their Request was frustrated.

The first President said, That an Order might appease the disorder; and that time would advise what was best to be done next. The Order was resolved upon, but the difficulty lay in who should carry it. Some of the boldest Counsellours said, That they themselves would go with it; but they were told, They might be detained. Wherefore they all concluded, that *Argenson* should tarry in the Castle, but that he should send his Son; who because he could not safely pass through that crowd of people, *Marquis Chamberet*, General of the Troops, came himself to the Castle-gate to guard him to a Bark which was prepared for him. And when this was resolved, the Father was no longer suffered to speak in private with his Son; so as all he could whisper unto him as he embraced him at his going away, was to wish him not to return to *Bordeaux*, though by his Letters he was desired to do so. When he was come to *Libourn*, the Governour refused to obey *Argenson's* order; wherefore it being to come from the Duke of *Espernon*, the Count went in haste to *Agen*, to dispose the Duke thereunto; but he first advertised his Father and the first President of all he did.

The disorder grew this mean while so great in *Bordeaux*, and the clamour of the people was such, as not expecting answer, they resolved to go themselves to demolish those Fortifications. *Argenson* was all this while shut up in the Castle of *Ha*; but he did so well represent to the Deputies of Parliament, who went dayly to visit him, what injury the City did herself, by imprisoning one whom the King had sent to pacifie the Province, as at last fearing that the Court might deal in the like manner with their Deputies who were at Court, they were advised to give him his liberty. He

He promised them to go forthwith to *Espernon*, hoping undoubtedly to obtain his request, for the resolution whereof he desired onely three days; they promised him not to innovate any thing in that mean while. Upon these terms he came forth of the City, under the conduct of the aforesaid *Chamberet*.

This mean while the Count his Son was gone to the Duke, whom he had prepared to free his Father, and to give order for the demolition of the Fortifications about *Libourn*; which just as he was ready to do, *Argenson* came himself, and what was already resolved of was done; so as *Argenson* was partly minded to return to *Bordeaux* to acquaint the *Burdelois* with this good news. But news came the next morning, that about 7000 of those factious people were gone out to besiege *Libourn*; which made the Duke alter his resolution, and to dream of nothing but upon opposing the fury of the people. The Duke embarked his Souldiers at *Reole*, and went himself along with them; many Gentlemen flock'd presently to him, and without more ado, those Forces, which did not in all amount to 2000 men, quartered within two leagues of *Libourn*, intending to fall upon the Camp of the *Burdelois* the next day.

Libourn is about a mile in compass, of a square form, invironed with Walls, and antient Towers without any Platforms, seated upon an Angle made by the rivers *Durdone* and *Isel*, which meet at one side of the Town towards *Fronsack*; the Campagna is plain and plough'd up: The *Burdelois* had not yet time to intrench themselves, nor was there any order in their Camp. The General *Chamberet* was old, not much vers'd in leading any Foot, and much less in what belonged to a General: His people were undisciplined. On the contrary, the King's men, though they were far short in number, yet were all expert Souldiers; conducted by Warlike Officers, whereof the Count de *Marin* was the first Camp-Marshal; all the rest, who accompanied *Espernon*, were such as had for the most part been in the War. The posture of the besieging Camp being discovered by petty parties of Horse, small Skirmishes hapned, which grew greater afterwards on the Dukes side. Count *Serres*, with *Creyq's* Cavalry, and Count *Marin* with the Foot of the *Guienne* Brigadoes, fell furiously on the Enemies Quarters, who did so ill defend themselves, as they were immediately routed. All fought how to save themselves; and so great was the astonishment, as many of them perish'd in the Water, as they strove to save themselves by Swimming. The Kings men made what havock they pleased, whilst they could follow the Fugitives: *Marquis Chamberet* was he alone, who with some other of his friends, behaved himself as a man of Honour; but he was slain, as was likewise *Monsieur d'Andre*, Serjeant-Major of the Army: Some of the Councillors of Parliament were taken Prisoners: The number of the dead was about 2000; all the Baggage, Cannon, and two Frigats were lost. *Monsieur Martinet*, Governour of the Town, sallied forth at the same time with most of the Garrison, and killed many of the Enemy. The *Burdelois* had above 7000 men, and all the Bells of the neighbouring Villages rung out to call in men to their assistance, who came from all parts. *Espernon* was very proud of this action; he entred *Libourn*, and lay therein, quartering his men in the neighbouring Villages. Count *Argenson* tarried in the upper Country, to expect the issue of this action; which when he knew, he went to the Duke to advise of what was to be done; but he found him so exasperated against the *Burdelois*, as it was impossible to bring him to any moderate resolution: He dream'd of nothing but of chastising the *Burdelois*, and thought the Court

1649. Court would have sent him Forces to that purpose; he pass'd over the River, and advanced to *Castres*, and accompanied by the same Gentry that had served him at *Libourn*, halted towards *Bordeaux*. The mean while the Arch-Bishop, with the Deputies of the Commons, who had kept to the King's service, entered into Treaty; that the Duke might before to be welcome to the Citizens, if he would come into the City. The Parliament would have no part herein, but declared they would never have to do with their Enemy *Esperson*: yet it was thought that if once the people were satisfied, means would be found to appease the Parliament, the hope whereof made him comply with the City's offer.

The Duke advanced with his Army to *Graves*, two Leagues from *Bordeaux*; the Arch-Bishop and Deputies came to meet him, and acquainted him with the reasons which made the Citizens and People go out against *Libourn*; and desired him to do what was fitting, and not to be the occasion of such ruines as civil Discord brings with it. The Duke replied, *That Subjects could have no reason to disobey their Sovereign's Decrees: That they should treat according to their duty, dismiss their Souldiers, demolish Fortifications, disarm their Vessels, and be content to live quietly as before.* The Deputies answered, *That the City would obey, and that they desired him to enter the City;* Which the Duke said he would, if they would disarm their Men, and beat down their Barricadoes. The Treaty being concluded, it was carried into the Town by Viscount *Virlada*, and the Duke was told that the next day he should finde the Gates open for him and all his retinue, the Souldiers excepted, the Barricadoes down, the Militia disbanded, their General dismiss, their Vessels unarmed: all which was done; but the Dukes Harbengers found the Gate St. *Julian* shut upon them, and Barricado'd; but the Duke entered by that of *Diaux*, accompanied by his Domesticks, by some Officers, and by about 400 Gentlemen: And presently Monsieur *de Espagnet*, who was of power amongst the people, was sent to appease those that were up, and to demolish the Barricadoes. The Duke was visited by all the Corporations of the City, but not by the Parliament; because the Treaty was (as they alledged) onely with the City, and not with them; who were the more incensed, for that the Duke did not conceal his anger against them. The first President with some of the Wise fort went to visit him, who with the like respect went to return their Visit. He went afterwards to the publick Palace, where he spoke handsomely of the late disorders, and promised the City to intercede with the King for their indemnity; adding, that he would not tarry long there, but that he would send his Forces higher up into the Country, to the end that the City might be free of the inconveniency of their neighbourhood.

Affairs seemed to be thus quieted, and in truth they were all so astonished with the Blow received at *Libourn*, as had they governed themselves well, there was great hopes they might have been reduced to reason; but then the Duke must have tarried longer in *Bordeaux*: for his too speedy return to *Agen*, afforded not time to the Parliament to grow more milde. *Esperson* dream'd of nothing but revenge, whereof he cannot be excused; for from thence proceeded a great part of the disorders wherewith *Guienne* hath been so long afflicted. It is true that the Parliament was always wanting in their duty, and did therefore deserve punishment; but moderation must have been used therein, which might have appeased those turbulent Spirits. The Duke went from *Bordeaux* with firm intention to punish the Parliament; he went to *Cadillac*, from whence he acquainted the

the Court with what had past: He desired the King to pardon the People, 1649. but not the Parliament: Young *Argenson* carried this Dispatch to the Court, which was then at *Amiens*: At the first the Council stuck upon forbidding the Parliament, which did much prejudice the business; for they must either have put on a speedy resolution, so not to afford them leisure to make new Plots, or after long delay, have forborn execution. If the interdiction had presently followed, whilst the people were well disposed to Peace, the Parliament would have been necessitated to obey: But time altered the face of affairs; and when they were resolved to do it, they could not. The Court went from *Amiens* to *Compeigne*, which was another occasion of delay. *Argenson* told them, that if the interdiction should be speedily made, it might be easily effected; but if deferred, the business would take another parley: But whether it were that they were negligent, or that the Court had other business at that time, six Weeks pass'd without taking any expedient: so as that wound not being healed, but contracting continually ill humours, by the turbulent suggestion of the Parliament, the *Bourdalois* fell into new and more rash contempts. The first President was excluded the Council, and the Council for *Salomon* was driven out of the City. The People were forbidden to receive Pardon from the King, and the *Giurati* to desire it, imprinting in the People, that what was presented to them as a remedy, was a pestiferous Poyson; and that to accept of Pardon, was to confess a fault. The Expeditions were sent to the Duke, and the way of putting them in execution refer'd to him: but he, who was wholly set upon Revenge, fell upon the most violent remedies. Monsieur *de Comminge*, Lieutenant of the Queens Guards, was sent with two *Ussiers alla catena d'oro*, Ussiers with Gold Chains to *Bordeaux*, with the Inhibition; and *Esperson* himself went thither, who at first was well received. But when they found that *Comminge* was come to thunder out the Inhibition, wherewith the Parliament was much troubled, by reason of the bad consequence which the mark of such a fault brings with it, they would have shut the Door upon him as he entered into the Hall, but some of his Guards made a noise, and kept them from doing it; which incensed those that were present: the most seditious cried, *To Arms, to Arms*; some Barricado'd the avenues of the Streets which led to the Palace with Carts loaded with Dirt; others would have shut up the Gate *Salimieres*, which is neer the Palace, and by which succour might be brought from the Castle *Trombette*; but the Dukes men being aware thereof, stood in the midst of the Gate, and kept up the Portcullices which the Seditious would have let down; which afforded conveniency for 150 men to enter, who were sent by the Governour of the Castle to oppose the peoples fury. The mean while, the Duke, who with Count *Argenson*, Monsieur *de Comminge*, and a great many Gentlemen, was in the Palace-Hall, was told that the Tumult increased; which made him retire, lest he might be environ'd by the Croud. He returned to his house *Puy-paulin*, where he staid the rest of that day: He thought to have come the next day to the Palace; but President *Pontac* advertised him that the Seditious intended to set *Puy-paulin* on fire, and counselled him to retire, lest he might expose his person to the fury of an enraged people. This advice was embraced, and instead of going to the Parliament, he went from *Bordeaux* with the Nobles, which accompanied him, and with his Guards and Domesticks. He was no sooner gone out of the Gate, but the people got upon the Wall, shot at him, threw Stones, and curst him: He marched speedily towards *Cadillac*, and went from thence

1649. thence to *Agen*, to expect Orders from Court. The people's fury being somewhat appeased after this venting of their rage, Monsieur de *Comminge* endeavouring still to reconcile the Duke unto the Parliament, went to *Portes*, four leagues from *Bordeaux*, to confer with the Deputies of Parliament; but to no purpose. Many of the chief Inhabitants went from the City; the Guirato *Barriere*, as he was going was slain, but by whom no man knew. *Constance*, *Pontack*, *Boutrin*, and *Duglas*, who were all *Frondeurs*, were made *Guirats*.

When the news of this Insurrection came to Court, together with all that had hapned besides, all means were used to allay the Rancour; and divers good Orders being made, President *Gonges*, the Counsellours *Mirat*, *Monion*, and *La vie*, who were all four Deputies of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and had been detained at *Senlis* by order from the King, were set free; and *Mirat* was sent back with advantageous Proposals to the Parliament, whilst they should keep their obedience. For it was said, That *Garonette*, who held secret Intelligence with Duke *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor, well-wishers to the *Burdellois*, offered to make Marquis *savebeuf* General. This *Savebeuf* was a Gentleman of *Perigord*, who being advanced in *Esperson's* Court, had by his favour married the Daughter and Heir of *Pierre Ruffier de Limosin*, a very rich man, who had declared for the Duke of *Orleans* against the late King, at *Momorancy* his first stirring. He was afterwards Lieutenant-general to the Duke of *Parma* in *Italy*; and not being content with his Fortune, he fish'd in troubled Waters. The Cardinal was after told, That since all Remedies that had been hitherto applied to this Malady had failed, and that all had proceeded from the Duke of *Esperson's* presence in *Guienne*, who was there generally hated; the cause must be removed, to remove the effect. But it was not thought convenient to remove *Esperson* then, because that another being to be sent thither, it might be that the Prince of *Condé* might desire to be the man; so as the *Burdellois* affection towards *Condé* might prove more prejudicial to the King's Authority, than their hate to *Esperson*: as also, that it was more easie (*Esperson* being powerful in Friends and Territories in *Guienne*) to reduce the *Burdellois* to their obedience by his means, than to seem to fear a rash and indiscreet people, by sending a new Governour: and that therefore, by Maxims of good Government, it was better to hazard the whole, than to loose a part willingly with hazard of the rest. The King had a thought to go thither himself in person, or at least to send the Duke of *Orleans* to *Bordeaux*, where all things tended towards War; and Gallies being armed by the *Burdellois*, began to scoure those Waters in hostile manner, having taken Monsieur de *Meart*, the Duke of *Esperson's* Superintendant, Prisoners, and Counsellour *Blank*, in their Country-houses, who were brought with much ignominy to *Bordeaux*; wherefore *Esperson*, who was come to *Bourg* to have a care of that place, commanded Monsieur de *Piles* to advance with some Companies of the *Guienne* Brigado to *Portes*; and garrisoned all the neighbouring places with Souldiers which came to him from *Agen*, *Mont-Alban*, and elsewhere, and acquainted the Court with all these proceedings. And because *Haultmont*, Governour of the Castle of *Trombette*, had seized on some Beeves as they were driven underneath the Walls, for that the City had denied him some Victuals which he had desired; this served for a pretence to the *Burdellois* to break with the said Governour; the Citizens making divers shot against the said Castle, and making all the Souldiers that were in the City Prisoners. Wherefore *Haultmont* made all his Artillery play; but the Castle being

1649. seated low, the Bullets graz'd onely against the tops of the houses, causing neither prejudice nor fear. Therefore *savebeuf* was of opinion that it should be besieged: To provide against the which, Monsieur de *Meaux* advanced with some of the King's Vessels into the *Garonne*, and four Ships were forthwith armed by the City; with which, together with some other Vessels of War, Monsieur *Thibaut* fell down the stream to encounter the Royalists. *Meaux* his Vessel as it advanced to give battle stuck against ground; so as going into a little Bark, he flew the Pilot, and set fire on the Ship. The *Burdellois* this mean while drew forth some Cannon to play upon the Castle; wherein the Parliament was not waiting to give assistance, and imposed a great sum of Money upon all the richest Citizens. Advocate *Roche* did; together with some others, compose one Council of War consisting of six, and another of four, for the Maritime affairs; they took divers Troops into pay under Monsieur d'*Espagne*, who was the Engineer, and began to besiege the Castle, wherein there were but 200 men in Garrison: They set upon it on three sides; and to keep it from being relieved, the Marquis of *savebeuf* and Marquis *Lussan* advanced with many Squadrons to the Burrow of *Pondejack*, fortified and put Garrison into all the Churches and little Towns about *Bordeaux*; and fortified the Island *St. George*, which is a tract of ground lying between the branches of *Garonne*. Moreover, all that were absent were summoned under great penalties to return unto the City: which many of them did; and the houses of such as did not return, were plundered; and all their Goods were sold by the Candle. *Esperson* endeavoured to relieve the Castle by Water, and appeared with his Forces on the opposite shore; but was forced to give over the Enterprize. Wherefore the Defendants having manfully defended themselves from the latter end of *August*, till the midst of *October*; their Victuals failing them, the Water being corrupted, all their Defences and Tower beaten down, and the Garrison being reduced to bare 80 men, despairing of Relief, they were forced to capitulate, and went out on the 18th of *October*: the Enemy entred, sackt the Castle; the Duke of *Esperson's* Movables, which were worth 50000 *l. Sterling*, were brought into the Market-place, and sold for 8000 *l.* the Cannon which was in the Castle, were brought in great triumph to the publick Hall of the City. Counsellour *Fayard* with Ivie and Vine-leaves upon his head, like a *Bacchanalian*, bestrid one of the greatest Pieces, and with Flaggons of Wine in his hands powred out Wine to the licentious Rabble that followed him; inviting them all to cry out, *Vive le Burdellois, Vive le Parlement*: Upon which was fastened a Writing in applause of the Enterprize, and exhorting them to accept of the Title of Majesty. This was composed to little purpose, and to the scandal of all good men, by one *Gage* a Priest, a Chieftain of the Seditious, and who by base flattery sought for a reward.

During this Siege, the Deputies of *Bordeaux* protested to the Queen, That the Parliament intended mischief to none but to their bitter Enemy *Esperson*; and that in all things else they were the King's faithful and obedient Subjects.

The Court, which desired to wipe off the rust of Scorn and Hatred (which could not be done but by using sometimes simulation, sometimes rigour) at the same time that they sent Orders to certain of the Souldiers of *Guienne* to advance, sent Marshal *Plessis Pralin* to reassume the Treaty of Peace, and to give all reasonable satisfaction to the people and Parliament.

When the Marshal came to *Guienne*, he forbore going either to *Catholack*;

1649. *lack, or Bourdeaux*; so to keep from giving suspicion to either party: but went to *Lormont*, and began to negotiate as a third person between the Parliament and Duke; he was complemented by the Deputies of the Parliament and of the City: at first he endeavoured to impede the continuation of the Siege; and when the surrender was made, to hinder the demolishing of the Castle *Trombette*: he was answered by *Sault*, who was the Advocate-General, *That they would have no Peace but War, till the King were of years, unless Espernon were removed from that Government, in whom they neither would nor could confide.* And a certain Artificer, who was more brazen-fac'd than the rest, upbraided him, saying, he was another *Argenson*, as much as to say, one that would deceive them: For *Argenson* had in his negotiating cunningly maintained the honour and Interest of the King.

Vie returned to *Paris*, to acquaint the Court with what had past, having instead of serving the King, done the clean contrary; for he underhand counselled the Inhabitants to dismantle the Castle, and to continue their former resolutions, to the end that the Court having Forrein Wars upon their Backs, and civil garboyls at home, might not be able to adhere so tenaciously as it seemed to do to her Rights in that Province: For that favourable conjunctures of times were not to be let slip by Subjects who were desirous of Liberty; tracing the Court in her accustomed ways, which was to seem always to desire that which she did utterly abhor; and to observe any thing but what was promis'd, when it might be prejudicial, and when the occasion which drew on the promise is vanish'd.

The same *Vie* treated with the Prince of *Condé*, and wisht him to undertake the protection of the *Frondeurs* of *Bourdeaux*, who would be ready to sacrifice their Lives and Livelihoods in his service. The Prince seemed to be pleased with this Invitation, and told him he was very well addicted to those he spoke of: But at the same time he answered those who entreated him in the name of the Duke of *Candale*, not to declare against his Family; that if he and his Father *Espernon* would joyn with him, he would bring the *Bourdelois* wholly over to *Espernon*, and would secure him in that Government. *Candale* refused the Proposal, and would not forgo his obedience to his King: Which being known in *Bourdeaux*, by a Letter written to *Espernon* by Monsieur de *Theuenin* his Agent in *Paris*; the Wisest amongst them found that the Prince did but mock them: But the *Bourdelois* were so over-born with Passion, as their own danger could not make them be aware; and therefore, not minding the Proposal, though it tended to their satisfaction, with pride misbecoming Subjects, they marched with 4000 Foot, and 800 Horse into the field; and on *St. Martins* day they took *Pondejack*, and plundered the Church, whereinto the Country-people had brought their Moveables; they violated Women, and fired Houses. The Castle was defended two daies, but was then surrendered. Their designe was to do the like to *Cadillac*, which they sate down before; but the place being well defended by eight Companies of *Guienne* Brigade, and by five other Companies which came from *Rion* a neighbouring Town, they quitted the attempt.

They then turned towards *Pregnack*, and from thence play'd with their Artillery upon *Langon*, which they took by assault, and plundered: 200 of *Marine's* Foot, who guarded the Castle, which was weak, and after having defended it four daies, for want of Powder parlied, just when Monsieur *Marine* was come to *Bazas*, two Leagues off, with Forces to relieve it. The surrender of the City *Marcare* followed the loss of *Langon*; and the Parli-

Parliamentarians over-running the Country even to *Gironde*, the Marquis 1649. *Savebent* staid there to refresh his men, whereby he afforded *Espernon* (who was advanced to *St. Basil*) time to put Monsieur *di Biron* with a sufficient Garrison into *Reole*; which spoiled the *Bourdelois* designe, who hearing that at the time Count *Dognon* was entred the River with eight Frigates, a good number of Gallies, several Feluccas, some Fire-barks, and other provisions, and with a great many men, so as the Kings Forces were increased; they left Garrisons in the Towns they had taken, and returned hastily to *Bourdeaux*.

Whereupon the Duke of *Espernon*, having suddenly retaken *St. Maicaire*, *Langon*, and *Pondejack*, with 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, fell upon *Bastide*, but did no good therein; for, it being seated on the other side of the River, just over against the City, and guarded by Marquis *Theobon* by a great Garrison which was ever and anon reinforced by many Souldiers brought from the Fleet; he met with so stout defence, as he was forced to give over the attempt with the loss of some Foot, and of Monsieur *Scormans* Captain of *Marine's* Brigade.

Count *d'Ognon* having taken up his station at *Lormont*, was there assaulted by *Savebent* with 300 Citizens, led on by *Girat* a Captain of the City, not without danger of losing the men he had landed, and the Cannon, had not the *Bourdelois* (who were confused at *Girat's* being wounded) lost time in giving the assault, affording the Count conveniency to re-embark his men. The *Bourdelois* fell upon his Vessels, but with small good to the Parliamentarians, who having sent ten Fire-ships twice against the Kings men, their Vessels took fire before they came to the Kings ships. By these chances, which were contrary to the expectation of the *Bourdelois*, the Kings men being recruited by several re-enforcements; and on the contrary, the *Bourdelois* much discouraged, the *Bourdelois* began to be more calm, and instead of Revenge, to wish an Agreement. Wherefore the Mediators reassumed the Treaty, and by Monsieur *d'Alluinat* coming to *Bourdeaux*, who was sent from Court with Articles agreed upon between the parties concerned, and Marshal de *Plessis*, the Agreement was concluded. The substance whereof was, *That the Castle Trombette should be demolished till the King should be of years: That the City should be freed of the Imposition laid upon it of two Crowns upon every Tun of Wine that went out, and of a certain proportion of Taxes: That the Troops should be sent farther off, and the Consuls of every City and Province might send their Appeals to the Parliament without their Governours knowledge.* No speech was had of what had past between the Parliament and *Espernon*. The Count condescended to all that the *Bourdelois* demanded, so as under pretence of Grievances, new commotions might not arise; nor that the people should be exasperated by rigour, against which the Kings Council would use no violent remedies.

But though these Fluctuations were in part thus calmed amongst the people, yet were not the *Frondeurs* quieted, nor their Ambition, who in the publick Storms thirsted after private advancements. Monsieur de la *Morte de las* was sent by the Marquises of *Lusignan* and *Savebent* to the Court of *Spain*, to implore aid from the Court of *Spain*; who were received graciously by the Favourite *Don Lewis de Hara*; who to foment these disorders, resolved to dispatch away the Baron *Batteville*, then Governour of *Guipyscoa*: He embarked at *St. Sebastian*, and being come to *Bourdeaux* five days after the Peace was concluded, he notwithstanding appeared in the Assembly, and had publick and private Conferences with some

1649. some of the Parliament, which would never consent to agree with *Esperson*, nor that the exil'd Counsellors should be readmitted to their former conditions: nay, whilst Monsieur *Villamonte* propounded means to agree all parties fairly, they threatned to throw him into the River; and one of his men was assassinated by some indiscreet Citizens, which increased the rashness of the rest; his Coach being cut in pieces, and he had been made Prisoner as he returned to *Agen*, where he spoke with *Esperson*, had he not (being advertised by a Friend of his) gone by the way of *Libourn*. The Parliament raised a great sum of Money to pay the debt which they had contracted during the War; which being repugnant to the Kings Authority, the aforesaid *Vie*, and Advocate *Constance*, as they came from *Bordeaux* to the Court, the Marquis *Chasteauneuf* reproached them for it. But they notwithstanding got favourable answers, as shall be said hereafter, and which had been abundantly advantageous for them, had not the *Frondeurs*, who were impatient of their good fortune, prefer'd a rash War, before Peace granted them with such indulgency.

Before we enter upon the relation of the Troubles which hapned in the year 1649. we will relate the Divisions and Factions of the Court, which arising from a weak and almost unknown beginning, grew to such a height as pals'd all due conveniency.

The first Faction was that of the Queen-Mother's, or rather of Cardinal *Mazarine*; for the Court minded nothing but how to uphold this State-Minister of an uncorrupted Loyalty, totally bent to maintain the Kings Authority against the too great power of the Princes of the Bloud, and of others, which is suspicious in an absolute Empire, such as is that of *France*. The end of these was to keep the Duke of *Esperson* in the Government of *Guienne*, intending to keep those Subjects in obedience, and to stave off all Novelties which might arise from another Governour, whom they might affect, and who might depend upon them. It was thought to be a lesser evil to fall into a troublesome War, than to abandon the King's Authority to the Will of a proud and contumacious people, and for their pleasure to turn away that faithful Officer. To foment the *Provencialis* underhand, and to insist in not having the Count of *Alets* any longer for their Governour, as being too near a kin to *Condé*, to the end that by bereaving him of that leaning-stock, his power might be the less: To keep the Duke of *Orleans* still in good correspondency with the Regent, and jealous of *Condé*'s greatness, by the means of the Abbot *della Riviere*, who was promised to be made Cardinal: To seek out all means to moderate the Duke of *Beaufort*'s anger by the Dutcheß of *Monbason*'s means, winning her over by promise of Honour and Advantage; to the end that by recovering him into his duty, they might do the like to the *Parisians*, by whom he was seconded: To cross the Parliaments pernicious designs: To ballance *Condé* his vast thoughts: To cool their heat who were set upon Interest and Ambition; and finally, to maintain Regal Authority, and to win time till the King came of years, whereby all their pretences who were desirous to better their Fortunes were rendred plausible.

The second Faction was that of the Duke of *Orleans*, which was chiefly guided by the Abbot *della Riviere*, in whom he did totally confide, though he were hated by the Dutcheß *Margueret* his Wife, and by Madamofelle. Their ends were to unite themselves to the Queen, hoping to marry Madamofelle to the King, as they were held in hope by the Court; as well as was the Dutcheß, who intended that the King should marry her eldest Daughter. And the Dukes Family being Rival to that of *Condé*, they endea-

endeavour'd to lessen the Credit and Grandezza thereof. This contrariety 1649 proceeded in part from the jealousies which use to be between great Ladies, as were those of the Family of *Orleans*, and those of *Condé*'s and *Longueville*'s Family. And to these Factions did several Princeßes and Ladies of great Quality, and many highly qualified Lords adhere.

The third Faction was that of the Prince of *Condé*, Prince of *Conty*, and of the Duke and Dutcheß of *Longueville*; whose ends were so to fortifie themselves with Governments of Provinces, and strong Towns, during the Kings yet two years remaining Minority, as that when the King should be become of years, they might be able of themselves to resist and withstand any opposition which might be made against them. It is known that the Grandezza of the Princes of the Bloud hath always been suspected by the absolute and independent Dominion of a Monarch; as had been observed in the times of the precedent Kings by the imprisonment of almost all the Princes of *Condé*, and lately under the Administration of Cardinal *Richlieu*; who, during the time of his supreme Authority, became Arbitrator of the Lives and deaths of the most conspicuous men of the Kingdom. To this was added their being able to keep Cardinal *Mazarine* from establishing himself in his Employment by Marriage and Governments; and though he should be still in the Administration, to keep him low and weak, as well because that no other *French* Subject of haughty thoughts might succeed him, as that wanting a considerable Leaning-stock, he might be the more exposed to depend totally on them.

The fourth Faction was that of the *Frondeurs*, whereof the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor, were the chief Heads; and it was fomented by the Dutcheß of *Chevereux*, and the Dutcheß of *Monbason*; by divers Presidents and Councillors of Parliament, and by almost all the people of *Paris*. Their designe was to lessen the Cardinals Authority, to increase their own, and to make their Faction powerful. The Coadjutor was in high hopes hereof, being thereunto perswaded by the example of his Progenitors, who had had the administration in the Regency of other Queens who had been Forreiners; which not being to be done whilst the Cardinal was at the Helm, they sought out pretences how to colour their calumnies wherewith they aspers'd him, and flattered the people with hopes of bettering their condition: the Parliament and people proceeding by these means, infused distrust into the *Parisians*, comforted those of *Bordeaux*, and seeking how to disorder affairs, resolv'd to put all things into confusion; so as the King being bound to dismiss the Cardinal, they might effect their intents.

Not to omit touching upon what the Forces of these four Factions were: That of the Cardinal was fortified by the Kings Authority, by the obedience of all the Provinces of the Kingdom, except those that were governed by Princes of the adverse party; by all the Veterane Troops, by all the strong holds, by the Officers of the Crown, by all the Courtiers and Nobles of the Crown, who reverence nothing but the name of King.

The Duke of *Orleans* party aimed at nothing but at the Grandezza of the Abbot *de la Riviere*, who being named by the King to be a Cardinal at the first election of Cardinals, did nothing but caress the Court and Cardinal, to keep them from altering their minds. And though the Court intended him not that honour, lest the Duke of *Orleans* might have a Favourite of equal dignity with the Queens Favourite, yet it proceeded dextrously, to gain the advantage of Time. The Abbot not diving into

1649 the depth of the business, press'd the Queen continually to use all convenient means at *Rome* for his preferment; but he was not aware that the Instrument he made use of was that which wounded him; for the more the Court of *France* did desire this honour for *la Riviere*, the Pope did the more retard this promotion, to avoid giving this satisfaction to Cardinal *Mazarine*, with whose Interest he thought it did comply, that the Abbot might be decored with that dignity, without which his concerns would be ruined: For the Pope was not very well disposed towards the Cardinal, for reasons that shall be said in their proper place. Yet the Pope had not refused to nominate him, and the Abbot received visits in *L'Hôtel d'Orleans*, where he lived, from the Pope's Nuntio, with great applause and approbation, as if he had already been made Cardinal. And though many said that this was done by *Mazarine's* cunning, and not with the Queens intention; yet as men are easily lull'd asleep with Songs which please them, the Abbot wanted the Courts wariness; for being free from all suspicion, he was so well perswaded of himself, as he believed that if there were any thing in hand at Court prejudicial to him, it would be found out by the Cavalier *de la Bene*, and by others his friends which he kept at *Rome* as Agents to the Duke his Patron, to sollicite this his Promotion.

This nomination of Cardinalship succeeded in the year 1648, and it was effected by the Queen, being withstood much by the Court. When the King was returned to *Paris*, *Condé's* Family having prevailed with *Conty* to become an Ecclesiastick, they pretended to the name given to *la Riviere* for *Conty*; were it either that he did really desire that dignity, or that by abandoning that pretension he might get some greater advantage.

Upon the hearing of this, the Abbot employed the Duke of *Orleans* to the getting of what was promis'd him, and made him withdraw to *Limours*; threatening, that if they failed him, he would go into *Languedock*. The Queen was much troubled hereat, and was forced to perswade the Princes to yield to the said pretension; shewing them, that *Conty* being a Prince of the Blood, it made but little for his reputation to be made a Cardinal at the King's nomination, as was usual to the Subjects of *France*: but that it ought to be done for his extraordinary Merit, and for his Birth. So as *Condé* being willing to satisfy the Queen, and yet not to lose his right to the Cardinalship, it was agreed upon between them, that her Majesty should write to the Pope, and desire *Conty's* promotion as Extraordinary; which if the Pope should deny, then *Conty* should be nominated for Cardinal instead of *la Riviere*; and that the Queen should declare, that when a Prince of the Blood should pretend to such a dignity, all others were to give way. The difference being thus adjusted, the Duke of *Orleans* returned to *Paris*, where not long after the Abbot was made a State-Minister, and was upon all occasions caressed by the Cardinal, and by *Condé*.

The third Faction, which was *Condé's*, was onely to establish himself upon sound foundations, seeking onely some pretensions to effect it: He was Governour-General of *Berry*, and of the City and great Tower of *Bourges* the Metropolis of that Province. He had therein many Fee-farms and Vassals, besides the strong Castle of *Montrond*, which was well provided, and well Garrison'd by him. He was likewise Governour-General of *Burgundy*, and of the Castle of *Dijon* the Metropolis thereof, situated upon the River *Ouche*, wherein he had also many Fee-farms and Vassals; besides the Town of *Belgarde*, (with the Title of the Dukedom) sufficiently Garrison'd, upon the River *Sone*. He was Governour of *Ver-*
dune,

dune, and of *St. Jone de l'Aune*, places of importance for scituation, but meanly Garrison'd; and he treated by leave from the Queen, to make himself Governour of the important Town and Castle of *Ansois*, as you go from *Dijon* to *Dole*. He also had the Government of *Steney*, and *Clermont*, strong and considerable places. He was Governour-General of *Compeigne*, and had newly obtained from the Queen the Government of *Danville* a noble Town in *Luxemburg*, lately before won by the French, wherein Monsieur *di Rochefaucault*, Brother to Prince *Marsillac* (who was Governour of *Poitou*) was Governour. His Sisters Husband the Duke of *Longueville* was Governour-General of *Normandy*; and particularly of the City and Castle of *Caen*, and of the City and Castle of *Diepe*, a considerable Sea-Haven; and he had therein also many Fee-Farms and Vassals. The Marquis of *Beveron*, who was a great friend of his, was Governour of the old Town of *Roan*; and his Cousin Count *Mattignon* Governour of *Granville*, and of *Cherbourg*, both Sea-Havens; and these were the two Lieutenant-Generals of the same Province: he prest continually for the Government of *Pont d'Arch* upon the *Seine*, two Leagues from *Roan*: Marshal *de Brese*, *Condé's* Father-in-law, was Governour-General of *Anjou*, and of the Castles and City of *Angiers*, the Metropolis thereof; and of *Saumur*. The Count *d'Alets*, *Condé's* Kinsman, was Governour of *Provence*; who kept in Arms in that Province against his Enemies; and being by the Inhabitants made Master of *Toulon*, he kept his Regiment of Foot in Garrison there, after Monsieur *di Garniere's* death, and behaved himself as Governour.

This was the strength of the third Faction, to the which many great Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom did adhere, who were friends to these Princes; and who did publicly aver, that they did it merely to moderate the Cardinal's greatness, upon whom they laid all faults. And to make himself yet stronger, *Condé*, though he had not first consented to the Marriage of Duke *Merceur* with Mademoiselle *Mancini*, yet by means of such as were friends to them both, he made the Duke of *Vendosme* be told, that he was a Prince of such Birth and Merit, as he might justly pretend to be Admiral, without consenting that his Son should marry the Cardinal's Niece; and that if he would gainsay it, and joyn with his Interests, he would carry affairs so, as that he should be Admiral; and that he being one who loved the Honour of the Princes of *France*, he was unwilling that the house of *Vendosme* should match so far beneath it self. He spoke hereof without any manner of respect, though it were a question whether he did it out of ill will to the Cardinal, or to prejudice the Duke of *Vendosme*, with whom it was known he was not upon good terms. It was also thought that he endeavoured to stave off *Candale* from confiding in *Mazarine*: but the Court being already too much engaged with his Father the Duke of *Espenon*, who was kept by the Cardinal in the Government of *Guienne*, for the reasons aforesaid, he could not effect his desire. So as considering that the Countess of *Martinon's* Marriage could not be effected without restoring *Espenon* to *Bordeaux*, he publicly opposed it, fomenting the Parliament, the Inhabitants and chief men of the City, to insist upon his removal. In the Kings Council he did publicly defend the *Bourdelois*, condemning *Espenon's* violent proceedings, with Words likelier to foment Discord than to make Peace. And to hinder that the Government of *Provence* might not fall upon some one too pleasing to the Court, he defended his Kinsman the Count of *Alets* against the Parliament and City of *Aix*, not onely by express Letters, and by particular

1649 Promises, but in State-Consultations, and with threats against the Deputies of that Province, who complained continually against their Government.

Finally, the more to hinder *Mercœur's* Marriage, and to bereave *Vendosme* of the hope of being Admiral, he made Marshal *Breze* demand the Admiralty, as Father to the Duke of *Breze*, who had been slain in the Kings service; supposing that *Vendosme* would not condescend to that Alliance without the said Charge: and he moreover wrought it so, that his Father-in-law, the said Marshal, sold the Government of *Anjou* to the Duke of *Rohan-Chabot*, who was his great friend.

As for the fourth Faction of the *Frondeurs*, they seemed to mind nothing but the Cardinal's Ruine, either by making him be banish'd the Kingdom, or by making him be seditiously slain by the people; by which they thought to advance their private fortunes.

Duke *Beaufort* was resolved to keep in favour with the people, with whom he did publicly contend against the Court. And the *Frondeurs* endeavoured to draw more Citizens and others over to their party, knowing themselves to be of themselves too weak to contend against the other Factions. The Coadjutor, who thought himself fit for any employment, how great soever, and longed to get into employment, and to get the dignity of Cardinal, did so wisely carry his affairs, as, though he was a great Confident of Duke *Beaufort's*, and the chief counsellor of his party; yet he sought privately how to fall in sometimes with the Cardinal, sometimes with the Prince of *Condé*; that so if he might be able to pull down one of them by means of the other, he might easily afterward effect his end, which was, to destroy them both, and to become sole Arbitrator of all things himself. The Cardinal, who cunningly penetrated into the depth hereof, defended himself dextrously from these the Coadjutor's feigned semblances; who growing sorry for it, sought for protection to *Condé*, that they might both joyn in extirpating the Cardinal; which if it should succeed, it would not be hard for him to overthrow *Condé*, who was to this purpose extraordinarily revered by the chief *Frondeurs*; especially after his return to *Paris* from *Compeigne*: and truly he might be said then to have Fortune by the Forelock. For had he embraced this opportunity, he would have become very powerful, by adding the Authority of the *Frondeurs* and that of the Parliament of *Paris* to that Renown which he had already gotten. But were it either that he feared he might make way for others to compass their ends, or that being of a noble and generous mind, he hated Cozenage and double dealing, he would not go so far about; but governed himself according as occasions did arise, to attain to what conducted most to his ends.

Some malignant Star seemed to have influence every where; for after Tumults had been raised in many parts of *Europe*, they came to *France*, and afterwards to the City of *Liege*. The Troubles which arose there were occasioned by the Citizens denying to pay the 60000 Crowns which fell to their share in the Peace which was concluded the year before, by their not admitting of the Coadjutor, being sent by the Elector of *Culen*, under whose jurisdiction *Liege* was; and for that it was discovered those Citizens had a designe to chuse the Prince of *Conty* for their Coadjutor.

Wherefore the Elector finding it now a fitting time to reduce that City to its devoir, whilst it was divided; he sent General *Spor* thither with 6000 men, who entering those Territories in Hostile manner, the *Ligeois* and those those that confind upon them took up Arms, obliging the Elector's

1649 Elector's men to War; which began by their falling upon *Fleron*, a Village about a League from *Liege*, which was presently stormed and burnt. *Juppolé*, another great neighbouring Village, made stout resistance; for being fortified, and defended by many Citizens who marched out with Monsieur *Hannet*, they manfully withstood two Assaults; but not being able to withstand the third, it was also taken and fired, with the death of *Hannet*, and of as many as were in it. Then the Electorals encamped in the Monastery of the *Carthusians*, not far from the City. They burnt *Amerceny*; planted their Cannon before *Coruillon*, a little Town which commanded it; took the Cloisters of *St. Giles*, and placing their men in Battle-array, began to batter the Walls, though the Besieged, being a Warlike people, did with great and frequent Salleys endeavour to keep the Enemy aloof. Here was Colonel *Arar* slain, who was of great experience, and much beloved by the Souldiers: many other of the best Inhabitants were slain here likewise. The Electorals were still solicitous in advancing the Siege, fearing lest the *Hollanders* might come in to the relief. They set upon the Abby of *St. Lorence*, which was fortified by the *Ligeois*, and guarded by 300 men; but were repulsed with much loss both then, as also a second time; but being wearied out by many reiterated Assaults, and by the death of many of them, and not being relieved by the City, the Abby was taken by Storm the same day, all the Souldiers were slain, the Abbot and all the Monks were taken prisoners, as held to have holden intelligence with the Besieged. The Citizens being hereby as much terrified and dejected, as they at first appeared stout and courageous; and being much more cast down by the disagreement of many amongst themselves, who held private intelligence with the Enemy; they demanded a suspension of Arms for six days, which was granted them but for 24 hours, a sufficient time to treat of and conclude such a business: In which time one of the Burgomasters, and some others who sided with the Elector, opened the Bridge-gate privately, and let in the Baron of *Linden* Governour of *Huy*, with 4000 armed Men, who were placed in several parts of the City, not meeting with any opposition, save a little in *St. Mark's* place, where the most seditious amongst the people made a Head: But being quickly overcome, and their Captain slain, they soon run some one way, some another; so as the Electorals made sure the City, took Burgomaster *Hennet* Prisoner, who was Brother to him that was slain whilst he defended the aforesaid Village, made the Regiments of *Spor* and *Goltz* enter the City, by which they became absolute Masters thereof. And thus did this Insurrection end, with the Imprisonment of Burgomaster *Bartlet*, to the great glory and advantage of the Elector. The aforesaid Prisoners were condemned to die, as chief Authors of the Tumult; but *Bartlet* ransom'd his life at a great sum of Money. *Hennet* and two other of his Companions had their Heads struck off; and the City was find, to keep from being Sack'd. The Elector came thither afterwards; and to keep them from the like Rebellion, he took all the Chains from the Streets, and gave order for the building of two Citadels: And thus did this War end.

At the same time that these things hapned in these parts, new Broils were heard of in *Italy*; for Pope *Innocent* being resolved to force the Duke of *Parma* to pay the Creditors of *Monti Farnesi*, which he was not able to do, by reason of the great expence the Duke his Father had been at in the late Wars; in January this year some Commissioners of the Apostolick Chamber were sent to *Borghetto*, a Town in the State of *Castro*, and

1649. and carried with them four Companies of Souldiers, to put the Sentence in execution which was made against the said Duke in behalf of the Dutchess of *Nerula*; who being withstood by the people of *Parma*, and made to return without doing any thing, such distastes grew thereupon, as did by degrees increafe, and were much increased by the assassinate which was committed on the Bishop of *Castro* as he went to his own residence; though it hapned against the Duke's will; for hereupon open War broke forth: Duke *Ranuccio* did what he could to stave it off; and the Pope declaring that his designe was onely to gather in the approaching Crop, to satisfie the *Montefi* therewith, the Duke professed much respect and reverence to his Holiness; listning to all Proposals of Agreement, being as desirous thereof, as the way was easie, if the Declarations which came from *Rome* had been (as those of *Parma* said) as sincere in effect, as they were in appearance: for since it was civil Interest that was treated on, they thought the Pope might not make it criminal; and that instead of spending his Men and his Money against a Prince who was obsequious to the Holy Church, he might with more glory have employ'd them against the Enemies of Christ and of the Catholick Faith. The Duke offered to disburse as much money as the pretended Harvest would come to; and did at the same time desire his Holiness, that touching the lapsed Fruits, if it should be found that he were liable to the payment thereof, they should be added to the whole sum; which he promis'd to pay, together with Interest, within the space of twelve years. To these Proposals the Pope answered sometimes in one manner, sometimes in another: and though he gave out that he had given order to the great Duke's Ambassador to pretend onely to such payments as were due whilst the State of *Castro* was in possession of the Family of the *Fernesses*; It was at last resolved, that the Duke should be bound to make payment for the whole time, though the Apostolick Chamber had possessed the State during the late War. Whilst these Treaties were on foot, and that the Pope declared he intended not to take *Castro*, nor to suffer any Hostility to be done in the State, his Forces were no sooner entred therinto, but they did the quite contrary; they sat down before *Castro*, commanded by the Counts *David Vidman*, and *Girolimo Gabriele*. The Duke being loth to lose it, and finding that the Great Duke's Negotiation, nor that of Cardinal *Albernots*, and of the Marquis *Caracene* in the name of his Catholick Majesty did no good, raised some Forces in the Territories of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and resolved to go to the relief thereof: the same *Gaufredi* and Count *Francisco Baiardo* led on his Forces; who advancing by the way of *Vastalla*, and *Mirandola*, toward the River *Lens* in the *Bullonese*, with no little terrour to those Inhabitants; they were met by the Church-Army commanded by Marquis *Matthei*, accompanied by the Marquis *Villa*, and the Marquis *Tassoni*; and coming together on the 12th of August, neer the Town *St. Pietro* in *Cassal*, those of *Parma* were routed after five hours fight, and *Gaufredi* was forced with little honour to return to the Territory of *Parma* with the remainder of his worsted Army: whereat the Duke was highly offended, especially for that he had heard that *Gaufredi* had abused the Duke's Name upon many occasions; and that amongst other things, he had put the Bishop of *Castro* to death; he made him be imprison'd in the Castle of *Piacenza*, where Process being made against him, and he being convinced of inexcusable Faults, he was in publick view beheaded.

Gaufredi was Son to a Physician of a little Town in *Provence* called *Entat*; and being by his Wit gotten to be Secretary to Duke *Edward*, he got

got to have the whole power in the Court; and in this his greatness, giving distaste to the Dutchess and chief Lords of the State, he drew upon him that envy which usually attends so violent a Fortune as was his; and instead of altering his haughtiness with the death of his Master, he still grew prouder under the Duke his Son, whom he did totally govern, in despite of his Mother, and of the great ones of the Court: and confiding in this his prosperity, he fancied to be a General, though he had never been a Souldier; and to go with these well-appointed Forces to frighten *Rome*, as the Duke of *Bourbon* had done. But at his first encounter with the Church-forces, he ruined that Enterprize and his Fortune; being dazzled with the splendor of that Ambition, which always, when unaccompanied with the lustre of Birth, proves dark and cloudy.

Sanson Arsinelli Governour of *Castro*, who till then had defended the Town valiantly, despairing of Relief by reason of this unfortunate encounter, parlied on the first of September, and surrendered the Town upon as honourable and advantageous terms, as in like cases are given to men of Honour: He delivered up the Town and State into the Popes hands, whose Garrison entred thereinto; and his Holiness became Master thereof without any more ado.

And though by this Surrender all Hostility should have ceased, yet the differences between the parties pretending was not so quickly hush'd: For the Pope being resolved that the Duke should not onely pay and discharge the *Fernesan* Debts, but that he should be further proceeded against, for having made opposition by way of Arms; they did still continue. At last, all the Spanish Agents, together with the Great Duke, being become Mediators, and being desirous to oblige the said Duke, lest he might desperately throw himself into the hands of the French, the Agreement was made by their means; the State of *Castro* remaining in the Pope's power till the said Principal should be satisfied by the Duke; which was not without some prejudice to the esteem which France was then in in Italy, since the Princes thereof were forced to have recourse to Spain, whose reputation the greater it grew, the more did that of the French lessen, who were not less prejudiced by Duke *Charles* of *Mantua* his joyning in straighter alliance with the House of *Austria*, whilst thereby he left depending upon France, as he had till then done, and in all reason ought still to do. But not foreseeing such an inconvenience, were it either out of unadvisedness, or that he thought to keep the Duke in awe by the Town of *Cassal*, or that there were not therein then any Marriageable Princesses; for *Madamoselle d'Orleans* had no minde thereunto, as being unwilling to marry into Italy, where she might not enjoy that Liberty and Freedom which is allowed in France; the Duke might do what he pleased. Wherefore he married with *Donna Isabella Clara* of *Austria*, Arch-Dutchess of *Innspruck*, in June this present year; which made a straight tie afterwards between these two Houses. For the Emperour *Ferdinando* being a Widower, and being to marry the third time, he pitched upon the Sister of the said Duke of *Mantua*, whom he married the next year, 1650. Both which Brides as they pass'd to their Husbands, went through the State of *Venice*, where they were entertained throughout all that Dukedom with such splendor and Magnificence, as the Commonwealth is accustomed to do upon like occasions.

A Match was formerly treated of between the Emperour and *Madamoselle d'Orleans*, who had a great desire to be either Empress or Queen; not thinking that her Princely Endowments ought to match beneath her birth. Monsieur *de Mondovergne* was sent upon this occasion to *Cesar's* Court, whose

1649. whose Negotiation failing, Monsieur *di Sangeon* was sent thither in the year 1649, under pretence of visiting her Brother *Francis* Duke of *Lorain*, who was then at the Emperours Court, where he tarried some moneths, and had many Conferences with Count *Trautmendorp*, making chiefly use of the Lantgrave of *Hessen*, and of the Jesuites, with whom he used all means to effect it, first with *Cesar*, and afterwards with the King of *Hungary*; but the *Spaniards* mar'd all, with whose Interests the Marriage did not comply.

Whilst affairs went thus here, the *Spanish* Fleet, which being commanded by General *Pimento*, sailed from *Naples* toward *Catalonia*, on the end of *August* came before *Oneglia* upon the Coast of the *Liguistick* Sea, between *Monaco* and *Finale*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*; where landing some Souldiers, they drew neer the Town, and forc'd the astonished Inhabitants, who wanted Garrisons and Fortifications, to receive in a *Spanish* Garrison. Upon news whereof, the *Spaniards*, who were already in the field upon the confines of *Alessandrino*, parted suddenly from *Montegrosso*, intending to make some attempt upon *Alba*, a City in *Montferrate*. But some Souldiers being put therein by Monsieur *St. Oné*, and by Count *Verna*; they returned towards *Ceva*, and assaulted the Castle; which being valiantly defended by Count *Alexander Bogerello* Governour of the Town, and by Count *Mauritio Santi* who commanded the Fort, they were withstood, and at last forced for want of Victuals to retreat by night; and on the 15th of the said moneth were fallen upon in the Rear by some *French* Troops, who slew some of them.

The loss of *Oneglia* troubled the *Savoyards*, by reason of the disturbance which it caus'd unto all the neighbouring parts. Wherefore Marquis *St. Damiano* Governour of *Villa Franca*, and Marquis *Omberto* Governour of *Mondoni*, knowing that there were but 400 Souldiers in it, came before it with certain Forces which they had drawn out of their own Garrisons, and out of the neighbouring parts, and recovered the Town. The Governour retreated to the Castle, where wanting necessary Provisions, he was forced to surrender by the diligence of these Gentlemen: the *Spaniards* designs were thus interrupted; who got much advantage in *Catalonia* by reason of the troubles in *France*.

The necessity grew still greater in *Catalonia*, by reason of a general Famine that was there; and civil Discords were augmented in *France*; wherefore the *Spaniards* had hopes to make full acquisition of that Province. To which purpose, having given forth order for new Levies in the State of *Milain*, Kingdom of *Naples*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, they also rigged out a Fleet at Sea. As soon as they had mustered an Army of 7000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, commanded by General *John di Garay*, Lieutenant-General *Tuttaville*, and by the Duke *d'Albuquerque* General of the Horse, with 17 pieces of Cannon, and requisite Ammunition; they marched about the end of *September* to *Jonneda* neer *las Borgias*; from thence to *Splaga* in *Calno*; it not being known whether they meant to march towards *Cervera*, or to fall down into the Valley of *Tarragona*; which made Count *Marfin*, who was General of the *French* in *Catalonia*, equally to fortifie all the Frontiers, to keep them from being attempted by the Enemy; who after having tarried two days at *Splaga*, fell upon and took *Monblank*, and took 80 Foot of *Fabrick's* Brigade Prisoners; which made the *French* advance suddenly to *Sarcall*, with 1500 Foot drawn out of the Garrisons of *Cervera*, *Arbecca*, and *Ballagner*, and with all the *French* and *Catalonian* Horse, advancing afterwards to *Pira*, half an hours march from the *Spanish* Camp;

1649. Camp; with intention either to hinder, or to protract their passing into the Vale of *Aragon*, by the Hill of *Cabra*, as they seemed willing to do; and here there pass'd many Skirmishes between the Horse, which were advanced. But the *French* not being in a condition to keep at *Pira*, they retreated to *Rochefort*: Whereupon the *Spaniards* falling down without any hindrance into the Vally of *Taragona*, they on the third of *October* assaulted *Constantine*, and in three days took it, though it were stoutly defended by the Garrison; and at the same time they fell also upon *Saló*, which is seated upon the Sea-side, and took it by assault, wherein almost all the Defendants were slain, and the rest were taken Prisoners, together with the Governour Monsieur *Benjamin*, who was Wounded in six places. From thence the *Spanish* Army marched toward *Les Panades*, seeming to have a designe upon *Barcellona*; which *Marfin* suspecting, he sent 800 Horse thitherward, commanded by Monsieur *di Nesiere*, together with the Foot-Brigadoes of *Champagnia*, *Auvergne*, and *Mompallion*, and 200 *Switzers*, giving order that they should be in readiness, and that when they should see the *Spaniards* were ready to fall upon that City, they should go in to recruit it. *Garay* advanced without any opposition; and his Army being strong, and well provided of all things, he set upon and took *Serges*, four Leagues from *Barcellona*: and he might easily have effected his intent upon *Barcellona*, had it not been for the vigilancy of *Don Jussepe Marguerite* Governour of that place, and of Monsieur *di Mark* Bishop of *Caserans*, who discovered the intelligence which the *Spaniards* held in that City, for which above 200 persons were put out of it. And all other things were diligently provided for, particularly the Fortifications of *Mongevich*, and Guards of the Maritime parts, where there was most suspicion, whilst the *Spanish* Navy was upon those Coasts, upon pretence of carrying the Queen from *Genova* to *Finale*. *Serquera*, *Camarsilla*, *Grades*, *Falset*, and other Townes of the Vally of *Arum* were likewise fortified; and moreover, in 15 days space above 4000 Country-people were armed; who were all Friends to *France*, and bitter Enemies to the *Spaniards*.

General *Marfin* sent the Marquis of *Fara* afterward with four Regiments of Horse to quarter at *Villa Franca* two Leagues distant from *Serges*, that he might there observe the proceedings of the Enemy, with orders notwithstanding to retreat if they should make towards him; which the Duke of *Albuquerque* did with most of the Catholick Horse; whereupon the said Marquis got to Horse betimes, and without confusion retreated to *Martorel*, after having been charged by the *Spaniards*, in which Bickering all the *French* Commanders did signalize themselves; and in particular Viscount *Larbusse*, who together with divers other Officers and Souldiers were Wounded. Duke *Albuquerque* did also behave himself valiantly, having his Horse killed under him; and *Don Gaspero de la Cueva* and three other Captains were slain neer him.

Don Jussepe Marguerite had in this interim conveyed divers Writings into the Enemies Camp, containing promise of Passport and Moneys to all that would withdraw from the *Spanish* service; so as after the last encounter the Enemies ran so fast away, (for their sufferings were great) as their Army was much diminished.

Marfin quartered afterwards near *St. Andrea*; and thinking that the *Spaniards* might go into the *Panades*, to get new intelligence again in *Barcellona*; and not finding himself strong enough to fight them, nor to force them to remove, he resolv'd to effect it by a powerful diversion in the

1649. Kingdom of Valenza. Wherefore he sent *Don Juspe d'Ardena* into those parts with 3000 fighting men, who entering without any opposition, overran a great part of the Country; which General *Garay* understanding, he suddenly embarked 3000 men for *Vineros*; and leaving his Baggage and Artillery at *Taragona*, he drew the Garrisons out of *Montblank* and *Sirges*, and marched himself towards *Villabodin*, and from thence into the parts of *Lerida*, being pursued by the French; who did somewhat prejudice his Rear by reason of his slow march; and peradventure he might have fared worse, had not *D'Ardena* been far off with his Forces, who brought nothing with him into *Catalonia* by his over-running the Kingdom of *Valenza*, but that contagious Disease, which did afterward ruine almost that whole Principality.

This years Campaign being thus ended in *Catalonia*, whilst all were in their Winter-quarters, and whilst the French studied no less to surprize *Taragona*, than did the Spaniards *Barcelona*; *Juspe Arbose* a Notary of *Taragona*, advertised *Marin* that there were not above 400 Souldiers in Garrison in that City; that he the said *Arbose* had above 80 *Catalonians* who were his Friends there, who when the French should possess themselves of a Gate, they would take up Arms against the Garrison.

He therefore went from *Barcellona*, seeming as if he went to view his Quarters near *Villa Franca*, five miles distant from *Taragona*, and carried with him 800 Foot, and some Horse; and marching by night, came before the Town on *St. Jeron's* Hermitage side, upon a Hill within Musquet-shot of the City, by which advantage, he sheltered his Foot and Horse. He advanced 500 Horse to a high place which was sheltered by the same Hill, to hearten those that were to possess the Gate; towards which the said *Arbose*, one *Catalonian*, and five French marched in Country-habits, with ten Mules loaded with Meal, as Provisions which were usually carried into the Town; which the Sentinel who was upon the Wall perceiving, he gave the accustomed Signe, whereby they were permitted to the first and second Portcullises; but as they were to enter the third, and that seven Souldiers that were of the Guard would have opened the Great Gate, the Sentinel observing that some of those supposed Country-people did not answer well in the *Catalonian* Tongue, cried out that they were French; yet he would advance and possess himself of the Wicket: but the Guard coming in when they heard the noise, they were forced to retreat, and slew the Sentinel with a Pistol-shot: Those who were privately advanced to assist these men, hearing the Pistol go off, which was the Signe given for them to advance, they did so; but were slain or stop'd by the Spaniards, and had their Mules taken. And *Marin*, hearing the sinister chance, retreated to *Barcellona* on the 15th of January, throughout which whole City it was noised that the Enterprize had taken; as certainly it would have done, had they taken *Catalonians* instead of the French.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The FOURTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The Prince of Condé declares himself dissatisfied with Cardinal Mazarine, joyns with the Frondeurs; then repents, and makes his Peace again. The discontented party endeavour to raise seditions in Paris. A Musquet is discharged at Councillor Jolly. An Assassinate against Condé is suspected, whereof the Frondeurs are accused: The Prince resents it, and endeavours to have the persons guilty punished, accusing the Duke of Beaufort and Coadjutor as the Principals: They endeavour to excuse themselves, and remove his jealousies, but in vain; whereupon they joyn with the adverse party. The Marriage between the Duke of Richlieu and the Marchioness of Pons is concluded, at which the Court is much dissatisfied. The Dutchesse of Cheveuse and Anguillon being highly offended with the Prince of Condé as the principal Agent therein, plot his Ruine. New Commotions arise in Paris, and the Princes of Condé, Conty, and Duke of Longueville are Imprisoned. The Abbot de la Riviere loses the Duke of Orleans his favour. Divers Noblemen declare for the Princes. Count Marin is Imprisoned in Catalonia. There follow many changes of Governours, and the Chancellor falls into the disfavour of the Court. The King goes into Normandy, and from thence to Burgundy. Some Towns in Berry, by the Count D'Aignon his means, put themselves under the Kings obedience. Belgarde is taken by the Royalists. The Dutchesse of Longueville retires into Flanders, Thence to Stenay, and, together with Marshal Turenne, concludes a League with the Spaniards. The Princess of Condé is received at Bourdeaux; and that Parliament declares for the Princes. The King makes preparation for his going to Guienne, and the War against Bourdeaux is renewed. The Duke of Orleans demands to have the Imprisoned Princes brought to the Bastile: He is pacified, and there happens divers accidents in Paris. The War in Catalonia continues, and the Spaniards make great preparations for somenting the Civil War in France.

Amidst these so many various Interests and pretences of the differing parties, there hapned a new and unexpected Accident, which had like to have turned topsie-turvy, not the Court onely, but also the whole Kingdom of France; in regard the Prince of Condé pretending that the Cardinal at the Conference touching the Peace at Paris, had promised the Government of *Pont de L'Arche* unto his Brother-in-law the

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Duke

1650. Duke of Longueville, and he denying it, was so highly incensed and disquieted, that he declared, *He was resolved to come no more at Court whilst the Cardinal was Minister of State, or in the Kingdom*: Which occasioned so great a confusion, as the like hath hardly been at any time. Great was the concourse of the Cavalry, Gentry, and persons of all sorts, to Condé's house; who according to his wonted custom speaking publicly and passionately against the Cardinal, protested, *He would never more have friendship with him*: which Expressions, together with his other Carriage, gained him the favour of the common people, who were possessed with sinister opinions, and greedily desirous of new things; and also purchased for him the good Wishes of the Parliamentarians, to whom divisions in the Royal Family were welcome; so as he found himself presently in a condition of being able to make good his pretensions, and to disorder and overthrow the whole frame of the Government.

The *Frondeurs* were the onely persons who made no application to him, although the Quarrel were against their greatest Enemy; because having before desired to gain him unto their party, he had (as you have heard) refused them. The Prince being a little surprized at it, had recourse unto his Sister Longueville, to the end she by her credit with the Faction, might prevail with them to make application to him. This she readily undertook, and wrought so, as the Duke of Beaufort, the Coadjutor, and all the principal Heads of the Party, came to visit and make offer of their service to him, they being very sensible of the advantage might thereby accrue unto them, in being able, when joyned with him, to overthrow the Cardinal; which of themselves they were not able to perform, and therefore entred into a Confederacy with him, having in appearance onely the same intentions, but in truth desiring to make use of his authority in compassing their own particular designs, which were to banish the Cardinal, and restore the Marquis of Chasteau Neuf unto the Ministry.

Condé found nothing of difficulty in making a total Union with them, hoping he might by theirs and his own Forces render himself sole Master at Court, and disposer of all Affairs in France; onely this jealousy remain'd, that he might change the Cardinal for Chasteau Neuf his Enemy, which was a thing he no way liked; and therefore he caused Beaufort to be sounded by the Dutchess his Sister, that he might understand whether Beaufort intended to come with him against the Cardinal without reserve, and to persuade him that after the Cardinal's expulsion, he would continue to espouse his Interests against all his Enemies. The Dutchess endeavoured to perform this, but in vain; because he declared frankly he intended to engage no farther in their Union, but onely for the Cardinals expulsion; and the Coadjutor expressed himself also to the same purpose. The Prince began then to be sensible of the *Frondeurs* drift, which was to make use of his Authority for removing of *Mazarine*; and then instead of leaving him the power, to deprive him also totally thereof; and by the re-establishing of Chasteau Neuf, to draw the sole direction of all matters to themselves. The Cardinal was grieved the Prince should for so slight a matter become his Enemy; and professed, that rather than he should be the occasion of Troubles in the Kingdom, he would renounce all his Fortunes there, and quit his Charge: He refused the Visits and Applications of many persons who made tender of themselves; and finally, he declared publicly, That although the Queen should be willing to uphold him against the Prince, and desire his stay in France, yet he would disobey her in that particular, as being more desirous of the Kingdoms quiet, than his own advancement.

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In this confusion, there wanted not some persons of Quality who interposed for an Accommodation, grounding themselves upon their knowledge of the Prince's temper; who the more furious and violent he was at first, was by so much the more easily pacified with submissions and respectful carriage towards him; and they were the rather persuaded of it, because they knew his generous mind would not endure the extravagant and undecent pretensions of that party. The Duke of Orleans, and Abbot de la Riviere (who desired not the Cardinal's destruction, fearing they should thereby increase the Prince of Condé's power, and make the *Frondeurs* and Parliament more bold and insolent) contributed their endeavours hereunto, so as the first heats being pass'd over, the Treaties for an Accommodation were resumed; and as the Prince's minde grew calmer, the Cardinals Friends gained more and more upon him in their Treaties for an Accommodation of the differences between them.

They represented to him, That if *Mazarine* went away, 'twas necessary to finde some other person in his room; the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and even the Prince himself, being unable to undergo that perpetual vigilance, labour and care, which was necessary for the discharge of that Employment; and in that case there were no persons could be thought on, but the Marquis of Chasteau Neuf, or Count of Chavigny, both antient and well-experienced Ministers of State. Whereof the later, though acceptable to Condé, would never be admitted by the Queen, who was to allow the person chosen, he having been a creature of the Cardinal Richlieu, and one who had joyned with him in the persecution of her: and Chasteau Neuf liked by the Queen, would never be endured by Condé, as an antient Enemy to his Family, and one who in the Parliament of Tolouse had been a principal person, and acted as Keeper of the Seal, at the death of Duke Montmorancy his Mothers Brother. To these considerations, wherewith the Prince was even convinced, was added this, That he foresaw, in case these two should be excluded, a third person was probably to be made choice of, who would be much more harsh and violent: This was the Coadjutor. And unto all this was further urged, That the Duke de Roan gave the Prince hopes Pont de l'Arche should be granted to Longueville: That the dignity of Constable and a good sum of ready Money should be granted to himself. And in fine, they let him see, that if by joyning with the *Frondeurs* he should banish the Cardinal, the Duke of Beaufort, as Head of that party, would have all the applause and favour of the people; and his authority in Paris, by such a Rival, would be much eclipsed and weakened; and that 'twere therefore better to agree with the Cardinal, from whom a better satisfaction was to be expected, than from any other.

These Reasons were very well approved of by the Prince, who was no friend to Beaufort, or any other that might stand in competition with him, for that Reputation which the nature of his actions had acquired unto him: whereupon advising with his greatest confidants, he considered that the *Frondeurs* were willing to joyn with him, not out of any desire they had to second his designs, but that they might by his means compass their own; and therefore took a resolution to agree with the Cardinal; which he thought he might then do without loss of Reputation, considering he was in this contest got to be Head of that party, as well as of all others that depended on him. This was executed with much speed, and upon very advantageous conditions; the Government of Pont de l'Arche being thereupon granted to Longueville, and the Cardinal assuring him, he would proceed no farther in the Treaty of Marriage between the Duke of Mercant and his Niece.

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1650. Such was the end of this difference; the Cardinal kept his Station, the *Frondeurs* were deluded, the Parliament confounded, and all other the discontented parties were much unsatisfied, especially to see so great a change in less than eight days, without the least notice given of it to any one of those many persons of Quality, who had upon this occasion declared for him; whereupon the general hatred, which was in a manner laid aside, was kindled against *Condé* much more violently than before, and especially in those, who having thought the difference between him and the Cardinal would continue, had been too forward in the declaring of themselves; and being now discovered and abused, railed against *Condé*, taxing him to be a person, who minding only his own ambitious designs, had no value for his friends, nor consideration of the services which they had done him. But above all, *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor were most implacably his Enemies, they having fancy'd to themselves great matters by his assistance, and the rather, because the Prince said publicly, *That he would rather suffer four Mazarines to be Ministers of State, than one Chateau Neuf*; professing, *That he had been in much trouble those few days he had been with them, their inclinations being so diametrically opposite to his*.

The *Frondeurs* and all others being thus disappointed of their hopes of banishing the Cardinal, that which followed was, first, the small respect which *Condé* seemed to bear towards the Queen, and the first Minister of State; believing the shews of reliance upon him from them, were true, not counterfeit. Secondly, the great dissimulation which the Cardinal used towards him. And thirdly, (which was most of all) the Curfes which were generally made against *Condé*, for keeping in a Minister of State who was generally hated by all persons; and many thereupon prefiged the time was drawing on, which might be seasonable to Imprison him, as heretofore his Father had been, in the *Bastile*, upon the like conjuncture of affairs, by the Marquis *d'Ancre*; and there was none but thought the Cardinal capable of those Maxims, by which great persons are taught to take such courses, as that a Subject who hath been able once to dispose of all things, at his pleasure, should not be continued in such Authority and Power. This came to be the general discourse, so as in all places there was nothing so much spoken of, as of the Princes being clapt up; though there were divers persons who said it was not to be thought the Cardinal (during the Kings Minority) would dare to attempt such a thing against a Prince of his quality, because nothing of that kinde could be effected without the knowledge and consent of the Duke of Orleans, who was President of the Council: and *Condé* had the Abbot *de la Riviere* for his Confident; who proud of such an Honour from so great a Prince, assured him that his Royal Highness resolved nothing, and much less of affairs of such importance, without consulting first with him; and therefore he assured him he would not fail upon any such occasion to give him notice.

The Cardinal in the mean time was particularly informed of all the Prince's actions, and studied nothing more than some convenient opportunity to interrupt his bold designs; and the great difficulties which appeared in the performance of it, rendered him much more fixed in the resolution he had taken to perform it. He considered on the one side the desperateness of the attempt, and the extremity of ruine which would fall upon him if the Prince (who was extremely jealous of every thing) should come to have the least suspicion that he had any thought against him: And on the other side, how ignominious his management of the State would be, if the Authority of the King his Master should, during that time, be impaired and

1650. and lessened by the Prince. And in this perplexity he resolved that dissimulation was the true Sugar he was to use, wherewith to sweeten all his Actions. In order hereunto, he caused presently all his said Nieces to be removed from Court, and shut up in a Monastery of Nuns in the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Germain*, and declared publicly, that his intentions never had been to marry his Nieces in France, for those ends which he was charged withal; and therefore he was very glad to give over the thought thereof, his otely drift being to unite the Royal Family against those who endeavoured to raise Dissentions amongst them. This gave a stop to those Discourses which his Enemies had formerly made against him in *Paris* upon that occasion; But his true end therein, was to put them in a place of safety; so as in case he should be forced upon any occasion to retire, these Ladies might not be exposed unto the insolencies of an unruly people, as foreseeing all those artifices which the malice of his Enemies made use of to procure his Ruine.

These passages very much troubled the Leading Men of the *Frondeurs*, and all the other Malecontents, who saw their party decaying daily by the Residence of the Court (which eclipsed all other Authority) in *Paris*, and by the agreement between the Prince and Cardinal; and therefore they resolved, by some extraordinary and suddain attempt, to put things unto a hazard before the peoples mindes were wholly quieted; and thereupon to take such resolutions as time and the condition of Affairs should suggest to them.

The Parliament had not in this mean time met since the first of April, because all things being quieted by the Peace lately concluded, there had been no occasion for their meeting. The Great Chamber had ended several differences between the Partisans and their under-Farmers, who refused to pay their Rents, although it were the order both of the King and Parliament that they should do it. In pursuance hereof, the Partisans had caused several of the under-Farmers to be Imprisoned in the Town-house, where they had been restrained for several days. And upon this occasion, the Partisans, to procure payment of their Money, met several times, and in great numbers, in the Town-house; which caused some discourse amongst the people, who were very much inclined to Tumults and Sedition. The *Chambre de Vacance* (upon the motion of the Procurator-General his Substitute) prohibited all kind of Meetings, upon any occasion whatsoever, without order from the Magistrate. The Partisans thought themselves injured by this Order, and presently chose several Deputies, persons of quality, (as Councillors, and Advocates, and Temporal Citizens, amongst which were the President *Charton*, the Councillor *Jolly*, the Advocate *Portait*, Monsieur *de Constances* a Burgess of *Paris*, and others) who had Commission to endeavour the ending of this matter without noise or tumult, and to sollicite the payment of the Rents as they grow due, according to the Instructions given them; but the Great Chamber forth with prohibited this Deputation, and ratified the Decree made by the *Chambre de Vacance* against all Meetings either in the Town-house or else where. On the other side, the *Chambre de Requetes* being moved by the new chosen Deputies, met and confirmed their Commission, declaring that the same could not be made void by any other Authority but that of the Parliament; and the same day some of the *Notes* went to give an account thereof to the first President, who having sent for the *Procureur des Marchands*, the *Echevins* and Councillors of the City; there appeared also the Deputies of the *Chambre*, accompanied with above 200 Partisans civil

1650 civil persons, who with much earnestness desired to receive the effect of the King's Declaration, and the Decrees of Parliament made in their favour, and that the Deputies they had chosen might be confirmed: The first President satisfied them with the promise to move it the next day in the Great Chamber; but the President *de Coigneux*, who endeavoured to make them sensible that this affair was to be treated with more moderation, gave great offence, and many cried they would, notwithstanding the Decree to the contrary, have a meeting the next Munday in the Town-house; which tending unto an open Sedition, the Archers were commanded to seize upon the principal Authors of the Commotion, amongst which they laid hold on *de Constumes* as a leading man; whereof the Duke of *Beaufort* complained unto the Duke of *Orleans*: and on the Munday, there was a Meeting of many of the Partisans, they being invited thereunto by Printed Billets which were set up at the corners of the Streets all over *Paris*; 'twas there resolved that a Petition should be presented to the Parliament, for punishment of those by whom *de Constumes* had been imprisoned, and that in the mean time the Partisans should be taken into the Parliaments protection. The Great Chamber ordered the Petition should be shewed unto the Procurator General, and endeavoured by all means to appease the troubles; but those who designed troubles, that they might compass their intent of bringing things into confusion, upon the 11th of December, as Counsellor *Jolly* pass'd through the *Barnardins* Street, there came up to the Coach a single Horseman, who shot a Pistol into it that missed him, but raced the Skin off from his Arm; whereupon he turned his Horse, and fled away without being known. This accident made a great noise in *Paris*; and all his friends made complaints of it to the Lords of the Great Chamber; but the President *Charlon*, who dwelt hard by, and whom *Jolly* intended then to visit, upon the first noise of the fact went to the *Lawre*, and demanded Justice, complaining that the intent was not to assassinate *Jolly*, but him, and required Justice: and there began the sitting of the Great Chamber, and that of the *Tornella* ceased. The first President assembled all the Parliament, and direction was by them given to the Procurator General to make enquiry touching the fact, and that all persons who could give any information concerning it should come in: the Lords *de Champront* and *Domalt* two of the Counsellors were deputed to visit *Jolly*, and to receive all informations should be brought. *Charlon* was taken into protection, and the Counsellor *Brussel* voted that the City Gates should be shut up, and Guards put there; but it was carried in the Negative.

During this Assembly of the Lords, the Marquis *de Bellaye*, who was a Kinsman to the Duke of *Beaufort*, and of the Dutchess of *Cheveuf*, endeavoured to stir up the people, that he might, during the troubles, advance his own factious designs; and being in the great Hall, began to call upon the Burgeses to shut up their Shops, take Arms, and provide for their own safeties, telling them, It was now fit to speak plainly, quit any farther dissimulation, and provide for their own safeties. He told them, the Regiment of Guards was drawing together with orders to assassinate *Beaufort*, and several other Counsellors of the Parliament: That they had begun with *de Constumes* for having spoken for the publick good. From thence he went unto the Market-place with eight others in his company, where they all used the same discourse; and from thence went to *Nostre Dame* unto the Coadjutor to give him an account of the Action. He seemed in publick to reprehend them for this action; but the report is, that

in private he encouraged them to proceed, being himself willing to come abroad if he could thereby have brought the people to a Rising; being heard to say in the Court of his own house, *What Cruelty is this? what further security can we now have?* But he went not abroad, by reason of the uncertainty of the matter, being loath to declare himself publicly in so scandalous an Affair. From thence *Bollay* went to *Broussel's* house, who told him, *That he was too furious*: And from thence he went unto the Street *de Marmoselles*, without being able to raise the people any where; many telling him, *That if he had any particular Quarrel of his own, he should revenge it himself, without seeking to engage the City in it.*

This Marquis being of a Noble Family, was much troubled with the smallness of his Fortune; and having gained some Reputation in the late Rising at *Paris*, desired nothing more than some new Troubles, which he hoped might be an advantage to him.

The Queen being advertised of all these Passages, called presently a Council, to advise whether she should go to hear Mass at the Church of *Nostre Dame*, as she was used to do on Saturdays: But being advertised, whilst the matter was in debate, that all was quiet, she went thither as formerly, accompanied by the Prince of *Condé*, and all the Grandees about the Court. At her return she found there the Provost *des Marchands*, and the *Eschevins*, who came to assure her of the Townsmens Loyalty. But the *Frondeurs* having failed in this their mornings attempt, resolved for their own security to raise another Tumult the same evening: And to that purpose assembled in a Piazza that borders upon *Pont neuf*, as being a great thorough Inne, and the shortest way from the *Palais-Royal* to the Prince of *Condé's* house in the *Rue St. Germain*. The Inhabitants thereabouts being troubled to see a Meeting at so unreasonable an hour, sent to know what was the intent of this Meeting, and by whose order it was done? But answer was returned, *That it concerned not them to know; and they were not to give them an account of it.* Some more curious, not satisfied herewith, pressed to know who they were: And in this contest a Musket was discharged; which made the Dwellers thereabouts take Arms, and caused the Cavaliers to retire themselves over *Pont neuf*; whereupon all things were quiet.

The news hereof being brought to the Count *Servient*, he forthwith gave account of it unto the Queen and Cardinal, and also to the Prince; who being then at Court, and upon the first knowledge of it was returning home, had he not been stayed by her Majesty and the Cardinal, who represented to him that those persons could have no other designe in meeting there, but against him, and therefore desired him that he would by no means hazard his person. The Prince was at last persuaded by them, and went to lodge for that night at his Stewards house; but to be satisfied touching the matter, sent home his Coach, accompanied with some of his Servants and retinue: When they came neer *Pont Neuf*, two Horsemen came up with the Coach, but not finding him there, went to that of the Count *Duras*, which followed, and discharged several shot into it, one of which killed a Lackey that was in it. This made the Prince (who had designed the destruction of the *Frondeurs* Faction, that the Heads thereof might not be made use of by the Court to frame a party in opposition to him) readily lay hold on this occasion for the doing of it, by taking this Assassinate to have been intended against him. The Cardinal (who looked on this conjuncture as favourable to the designe he had of making an immortal hatred between the Prince and the *Frondeurs*) laid hold on the occasion, which he managed very dextrously, by making the Prince sensible that all

1650. this was a Plot of the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor, to take away his life, because by his agreement with the Court he had given a stop to their designs: mean while there having been great talk touching the matter attempted by *Bollay*, the Duke of *Beaufort* brought him unto the Marshal *Grammont's* House, where the Prince supped, to justify himself from having had any ill intentions against his person. The Prince answered, he knew not whom to suspect, but could not see *Bollay*, since he had endeavoured to make a rising among the people, whereby he had incurred his Majesties displeasure. *Beaufort* answered, that he was well assured *Bollay* had not the least ill thought towards his Highness; for which he would be a pledge for him, and if he should appear in the least guilty, would be the first man to punish him. The Prince thanked him; and the Marshal having desired him to stay Supper, he dismissed *Bollay*, and fate down with them.

The Signior *de Bovillon la Mark* Captain of the Guard of *Switzers*, and *Bollay's* Father-in-law, besought the Queen to pardon the action by him done the Saturday before; but her Majesty told him, it was a matter of high consequence, and that therefore she must not stop the course of Justice. The Duke of *Orleans* returned to *Paris* the same day, having been sent for by the Queen, to consult touching some fit means to quiet the disturbances begun, and to assist the Parliament in punishing such as upon examination should appear guilty. As soon as the Duke came to Court, there was a private Council held; and the next morning a Letter was sent to the Parliament, giving them orders to make enquiry and proceed against those who had endeavoured to raise Storms in *Paris*, and to assassinate *Jolly*; concluding with words full of confidence of their zeal and affection unto his Majesties service, and the publick Peace and quiet of the Kingdom.

Next day the Parliament met, and thither came the Duke of *Orleans*, accompanied with the Prince, the Dukes of *Vendosme*, *Elbense*, *Merceur*, *Bovillon*, and several others, where his Majesties Letter being presented by Monsieur *Saintot*, was ordered to be read, and registered. The Duke of *Orleans* thereupon made a handsom discourse touching the present juncture of affairs; but the Prince was silent, though 'twas reported he intended to enter his complaint in Parliament. The City-Colonels and Captains were all summoned to the Town-house, and commanded not to take Arms, or chain the Streets, without express order from the City-Council, upon a report which was spread, that the discontented party intended a second rising. The Parliament ordered the restraint of *Bollay*, of the Advocate *Germain*, of the Provost de *L'Argent*, and of *Anean* a Wine-Merchant; and then the Prince made his own complaint, and demanded Justice for the assassinate designed against him. Her Majesty the same day sent for several of the principal Citizens, and assured them, that the King her Son was very much satisfied with the proof he had now of their Loyalty and Affection towards his service, notwithstanding the great endeavours used by some factious spirits to raise Commotions. And it was really a great satisfaction to the Court, who thought that *Paris* would upon the least provocation have risen against them, to finde, that on the contrary the *Parisians* were very Loyal and affectionate unto his Majesty; and that if the contrary had at any time appeared, 'twas brought about by the false practices of some few seditious persons, who were Enemies to the publick Peace.

The Parliament adjourned then for six days, that those who were to make

make enquiries might have time to do it; during which Monsieur *de Jolly* (upon what occasion it was not known) presented a Petition to the Great Chamber, setting forth that the Assassinate attempted against him being a private action, was no matter of State, nor had any connexion with their crime, who endeavoured to raise Sedition in *Paris*; and therefore prayed that his Cause might not be judged in Parliament, but left to be determined in the ordinary Court appointed for the tryal of those Cases; and that he might have leave to proceed there against those who were guilty, and their Complices; adding, that he had now gotten some light touching the matter, and hoped, in case he were left at liberty to proceed freely therein, to make a full discovery thereof. Upon this Petition it was ordered that he should give in his Charge in Parliament, and that the Great Chamber should have the hearing of it.

Upon the 20th of December, all the Chambers being met, there appeared the Duke of *Orleans* attended by the Princes of *Condé* and *Conty*, the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Retz*, *Bresac*, and *Luyne*, the Coadjutor, and other Councillors of Honour, above 20 in number.

This Meeting, and two others, which were held upon the 22th and 24th of the same Moneth, were spent in contests touching the persons who were to be Judges; exceptions being taken against all those who were parties, either as persons against whom the Assassinate was intended, or as favourers of the designe of doing it; amongst which, the Duke of *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor were pointed at, so as after several disputes touching that matter, the Assembly broke up without agreeing any thing, and was adjourned till the Wednesday after the Holy-days.

But the Prince was so positively resolved to pursue the resolution he had taken to destroy the Faction of the *Frondeurs*, that 'twas an easie matter for the Court to gain him with the shew of being troubled at the attempt against him, and render him a mortal Enemy unto the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, and the whole Faction of the *Frondeurs*, who being rendered desperate by this persecution against them for their Lives and Honours, joyned with the Cardinal, as hereafter shall be shewed, and *Condé* by that means became a prey unto the Court, to be disposed of by them according to their Wills and pleasure.

Great were the Rumours and Discourses then at *Paris*, because the Court having this opportunity (though they embraced it not) to destroy the *Frondeurs*, the Queen her self commanded all the Cavaliers, Officers, and others of the Kings Guards, to accompany and serve the Prince as he went to the Parliament or elsewhere; which was done as well to gain *Condé* by this respect, as also to increase the jealousies between him and the *Frondeurs*, by such demonstrations of distrust towards them. On the other side, many Gentlemen and Citizens of Quality agreed together to accompany the Duke of *Beaufort*; by which means *Condé*, who was of an impatient nature, was much more enraged against him; so as it was a strange thing, that considering the prejudice each party had against the other, the great diversity of Rumours and Reports that were amongst them, and the number of armed Men, some disaster did not happen amongst them: but in this the good nature of the French is to be praised, who after their first Passion is over, love peace and quietness.

It was certainly a great affront unto *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor, to be suspected as guilty of this Assassinate, there being nothing which doth so neerly touch men of Honour, as those Crimes that reflect upon their reputation; and therefore the more the Prince seemed to give credit unto that

1650. that opinion, so much the greater was their hatred to him. But such was the authority he arrogated to himself, and so great a contempt had he for all the Court, that without considering the injury he did unto his Majesties Authority, he fell upon another action, which drew upon him the general censure of all persons, and was the ruine of his Fortune. The Duke of *Richlieu*, one of the richest persons of the Kingdom, Nephew and Heir unto the Cardinal of that name, was Suitor to the Princess *Cheveraux*, a young Lady rarely qualified, both for her Birth, and gifts of Nature, and onely Heir unto the Family. The Dutchess of *Aiguillon* Aunt to *Richlieu* treated this Marriage, with the consent of the Duke and Dutchess who were the Father and Mother to the young Lady. But she expressing a dislike towards him, the matter was kept in suspense, to the great trouble and affliction of *Richlieu*: Who making his complaints thereof one day unto the Marchioness of *Pons*, a Widow, Daughter to the Baron de *Virier*, under whose care the Dutchess d'*Aiguillon* his Aunt had put him, he being as yet a Youth not above 18 years of age; the Marchioness advised and comforted the Duke in this affair: but being troubled for his Passion, she chanced to fall into discourse thereof one day with the Dutchess of *Longueville* her great Confident, who being desirous to advance her friend, suggested to her, that 'twere much the best way for her to marry him her self; that she should not let slip so favourable an occasion of becoming Dutchess of *Richlieu*, and one of the most rich and greatest Ladies of the Kingdom. The Marchioness being thus perswaded to embark in this affair, wanted not Beauty and other attractives to win upon the tenderness and unexperience of the young Duke, who knowing himself to be under his Aunts care and tuition, so as he had not the free disposition of his own person, had thereupon recourse to the said Dutchess of *Longueville*, beseeching her to be an Instrument for the effecting of this Marriage: which the Dutchess, who had a great kindness for the Marchioness of *Pons*, willingly undertook, and desired the Princes her Brothers to engage themselves in the upholding of it. The Prince of *Condé* suddenly embraced this motion, and resolved to effect it without acquainting the Court with it; because he knew that if the treaty were discovered, it would be hindered by the Dutchess his Aunt: and although he was sensible he should thereby disoblige the Families of *Cheveraux* and *Aiguillon*, yet he resolved to proceed in it upon these considerations: *First*, To oblige thereby and make a friendship with the Dukes of *Richlieu*. *Secondly*, To be revenged of the Dutchess of *Aiguillon*, with whom he had some differences touching the Duke of *Breze* his inheritance. And *Thirdly*, To gain thereby an admittance into *Havre de Grace*, the Duke being Governour of that place of importance; but with this clause inserted by the late King into his Letters Patents, that the Dutchess his Aunt should have the absolute command there till he attained the age of five and twenty years.

All things therefore touching this matter being agreed, they went privately unto the Castle of *Tria* in *Normandy*, which belongs to the Duke of *Longueville*, and is distant from *Paris* about 16 Leagues upon the way to *Havre*, where in the Prince of *Condé*'s presence the Marriage was celebrated on the 26th of *December*; and the next day the Duke and his Spouse went to *Havre*, where he was received into the Citadel by Monsieur de *St. Maur*, who was Lieutenant-Governour there to the Dutchess of *Aiguillon*, and her Kinman; but knew nothing of this matter: so as the Duke and his new Bride were Masters there, the Souldiers submitting to his Commands out of the respect they bore him.

The

1650. The Princes of *Condé* and *Conty*, from *Tria* gave an account of the Marriage unto the Queen; and the Dutchess of *Longueville* writ to excuse her self unto the Cardinal, concluding her Letter with this, That she could not believe he would second the Dutchess of *Aiguillon*'s Caprichio's against a business which was acted by the advice and consent of her whole Family. The Cardinal told *Priolo* who brought the Letter, that having not been called to Council; he could not meddle with the matter, nor hinder the course of Justice; but was in truth much troubled in his minde at these extravagant proceedings, as well perceiving they tended onely to the setting up of an Authority which he assumed unto himself of giving Laws unto all others; and though he thought it did not much import him whether the Duke *Richlieu* did marry that or any other Lady, it seemed notwithstanding a very shameful thing, and tending to the great dishonour of his Ministry, that a Prince of the Blood should dare publicly to justifie an action of that nature; and therefore resolved to finde out some expedient for redress thereof. But forasmuch as it is necessary for those who have the conduct of great affairs, to seem ignorant of many things that they see clearly, he took no notice thereof, spoke of it as a Jeast; and so concealed his resentments of the matter, as none at all took any notice of them. He discoursed with *Priolo* for some time of things indifferent, and dismiss'd him without the least suspicion of that which at first (being a discreet person) he had apprehended.

This news being divulged, gave particular occasion for all the Court to take notice of the Princes confidence, and intention to assume all matters to himself; because thereby he not onely undertook to dispose of the Marriage of the greatest Subjects of the Kingdom with so much inequality in respect of their conditions, but also for the jealousy they had of some designe of his upon *Havre de Grace*, either for himself or his Brother the Duke of *Longueville*, or at least that *Richlieu*, being Governour by his Wife, would be won over to his party, together with this Fort; which by reason of its situation being just upon the mouth of the River of *Seine*, where it disgorges it self into the Ocean, is a place of huge importance.

These discourses and Apprehensions made the Dutchess of *Aiguillon*'s complaints, for the injury done to the Family of *Richlieu*, to be much stirred unto and resentend. This great Lady was Niece unto the famous Cardinal of that name; and being of a great spirit, and endowed with a most exquisite Beauty, and all other perfections both of Minde and Body, thought it a great affront that any other should underhand strike up a Marriage for her Nephew, she having provided for him so advantageous a party, as was the Princess of *Cheveraux*. And the Duke's Mother, being also sensible thereof, highly resentend this proceeding of *Condé* and the Dutchess of *Longueville*; and being intimately acquainted with the Coadjutor, knew so well how to make use of this conjuncture, that upon several meetings with the principal of the *Frondeurs*, they agreed with her to joyn with the Cardinal, and stand for him, in case he would break with the Prince; and then it was that the Cardinal considering the great prejudice his Majesties Authority would suffer by giving way to the pretences of a Prince who was so ambitious and greedy of Power and Command, resolved to give a stop to his designs, and at the same time to steer such a course as might hinder all other endeavours of that kinde for the future, by the depressing of those Factions that are dangerous unto the Government, especially when it is engaged in a War against another powerful

1650. powerful Prince or State; to effect which, he thought the best way was to unite the *Frondeurs* to the Court, and oppose them unto the Prince, as a curb to his proceedings. This affair was for many days very secretly managed, eight persons only being privy to it: That is, on the *Frondeurs* part, the Dutchess of *Chevreux*, the Coadjutor, the Marquis of *Noirsmontere*, and the Signior *de Lighe*: On the Court-party, the King, the Queen, the Cardinal, and Monsieur *de Lyon*, who was the only person whom they thought fit to trust with a matter of that importance to the Crown. The Coadjutor in a Souldiers habit, together with *Noirsmontere*, for many Evenings together came to the Countess of *Lud's* house, from whence Monsieur *de Lyon* brought them in a Coach to the *Palace Royal*, where in a private appartement the Cardinal met, and conferr'd with them. The Cardinal was well inclined to grant them whatsoever the *Frondeurs* desired, for reconciling of them to the Court; but would not consent to have the Prince imprisoned, foreseeing that if this were done, the *Frondeurs* would grow strangely high, and think to have the sole management of all affairs: he measured matters with a right Compass, and found 'twas necessary to soment the difference between the Factions, so as neither of them growing too powerful, the Court might reap that benefit which a third person hath whilst two are struggling, till his Majesty coming to age, and finding them both weakned, might at his pleasure overcome and destroy them both. The Queen was also of the same opinion, saying, that in case that were done, the *Frondeurs* would be more dangerous, and have higher pretensions than the Prince.

Those who observed these Noble persons going in the night unto the Countesses House, thought it was about some Love-business, the Countess having a Daughter that was incomparably Beautiful: and this was in particular *Beaufort's* opinion, who had no knowledge of this Treaty; it being not thought fit to communicate the same to him, for fear he should reveal it to the Dutchess of *Monbason*; and in truth he knew nothing of the matter until about two hours before the execution of it, at which time he was acquainted therewith, that he might keep the common People of the City quiet. The Dutchess *d'Aiguillon* in this mean time commenced her Suit in Parliament for the avoiding of this Marriage, as being an apparent Rape, and pressed to have it declared such. And as for *Havre de Grace*, she besought the Queen to take some sitting course about it, who accordingly dispatched Monsieur *Bar*, who had been Captain of the Cardinal *Richlieu's* Guards, with Letters from his Majesty; but the Prince of *Condé* having given notice thereof unto the Duke of *Richlieu*, he was denied entrance thereinto, to the great trouble of the Court, who thereupon resolved to proceed very cautiously and with great reservation in all their business; as on the other side the Prince took occasion thereby to shew his confidence, and scorn of all that party which did oppose him.

The Duke of *Longueville* having had no hand in this Marriage, was very angry at his Wife, as also with her Brother the Prince of *Condé*, and complained publicly, that his Wife should without his knowledge engage her self in such a business, so prejudicial to his Reputation, and so injurious to others; and that without acquainting him therewith, she had made use of his House for the Marriage, and of his Guards as a Convoy for the married couple to *Havre de Grace*. He went also to excuse himself unto the Cardinal, assuring him that he knew nothing of it. The Cardinal accepted of his excuse, it being reasonable so to do, and drolling with him, said, *My Lord Duke, this Marriage was like that of Arlechine the*

the Player, who having the Bride in his house, and a Feast ready, knew not that he was to be married. The Cardinal knew well this matter would make a strangeness between him and *Condé*, and resolved therefore not to imprison him, but to engage him in the Court-party; and what was after done to the contrary, was for reasons which shall hereafter be related.

The conjuncture of Affairs at this time seemed favourable to the Court, and to afford them an opportunity to free themselves from the oppression of the Prince of *Condé*, who treated all men with contempt; and taking to himself the whole Authority, threatned all persons that seemed any way to oppose him. They were perswaded to imprison him, by many important considerations: the Examples of his Grandfather, and Great Grandfather, both Princes of *Condé*, who were imprisoned during the Regencies of Queens who were Forrainers; the general hatred the Prince by his insolent carriage had contracted; the just pretext of the great danger to the Government by the excessive greatness of a person, who being resolved to sway the Council as he pleased, was used to Hector all that did oppose him, and threaten to retire from Court, and set up for himself; the particular affronts he had offered to the Queen, and his insolent carriage towards the first Minister of State, and the rest of the King's Servants.

But the difficulty of imprisoning a Prince, who was grown so powerful, consisted not so much in the seizing of his person, as in being able to make it good, considering the condition of *Paris*, and the four Factions at Court; which kept the Cardinal in great suspense, though he were dayly much pressed unto it by the Dutchess of *Chevreuse*. All the Queens Faction was entirely for him: that of the Duke of *Orleans* had been gained to him by the Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, by the apprehensions she gave unto his Highness of *Condé's* Greatness, and the suspicion he had of the Abbot *della Riviere* his being secretly a Pensioner to him; besides other great promises made him by the Queen. As for the Faction of the *Frondeurs*, the Treaties with them were long and dubious, as being on the one side grounded upon the mortal hatred which the Duke of *Beaufort* had publicly professed against the Cardinal, and the loss of Reputation he was like to incur by contracting a friendship with him; so as 'twas probable he might thereby lose his Credit with the *Parisians*, and so be scorned and laid aside by all parties. And on the other side, being eagerly prosecuted by *Condé*, and upheld by the Court, that they might more easily ruine them both, there was a necessity not only for him, but also for the Coadjutor, the President *Charton*, and Monsieur *de Brussels*, who were the Heads of the *Frondeurs*, either to joyn with *Condé* or the Court, to come off the danger which hung upon them, of being thought Complices in the attempt against *Condé*, to make friendship either with him or with the Cardinal: And therefore, although *Condé* seemed to be very much animated against them, yet the Coadjutor prudently weighing all circumstances, and being sensible that the ruine of the Prince of *Condé* would consequently draw along with it that of their own party, it being much more feasible to ruine *Condé* when they had removed the Cardinal by joyning with him, than to carry all things at Court after they had, by joyning with the Cardinal, destroyed *Condé*; He therefore thought it fit to make an application to him, before they joyned with *Mazarine*: and to this purpose, he, together with *Beaufort* and the rest, by means of some persons of Quality, their Friends, made all the Promises, Submissions, and Protections possible unto the Prince, to oblige him unto an Union with him, and to take upon them the Protection of them; representing to him, that being Head of the *Frondeurs*, would be a great increase unto

1650. unto his power, and secure him against all attempts that could be made unto his prejudice. They also made great protestations of their innocence, assuring him, The Crime imputed to them was but only an invention of the Court, to foment a difference between them, that they might with the more ease ruine both parties. But the Prince refusing to accept of any satisfaction, answered with much contempt and fierceness, *That if they desired his friendship, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort should do well to leave the Kingdom, and he would then consider of the matter.* So as the Frondeurs seeing the Prince so violently bent against them, resolved at last to joyn with the Court-party, to protect themselves against those mischiefs, which otherwise seemed unavoidable. The Treaties therefore were continued with them, which for the better concealing of the matter were secretly performed; and therein, amongst other things, it was by the Coadjutor's means agreed, *That in regard the Duke Mercœur had Estate enough by being Eldest Son and Heir unto the house of Vendosme, and that the Duke Beaufort his young Brother was poor, that therefore he should have the Place of Admiral, and the 20000 Ducats pension which belonged to it, according to the Agreement with the Duke of Vendosme; besides which, there was 3000 Doublons by way of advance delivered to him; in lieu whereof the Heads of the Frondeurs Faction undertook to keep the people quiet, and that the Parisians should not rise, or make disturbance upon any occasion whatsoever.*

The Factions of the Duke of Orleans and the Frondeurs being thus joyned with that of the Court against the Prince of Condé and his party, it was an easie matter for the Duke of Beaufort to ingratiate himself with the Duke of Orleans, who had a great affection for him, as being his Nephew, and assured him of his favour and protection; the Duke of Beaufort promising his faithful and perpetual service, which they did for their common Interest. The Duke of Orleans thinking it very necessary to be supported by the Valour and Credit of Beaufort against the Court, in case there were occasion upon the depressing of Condé; and Beaufort thought himself, by the Duke of Orleans his protection, much more secure against the Plots and Traps laid (as he said) to circumvent him by the Cardinal, with whom he was resolved he would by no means contract a Friendship. In this secret Treaty the Marquis of Bollay's return was agreed unto, and a promise made, that as soon as Condé was Imprisoned, he should be declared innocent in Paris, he being fled in a disguise to Flanders, not without danger, as being very narrowly searched after, for what he had done the 11th day of December before in the Morning.

But notwithstanding all these Treaties and Agreements, the Commotions and Stirs at Paris still continued, by reason of the Impeachments which were furiously prosecuted by the Prince of Condé, and seemed to be supported by the Queens Authority, being carried on by Mole the first President of Parliament, a great friend to Condé against the Duke of Beaufort, the Coadjutor, and the other Heads of the Frondeurs, with an intention to make use of this opportunity for destroying the whole party; and because Beaufort was upon this occasion always accompanied with a great suit of Friends and Citizens, for his defence and safety, the Prince did therefore also fortifie himself with a numerous attendance of Friends and Gentlemen of several Provinces, that were his Confidants; some of which were maintained by him, and the rest came as Volunteers upon their own expences; so as there was hardly any thing to be seen in Paris but Officers of the Army, and other Cavaliers, who professed they were come thither to serve

1650. serve the Prince: and certainly had not Condé's Imprisonment (which soon after hapned) given a stop unto the matter, great store of Blood must have been spilt, considering the obstinacy of both parties; Condé being resolved to drive the Duke of Beaufort out of Paris, and therefore pressed to have the Witnesses examined, that the Impeachment might be drawn up; but the Duke of Orleans, who had now quitted the Prince, was privately joyned with the Court, by several excuses which he made for his not being able to attend the Parliament, delayed the matter so, as nothing could be resolved, notwithstanding the Prince his earnest Sollicitations for a dispatch: and the Counsellor Broussel, who was by Condé thought to be a person of great vertue, being involved with the rest in the charge of the intended Assassinate, he sent to the first President to blot his name out of the Impeachment, as being fully satisfied that he was innocent: but this, though several times desired by the Prince, was not performed, because the first President was no great friend unto Broussel, and was besides a creature to the Court, and acting nothing but by their direction.

About this time (though no ground appeared for it) there was much talk of the Princes being to be committed, such rumours being sometimes the forewarnings of the Divine Providence which watches over us; but he relying upon the Abbot de la Riviere, who had assured him that he would advertise him, as soon as he had notice of any such intention against him; and taking it for granted that neither the Duke of Orleans would conceal such a resolution from his Favourite, nor the Cardinal dare to attempt it of himself without the Dukes concurrence, slighted the matter; to which he was the more encouraged by the extraordinary court and observance the Cardinal used towards him, his Brother Conty, and the Duke of Longueville, which made him say, the Cardinal had never been so much his friend as then he was. And besides, Condé confided much in Monsieur de Tilliere the Secretary of State, a person of great Wit and Understanding, who was most faithful to her Majesty, and expressing a great friendship towards the Prince, rendered him totally secure; so as about four days before his Imprisonment, the Prince, having a hint given that there was something privately in hand against him, went to the Secretary, and with great confidence asked him, if any such thing were, and being assured by him that he had heard nothing of it, rested entirely satisfied and secure thereby, not considering that La Tilliere was by the duty of his place obliged not to disclose secrets of that kinde; had he known it. But notwithstanding the Princes of Condé and Conty, and the Duke of Longueville, had agreed amongst themselves not to be all at Court together, and therefore only one of them went to Council at a time, that if any accident should happen to one of them, the other two might with their countenance and party be assistant to him; and the Cardinal on this other side bent all his endeavours to this, that he might have them all at Court together, because out of that place there was no possibility of arresting any of them.

The 18th day of January being come, the Council had notice given them to appear at four a clock in the Afternoon; and it was given out that they were there to consider touching Costanes, who was Citizen of Paris, a very seditious person, and one who was accused of having had a hand in the attempt against the Prince; and so far as the Examinations of the Prisoners brought from several other parts to Paris, made no direct proof of any such designe, 'twas desired Costanes should be taken into custody, upon whose Examination it was believed the whole matter might be discovered, and such as were indeed guilty of the Fact might be convicted.

1650. convicted. The Queen and Cardinal were not wanting on their parts to persuade the Prince to a belief of this, by all shews of a sincere affection to, and correspondence with his Interests; and to this purpose told him, *They were informed Castles lay concealed in a house near the Horse-market, behind the Palais Cardinal; and that 'twas therefore fit to seize him presently; but to prevent all stir or rising of the people, who were much inclined to the Frondeurs, and Enemies unto the Prince and Cardinal, it would be well to have the King's Troop of Guards mounted, and disposed in such places as might be most convenient for that purpose.* And the Cardinal pretending that in case he gave the Orders, it would make the matter to be more suspected, desired the Prince to give command that the Troop should take Horse, and be disposed in such places as he thought fit. Whereupon the Prince himself, by Monsieur de Lion, sent Orders to the Marshal Schomberg for the doing of it, which was accordingly performed; and so far was he blinded by his Passion, that without ever reflecting upon the Artifices of the Court, he did himself by this means contribute towards his own imprisonment.

The Prince of Condé was not onely desired to be at this Council, but the Prince of Conti and Duke of Longueville were also there, upon the occasion hereafter mentioned; and the Duke of Orleans having by the Queen's consent excused himself from coming thither, that he might, being absent, be the better able to act any thing that might be necessary towards completing the designe in hand, Condé was much disgusted at it, as believing the Duke had an intention to decline his Interest; but he took order that the Abbot della Riviere should assist there in his stead.

And because you have before heard that there was no designe of arresting the Duke of Longueville together with the Prince of Condé, it is necessary to let you know how that resolution was altered, by acquainting you with this following digression.

The Duke of Longueville being (as you have heard) offended at Richelieu's marriage, promised the Queen and the Cardinal that he would absolutely espouse their Interests, and the service of his Majesty, against all persons whatsoever not excepting the Prince of Condé himself; who having got some inkling of this Agreement, went the next day unto the Duke, and shutting himself up alone with him in a Closet, wrought so upon him by his persuasions, (wherein he was most excellently dextrous) that he drew from the Duke a promise like to that he had before made to the Queen, and an assurance that he would never forsake, but live and die with the Prince, without any expectation or reservation whatsoever. The Prince was wonderfully satisfied with this Agreement; and being apt to communicate his thoughts, acquainted the Duke of Rohan Chabot therewith, who discovered the whole matter to the Cardinal; and he thereupon resolved to imprison Longueville, together with the Prince, as a person who did not in his actions deal so sincerely with the Court as he professed. The Duke was by some friends advertised that the Cardinal had gotten notice of what had passed between him and the Prince, and thereupon went to excuse himself, professing That he was induced unto it by the assurance the Prince gave him of his being strictly united with the Queen, and with his Eminence. The Cardinal seemed to be very well satisfied (though he was not) with the excuse, and fell to treat of other matters, which were the Duke's particular Concerns, as, To have him declared to be the person who at the King's Coronation was to have place next to the Princes of the Blood, To assist him in reviving his pretensions to the Principality of Orange, To procure

procure a License for him to buy the Place of Colonel-general of the Swissers from the Marshal Schomberg, and to increase the Garrisons he had at Diepe, Caen, and Pont de l'Arche in Normandy; by which overtures and hopes the Duke parted from him extremely satisfied, never considering that those extraordinary Caresses were but like Siren's Songs to lull him in security, that he might the more easily fall into the Trap they had set for him.

After this resolution taken to imprison the Prince, the Queen began to make more Court unto him than formerly: She would several times ask his advice in matters that occurred, and approve of it. The Duke of Orleans went to the Parliament to demand Justice against those who had endeavoured to assassinate him. The Cardinal besought him that he would continue to protect him as he had done during the Siege of Paris. Of the Prince of Conti there was no Speech, he being but a young man, and unexperienced in Affairs, though he were a person of great Wit and Courage; so as all that could be objected against him was, that he was Brother to Condé, and being a Prince of the Blood, might be the Head of a Faction, which might be raised to disturb the Government; and therefore it was onely upon reason of State that he was put into the number.

The 18th day of January, in the morning, Priolo, who was employed by the Duke of Longueville in all his Concerns, and managed his Interests at Court with the Queen, went to wait upon the Cardinal, who contrary unto his usual custom, spake much in praise of Longueville, and seemed to be much satisfied with him; whereas before, he was used to complain to Priolo of the Duke's strangeness to him, and the little care he seemed to have of seconding any Proposition made for the advantage of his Nephew or Nieces. Whilst the Cardinal was entertaining Priolo with this Discourse, the Prince of Condé entred the Room, at a corner of which Monsieur de Lion was writing upon a Table which stood by the Fire-side, several things touching the Prince's imprisonment, which that evening was to be executed. The Prince entering, spoke to the Cardinal, saying, *Go on with your discourse to Priolo, whilst I go talk with Monsieur de Lion:* and coming to him, asked him, *Well Sir, what news?* He without being any way moved, or shewing any disturbance, hiding the Papers under his Cloke, with a smiling countenance answered, *I ought to ask that question from your Highness.* The Cardinal afterwards dismissing Priolo, told him, *It would be well the Duke would come that day to Council, because there would be something treated touching the general Peace, and the swearing of the Marquis D'Egheot, Son to the Marquis de Beveron, Lieutenant-Gouverneur of Normandy.*

Priolo being dispatched, went to Chaliot, which is a place distant from Paris about half a league, where the Duke then was; and being a person of a clear judgment, and great experience in Affairs, persuaded him the contrary to what the Cardinal had spoken, telling him, *It was not fit for him to go to Council, for that he saw some Clouds rising, which seemed to threaten a Storm towards the Prince of Condé.* He added, *That the Prince de Marillac (who knew much of the Court) had bid him tell the Duke, he should remember the Agreement they had made, not to be all of them at Court together, especially at a time when they had some suspicion of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Abbot della Riviere.* The Duke replied, *Those were but suspicions without ground; and that he would be there to serve the Marquis de Beveron,* who was then with him to desire that favour. Whereupon they went into the Coach, the Duke, Beveron, the President de Thou, and Priolo; and coming to Paris, the Duke went to his house, and sent Priolo to the Cardinal,

1650. *dinal to know from him whether the Council met: his Eminence seeing Priolo come thither at that time, was much troubled, fearing the business had been discovered; and therefore, keeping him at a distance, sent to know his business; and hearing it, ordered him to tell the Duke the Council would assuredly sit: Priolo accordingly let the Duke know it, but added, That he found the Cardinal much discomposed, and that without doubt some great matter was in hand that Evening. The Duke answered, That he was resolved to go, whatever was in doing. To which Priolo replied, His Highness might do what he pleased, but that he thought himself obliged in duty to to advise him not to go thither.*

The Prince of *Marillac*, who had observed the different kinde of proceeding used by the Duke of *Orleans* in the Process touching the Assassinate, when the Prince of *Conty* told him that they had gained the Abbot *de la Riviere* if he had not lost his credit with his Patron, answered, that he thought 'twas so; and that therefore there was no security at Court either for him or for his Brother: and the same thing was also apprehended by the Marquis *de Monssay* upon this occasion: the day before the Imprisonment, a Captain of a Quarter in the City having told him, that being in the Gallery at Court, the Secretary *La Tiliere* came and asked him whether he thought the People would be pleased in case his Majesty should do some extraordinary matter to recover his Authority. To which the Captain answered, That in case they did not go about to arrest the Duke *Beaufort*, he thought they would be pleased with all that should be done: whereupon he guessed that they had some designe against the Princes, and promised to advertise the Princes of it; but they denied to have heard any thing from him to that purpose.

The Palace was excellently fitted for the execution of this designe, not onely by its manner of building, but also by the placing and disposing of the Queens Guards in order to it. At the top of the great Hall on the left hand is the Queens apartment, and on the right was the Kings great apartment, where his Majesty and the Court was. The Queen gave out that she was something indisposed, and therefore the first Door of the Hall, and those of all the other Chambers and Cabinets, were kept shut, and not opened to any but those who belonged to the Council; and the Cardinal kept himself private in a Room adjoining to the Council-chamber. As the Councillors came in, they went into the little Gallery belonging to the Council-chamber, being between the Great Room and the Queens back-rooms; and all their Servants were forced to stay either upon the Stairs, or in the out-Courts of the Palace.

But the Cardinal, who was resolved not to be present at the action himself, and was not willing that the Abbot *de la Riviere* should be there, sent for him into his Room, upon pretence of having something to confer with him about; where he kept him till it was over. As for the Queen, she was dressed, and lay upon the Bed in a withdrawing Room, where being visited by the Prince of *Condé's* Mother, she pretended to be sick, and presently dismiss'd her. This same Princess that very day had the two Princes her Sons, and the Dutches of *Longueville* her Daughter, at Dinner with her; and after Dinner advised the Prince of *Condé* to be careful of himself, for that the Court intended to play him some trick. He, who thought all as open-hearted as himself, and could not be persuaded that the Cardinal durst attempt any thing against him; answered, That he was well enough assured of the Court, but that the Duke of *Orleans* failed him at the solicitation of the Abbot *de la Riviere* his Favourite: and saying this, he

he turned unto the Prince of *Conty*, and told him he desired to have him along with him that day to Council, to mortifie *La Riviere*, who had pretended to be in all things ruled by *Conty*. But the Abbot was innocent of all the Duke of *Orleans* his Plots, and was at that time out of favour with him.

The Princes of *Condé* and *Conty* being come to Court, the Duke of *Longueville* was there also presently after them; and coming up the great Stairs which was at the entrance into the Hall, the Door was suddenly clapt to, and all those shut out who did attend him: at which time the Duke began to suspect what after followed, and called to minde the good and faithful advice he had received from *Priolo*: they went all three together to wait upon the Queen, who being upon her Bed, and seeming to be somewhat ill, they presently retired out of her Chamber; and being then all together mocking and jeasting at each other in the *Anti Camera*, before they went into the Gallery before the Council-chamber, the Queen (who was something disturbed with the apprehension of what was to be done) prayed the King (who was alone with her in the Chamber) to go softly to the Chamber-door, and shut the same against them. At last the Princes and Duke came into the Gallery where all the Council and Ministers of State were, excepting onely the Cardinal, who calling to Monsieur *de Cominges* Lieutenant of the Queens Guard, told him 'twas time to execute what her Majesty had commanded; he thereupon gave notice of it to Monsieur *Guitault* his Uncle on the Father's side, a Captain of the Guard, who forthwith ordered Monsieur *Croissy* Alferes of his Troop to arrest the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monsieur *de Cominges* to attacke the Prince of *Conty*, at the same time as he should seize upon the Prince of *Condé*. They therefore coming into the Gallery, *Guitault* addressed himself to the Prince of *Condé*, and told him, That he was troubled at the Orders he had received from the King and Queen, to secure his person, but that his Highness knew his part was to obey his Majesty's Commands. The Prince either believing, or desiring it should be thought he believed it was a Jeast, turning to the rest of the Councillors there present, said, Here is a pretty trick, *Guitault* said he hath a Commission to arrest me. *Guitault* replied, Indeed I have an order so to do. Whereupon the Prince, shrugging up his Shoulders, answered Why, what have I done? Have I not always served the King and Queen unto the utmost of my power?

Cominges and *Croissy* said the same thing unto the Prince of *Conty* and the Duke of *Longueville*, in presence of the Chancellor, who was desired by *Condé* to go and tell the Queen, that he humbly begged the favour from her that he might speak a word unto her; which he did, that by that means he might draw neer unto a Window, from whence he might call upon some of his followers to endeavour the rescue of him; the Chancellor readily performed his request, but returned with this answer, That she was repoling her self upon the Bed, and that he could not be admitted to speak with her. He also prayed Count *Servient* to tell the Cardinal that he would willingly have spoken with him, to assure him he was his Servant, as he had many times before, and very lately also assured him. *Servient* went; but returning, found that Monsieur *Guitault* had before carried away the Prince; for twenty of the Guard being commanded into the Gallery, the Officers carried the Princes and *Longueville* down the back-stairs into the Garden, which is divided by a Wall from the Court-Yard of the Palace; all the Doors and Passages being exceeding well guarded by the Souldiers; and the Stairs, the King's Apartment, and the Courts

1650. Courts at the *Louvre*, being full of persons of Honour, Cavaliers, and others who were friends unto the Princes. 'Tis a wonder how silently this matter was carried, all things being wonderfully well ordered for preventing of the mischief which must have necessarily hapned, had it been known; to the well doing whereof the back Private Stairs did much contribute, down which they carried the Princes into the Garden, and through the little Door which opens upon the Cardinal *Mazarine's* Palace, where one Squadron of the Guards is always posted: The Princes were there put into a Coach with six Horses, which going out at the Port, *Richlieu* with onely Sixteen Troopers for their Guard, which were commanded by the Count *Mioffan*, carried them privately cross the streets that go to *Mount Marter*, *St. Denis*, and *St. Anthony*, along a very bad and myery way, where the Coach broke, and forced them to stay full two hours ere it was mended, brought them at last to the Castle of *St. Vincennes*, where they were put into the Dungeon, which is a great Tower divided from the rest of the Castle by a Ditch and Wall. The news thereof was presently sent by *Guिताult* with all diligence to *Paris*. Whilst the Princes were thus carrying away, a Messenger was sent unto the President *Perault* (who was Steward or Major *Domo* to the Prince of *Condé*, a great Confident of his, and one who under him had got a large Estate) to let him know the Prince desired he would come to him to the Palace. *Perault* said, He wondered the Prince had not sent one of his own Servants for him: But without saying more, went presently; and passing over *Pont Neuf*, was arrested by Monsieur *de Guiet*, and carried Prisoner to his house, where he was kept two days, and then carried to the Castle *St. Vincennes*, and his house searched to see what Papers they could finde, and the *Lieutenant Civile* was ordered to take an Inventory of them.

Upon the first report of this news, all the Lackeys, Servants, Coachmen, and others who waited for them at the Court-gates, ran about like Mad men, some here, some there; and the same did the Noblemen, Cavaliers, and others of their Friends and Kindred; so as upon the noise made in the streets, and the running up and down with Links and Torches (it being then far in the night) the people were extremely frighted; and presently suspecting that the Duke of *Beaufort* was imprisoned, (which by some of the Prince's friends was given out) many of them took Arms, and began to rise; but they were presently quieted when they saw *Beaufort*, who took horse to hinder the Prince's party (who began to draw together about *L'Hôtel de Condé*) from doing any thing: and certainly if those of *Condé's* party had followed after them, instead of going to condole with the Princess of *Condé*, they might easily have rescued them, they being guarded onely with sixteen Troopers, who by the breaking of the Coach were forced to stay a long time, as you have heard, upon the way, ere they could get unto the Castle.

The *Frondeurs* were so well pleased with this Arrest, that many of them made Bonfires, and divers others sung Ballads, and Rhymes, whereby they and their actions were censured: and whereas it always happens that few are friends to those in misery, there now appeared many who made it their business to censure the Princes, and their actions, who were before thought very much devoted to their service.

Orders were at the same time given for arresting the Prince *de Marsillac*, and Count *de Moussay*; but they suspecting it, retired out of the way, and escaped: and now, as in a Lottery, where the loss of one man is anothers gain, so this misfortune of the Princes, was the reason of great good hap unto

unto some others. The Marquis *de Ranxau*, who, as we have before told you, had been a Prisoner in the same Castle for about a year, was about this time released; Messieurs *de Charost*, *de Chadenier*, and *de Gennev*, being all three Captains of the Guard, who had in July before been banished the Court; and put out of their Commands, were now restored; and the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, *Broussel*, and *Charbon*, were all of them quitted by the Parliament from the imputation which lay against them; who thereupon waited on their Majesties and the Cardinal, to return thanks. A Judgment was also given in favour of Monsieur *Jolly*, and others: And his Majesty gave a general Amnesty for all who were engaged in the Broyl that hapned on the 11th of December before.

The City of *Paris* (where the Princes were much hated) being thus satisfied by their imprisonment, the Cardinal began to be of better courage, and to apply himself more closely unto the Functions of his Ministry: and to the end more notice might be taken of the good Correspondence between him and the Duke *Beaufort*, by whose means he had quieted the rising of the people, and removed the prejudice they had against him, as thinking him an Enemy unto the Duke; He went to give him a Visit at his house *au Rue de Proveller*, which was in the midst of the City; but the Duke received more prejudice than advantage by that Visit, because they took occasion thereupon to murmur, and give out, That he was grown a *Mazarinist*. Notwithstanding which, the *Frondeurs* after the Princes imprisonment, became united both in Friendship and interest with *Mazarine*; and that continued until the Coadjutor, for attaining his own private ends, enterprized that Novelty, whereof in the sequel of the ensuing discourse you shall have notice.

Presently after this, Monsieur *de la Ferte Imbault* was sent with several Troops unto *Nivers*, and Commissions were given out for the government of several Provinces: That of *Burgundy* was given to the Duke *Vendosme*, *Normandy* to the Count *Harecourt*, *Compeigne* to the Marthal *de L'Hôtel*, and *Berry* to the Count *de Sant Aignon*.

The Government of the Provinces and Fortifications in *France*, are always given for life, and are never vacant, but by the death or voluntary cession of the party intrusted; which is always done by a publick Instrument with his Majesties consent. Now these cessions being required from the Princes, who were imprisoned in his Majesties name, they all three refused to make them; and therefore the Commissions to those persons of Quality, were made onely by way of provision for the time being, because the Governments were not void: but when a Governour is found guilty of Treason, his Command ceases, though he be living, the Condemnation being accounted a civil Death. There was besides an *Exempt de Garde* sent to the Duke *de Richlieu* in *Havre de Grace*, to give up that Fort into his Majesty's hands: The Duke refused to speak with the *Exempt*, and seemed unwilling to obey the Order; whereupon the Court endeavoured to gain it from him by a Treaty; and to that purpose, a Pass was granted unto the Dutcheß his Wife, that she might come to Court and treat about it. And because the Ladies in the Court of *France* are very considerable, by reason of the great regard is had unto their Rank and Quality, the Dutcheß having made an Agreement, returned to *Roan*, where the Marriage between her and her Lord being confirmed, the *Tambourret* (which is a priviledge granted to the Dutcheßes and Peers of *France* to sit in the Queens presence) and other Recompences being allowed in lieu thereof, she agreed that her Husband should quit the place; which he did, and Monsieur

1650. de St. Maur was put into it by order from their Majesties: Monsieur de Montigny also gave up the Castle of Diepe, and that Command was by his Majesty conferr'd upon the Marquis du Plessis Belliere; and his Government of La Basse was bestowed upon Comte Broglia, a person of great valour, and wonderfully affectionate unto the service of his Majesty. The Castle of Caen, taken from Monsieur de la Croisset Lieutenant-Governour to the Duke de Longueville, was given to the Count de Quince: In Pont de L'Arche Monsieur de Beaumont, who had been formerly Governour there, was resettled, the same being taken from Monsieur de Chambois; and Monsieur de Goville, a Marechal de Camp, was placed Governour in the Fortresses of Charbourg and Granville.

At this same time the Count de Sant Aignon, who had made his entry into Bourges, the principal Town of Berry, wrought so by his Authority and obliging carriage on the affections of the Inhabitants, that he not only gained them, but induced them also to take Arms for him, and joyn with 300 Gentlemen that he brought with him. The great Tower of that City, which serves for a Castle, was kept by Monsieur de Grasset, who had been placed there by the Prince of Condé's Father. Aignon thought it not fit to be in a City where the Castle was disobedient to the King, and therefore made a Speech in the Town-house unto the Citizens, so efficacious and full of vigour, that he persuaded them not only to undertake the Enterprize, but also to be sharers in the Glory of it. He therefore presently sent to Grasset to yield the Castle; which he (upon the confidence he had in the strength of his Garrison, and the Fortifications about it) refusing to perform, the Count putting himself in the head of those Gentlemen he had with him, and seconded by two Bodies of the Inhabitants which were drawn up, made so fierce an Assault upon the Ramparts, that Grasset forsaken by his men, who were terrified with so unlook'd-for an attempt, rendered the place upon Composition in less than an hours time after it was attacked.

This good success was seconded by the surprize of the Castle of Clermont in Lorain, by means of an intelligence which the Marquis Ferte Senneville, Governour of that Province, had with two Serjeants of the Garrison; and the Kings Forces took possession of it on the 27th day of January. And the Fortress of Danvillers (which was commanded by the Prince of Marilliac his Brother, as hath been said) returned unto the Kings obedience, the Garrison rising against him by the persuasion of Captain Becherelle, who imprisoned their Governour, and gave up the place; in the doing whereof, he was not more commended for his Loyalty, than the Governour was blamed for his great indiscretion, in not foreseeing of the danger, and changing some of the Officers of that Garrison when he took the resolution to change his party. The Duke of Vendosme coming to Dijon in Burgundy, removed the Garrison and Governour out of the Castle there, putting into it other Souldiers, under the command of Monsieur de Conetty, taking security from the Inhabitants for their fidelity, as he did also from those of St. Jean de Losne, and of Verdune, by means of some Commissioners whom they sent to him. This was the more resented by Condé, because he believed those people would shew their affections to his Family, by the close espousing of his Interests on this occasion. And this was thought to be the cause that he never after had any kindness for the Burgundians, and when he was released declined the coming into that Province.

The next care of the Court was to regulate the affairs of Roan and Normandy,

mandy, where Count Harcourt was placed to prevent any rising of the Friends, or Party of the Duke of Longueville; the Garrison and Governour of the Old Palace were removed thence, and 100 French Souldiers placed there under the command of Monsieur de Montrois Fourville: The Count Harcourt took the ordinary Oath of Fidelity, as Governour-General of the Province, before Monsieur D'Anfreville second President of the Parliament there; and Monsieur de Montenay a Councellor of Parliament, appointed principal Captain of the City by the Parliament, voluntarily quitted his command, to take away all occasion of suspicion from the Court, he being a very intimate friend of the Duke's; and Monsieur de Salles had his command.

And because the same day the King went to Roan, the Council of State published a Declaration, whereby the Duke de Bouillon, the Prince de Marilliac, and the Marshals de Breze and de Turenne were commanded within the space of 14 days to come to Court; and that in case of failer, they should incur the crime of Lease Majesty, and be prosecuted as Rebels to the State; this Declaration was verified by the Parliament of Paris, by whom the Duke of Beaufort, the Coadjutor, Broussel, and Charton, were the same day declared innocent of the crime whereof they were accused. His Majesty returned after upon the 22th of February, having quieted all Normandy without any blow struck, and changed the Governours in the strong Holds there without stir, excepting only in Pont de L'Arche, where Monsieur de Chambois being Governour, refused at first to submit, upon pretence of some thousands of Crowns which he alledged to be due unto him; but the matter was afterwards adjusted by a composition.

Presently after this, his Majesty sent Monsieur de Villiere of the Family de Phillippeaux, Secretary of State, a person of excellent parts, to require the Seals from the Chancellor Seguer, and restored them presently to the Marquis de Chasteau Neuf, at the instance of the Frondeurs, who did very earnestly desire it, they having been 17 years before taken from him by Cardinal Richlieu, for the intelligence he had held with the Dutchess of Chevreux in opposition to him.

The Court resolved to take away the Seals from the Chancellor, and restore them to Chasteau Neuf, because there was a necessity to satisfy the Frondeurs, who were very earnest for it; and though Seguer were a very able person, and truly faithful to his Majesties Interests, (for which cause he had a great esteem from the Parliament) yet the Council thought it necessary to sacrifice him for the satisfaction of those Malecontents, to avoid the ill consequences which otherwise their jealousies and complaints might have occasioned. The Court was also very desirous to have settled all things in Burgundy, as they had done before in Normandy; and to that purpose, upon the fifth of March, the King, the Queen, and Duke of Anjou, attended by the Cardinal, the Dukes of Joyeuse, and Les Dignieres, the Marshals de Gramont, Plessis Pralin, and Villeroy, and many Lords and persons of quality, marched thither by the way of Melun and Monteraux; and the 24th day of the same Moneth the Cardinal came to St. Jean de Lune, whither he caused the Troops, drawn together in the neighbouring places, to advance, under the command of the Duke of Vendosme, notwithstanding the great Rains, to attack Senure, which the Prince of Condé had late before caused to be called by the name of Belle Garde.

This place was kept by 500 Foot, and 400 Horses, commanded by the Count Tavannes, and Monsieur de St. Amand, the Duke of Vendosme, together

1650. gether with the Count de Palau, the Lieutenant-General, and the Count de Navailes, and Monsieur Plessis Besançon, Marshals de Camp; and one part of the Army took up their Quarters at Champblanc, and the Marquis d'Oxelles Major-general, and the Marquesses de Chatelluau, and Roncelvoles, with the rest of the Army, quartered at St. George, where they began presently to make their Approaches with about 1200 Pioneers brought from the neighbouring Towns; it being not thought necessary to fortifie their Camp, by reason that Marshal Turenne was far off, and had no reason to suspect that any such thing should be attempted; but principally because he was to pass divers Rivers, and leave several Garrisons of the King's at his back, in case he should have a desire to relieve them. The besieged made what provision they could for their defence; and suspecting the Inhabitants to be inclined to the King, took away their Arms, and set Guards upon them. His Majesty being at this time in Burgundy not far from the Camp, and being moved by a curiosity natural to his Martial inclination, and a desire to hasten the taking of the place, came to St. Jean de Losne over-night, and the next morning into the Camp, to view the several Posts; and the besieged being summoned to yield by Monsieur Tivoliere Lieutenant to the Queens Guards, he gave them notice of his Majesty's being in the Army, and commanded them not to shoot whilst he was there: which was accordingly obeyed, as being a Respect always used to be paid to the King's person. But his Majesty being gone, and the Cardinal staying behind, they began to shoot again; and his Eminence was in great danger by a shot, which killed one of his Servants that stood close by him. The next day the besieged articted to deliver the place upon fair Quarter (if they were not relieved before the 20th day) and a general Pardon for all within the Town, the principal of which, were the Count Tavares, Monsieur de St. Meaud, the Count de Coligny, and several others of the Princes friends. The Cardinal having gained great honour by this Action, caused his Majesty to return to Dijon, and from thence upon the 2d day of May to Paris.

Two days after his Majesty's coming thither, the old Princess of Condé (who, during the King's absence, was come privately to Paris, with designe to have raised some Commotion in favour of her Sons and Son-in-law) was commanded to retire out of Town unto Argeville, a house belonging to the President Perault; and the Superintendance over the Admiralty was conferred upon the Duke Beaufort, notwithstanding it had before been promised unto the Duke Mercœur his elder Brother.

Meantime the Dutchess of Longueville, having staid some days at Rotterdam, went to Mastrick, where Don Gabriel de Toledo came in the Arch-Duke's name to complement her, and to propose a Treaty with his Highness; which the Dutchess refused to enter into, until she had first spoken with Monsieur de Turenne, who expected her in Stenay. Don Gabriel being satisfied with this Answer, resolved to wait upon her thither. When she came within two days journey of the place, Turenne came to meet her, with all the Troops and Officers he had with him, and brought her into the Town, with the general applause of all. Presently after her coming, she and Turenne began a Treaty with the Arch-Duke; and upon the 30th of April following, they concluded an Agreement with him, upon the terms hereafter mentioned. That they should unite their Forces under the Protection of his Catholick Majesty, and should employ them for the attaining of two things; that is for the obtaining a just, equal and sincere Peace between the two Crowns, and for procuring the release of the Princes from their Imprisonment:

ment: That they would not lay down Arms till both those ends were first obtained; his Catholick Majesty promising, that he would not consent unto a Peace with France, but upon that condition, unless the Princes were first released by other means. And in case the Princes before any general Peace should be released, they should notwithstanding be bound to employ their Forces to compel the French to such a Peace. The King of Spain should pay 200000 Crowns unto the Dutchess and Turenne, whereof 100000 should be paid fifteen days after the signing of the Articles, and 100000 more within a month after; all which moneys were to be employed in raising Forces for the Publick Cause. Unto the Dutchess and Turenne, for maintenance of their Troops, and for their own subsistence, should be paid 40000 Crowns monthly from the subscription of the Articles; and 60000 Crowns more yearly, to be paid at three payments, for their own expences.

There should also be added by the Catholick King 2000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, with all Ammunition necessary for the whole Army, which were to be commanded by Turenne, and march into France for the enforcing of those two things from the Cardinal. The Dutchess and Marshal should put the Spaniard into possession of all strong Towns and places which they held, except the Citadel of Stenay, into which his Majesty might put what men he pleased, to keep them in depositum, till the delivery of the Princes, and conclusion of the Peace; at which time they were to be restored unto the Princes, his Majesty being permitted to take away his Cannon and Ammunition out of them: as in such Cases is usual. The Places in France which should be taken upon the Frontiers, should be also kept by the Spaniard, till the Peace between the two Crowns: but those within the Country should be kept by the Princes. All the said Moneys, excepting onely the 60000 Crowns designed for the particular Expences of the Dutchess and Turenne, were to be paid according to the Orders of Turenne, and of the Contrôler or Pagador-general; who was to be appointed in that Army by the King of Spain. The 2000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, should be commanded by a Spaniard, who was notwithstanding to receive Orders from Turenne: The said 5000 men were to live in France, and be paid by the Spaniard; onely the Princes were obliged to send them Ammunition-bread, whilst they were in France, unless they were in Quarters, or sat down to besiege a Town within Eight leagues of Flanders: in which Case the said Ammunition-bread was to be provided by his Majesty; and a Confirmation of the Agreement was to be procured from Spain, within three months from the Subscription of the Treaty.

The League between Longueville, Turenne, and the Spaniard, being thus concluded, the Duke of Bouillon, who was then in Turenne, and the Prince Marillac, who was at his own house, began to cast about, and consider how they might be assistant to them; and because of themselves, wanting both Men and Money, they could do nothing, they resolved to engage Bourdeaux, upon pretence of getting the Duke of Espernon to be removed from that Government, as those people desired, and had been at Court to have it done. In this mean time Monsieur Todias, one of the Prince of Condé's Gentlemen, had been several times to confer, sometimes with the Duke de Rochefaucault, and sometimes with the Duke de St. Simon, who was Governour of the most important Fort of Blaye, situate upon the mouth of the Garonne, where it disgorges it self into the Sea; and it was proposed, that a Conference should be between those two Dukes and the Dukes of Bouillon, and de la Force, at which, two Counsellours of Bourdeaux were also to intervene. The designe was to have the Duke d'Anguien, onely Son to the Prince of Condé, to be received into that City: for which purpose Gourville went to the Princess his Mother, who was then

1650. then at *Chantilly*, to propose it to her; which she at first could not consent unto, but gave two thousand Ducatoons which she had received unto *Gourville*; and with that small sum of Money they gave beginning to so great a War. Monsieur *Tadieu* went from *Blaye* to the Duke *Rocheaucault*, to appoint the day and place for the meeting; but two hours after his coming, a Gentleman was sent from the Duke *San Simon*, who in his name prayed to be excused, if he did not proceed in that affair, because having found that they intended to break with the Court, and set up a party against it, he was resolved not to engage therein, it being contrary to the duty of a good Subject, and the gratitude he owed unto the King, by whose Father he had been so highly advanced and trusted: as to the single persons of the Princess, and Duke *d'Anguien*, he would be ready to receive them into *Blaye*, in case they were resolved to continue there quietly, without endeavouring to make any alteration in the Government. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *Rocheaucault* saw themselves then totally deserted: the Marshal *de Breze*, who was a Kinsman to *Condé*, being late before dead, and the Duke *de la Forie* irresolute, and not willing to proceed further; but being unwilling to quit the Kingdom without doing something that was considerable, they besought the Princess to let them have the Duke *d'Anguien*, as well to make use of his presence in *Bordeaux* for the encouragement of the Inhabitants, as also that he might not be exposed to danger, being the only person of the house of *Condé* who was at liberty. The Dutchess of *Chastillon*, Widow to the before mentioned Duke, who was killed at the taking of *Charenton*, and Monsieur *Lenet*, assured *Gourville* that they would obtain this from the Princess very suddenly: and the Duke *de Rocheaucault*, who had no strong place in his Government of *Rothon*, nor any Troops of Souldiers under his command, was notwithstanding the first that took up Arms in favour of the Imprisoned Princess.

The Commander in *Saumur*, whereof the Government had been assigned to Monsieur *de Cominger*, delayed the rendering of it, and sent unto the Duke of *Rocheaucault*, offering him to be of his party, in case he would bring Forces thither to defend it. This place was of great importance for the Interest of the Princess; but *Rocheaucault* could not then bring any Forces together, but such as depended upon his own particular credit, and that of his Friends: He therefore made use of the occasion (being to Inter his Father) to draw together some of the Nobility, and others of his Country, to the number of about 2000 Horse, and between 600 and 700 Foot, with which he marched towards *Saumur*, which was then invested by the Kings Troops; and although he came before the expiration of that time until which Monsieur *Dumont* the Governour had promised to defend it, yet he found the Articles agreed upon, so as he was forced to return home; where notwithstanding he could not long continue, because the Marshal *de Milleray* Governour of *Britany* marched against him with all his Forces; and he not having any strong place unto which he might retire, went into *Turenne*, after he had posted 400 men in *Montrond*, and there joyned with the Duke *de Bouillon*, who having great store of acquaintance in *Bordeaux*, sent Monsieur *d'Anglade* his Secretary thither, who was a person though young, yet very able, and full of Spirit, who knew so well how to demean himself, as in a short time he raised a very great and powerful Faction in the Parliament against the Court.

The Duke of *Bouillon* used also another Artifice to lull the Duke of *Espernon* asleep, which was to assure him that he would interpose nothing against his Government: to which purpose he frequently sent Monsieur

1650. *de Champagnac* to give him the assurance of it; and in the mean time Monsieur *de Savagnac* was sent to bring away the Princess and the Duke *d'Anguien*, who had resolved privately to leave *Montrond*. *Bouillon* and *Rocheaucault* with 300 Gentlemen raised in the Marquisate of *Silbery*, marched into *Auvergne* to meet the Princess, and conducted her into the Vicounty of *Turenne*, where they made a halt for eight days, took *Brivola*, and broke the Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* his Troop of *Gen d'Armes*, whom they encountered near that Country.

This delay, which was necessary for disposing those of *Bordeaux* to receive them, afforded the Cavalier *de la Valette*, who was watchful, and had taken care to inform himself of what their designs tended unto, (and who had at last got notice of what they intended) to march out against them with 600 Horse, and 1200 Foot, with which he posted himself at *Pont de Terrason*, to hinder their passage; but the Dukes passed above it, making a semblance that they would with the assistance of Monsieur *de la Forie* seize upon *Bergerac*; the fear whereof made *La Valette* quit his post to oppose them, where he found the Duke of *Espernon*. In this mean time *Bouillon* with his party passed to *Liment*, *Rocheaucault*, and *Linde*, Castles belonging to him; and conducting the Princess along the River *Dordogne*, as he passed by *Liment*, sent out a Squadron that fell upon and took *Valette's* Baggage. But the Duke *d'Espernon* coming up, pursued the Dukes, who with some difficulty saved themselves with all their Forces in *Courtras*; there making a halt, they sent the Princess before them, and endeavouring to cast a Bridge over the River *Jala*, for passing off their Troops, they were opposed by the Kings Forces commanded by *La Valette*, who suspected they had a design to surprize *Libourn*, by means of some intelligence within the Town.

The Princess continuing her Journey, came without any other stop to *Bordeaux*, where the Inhabitants at her first coming shut the Gates, refusing to admit her; but this refusal caused so great a heat and dispute between the Nobility and the Common people, that for preventing a Commotion, they resolved to admit her, and the Duke of *Anguien* her Son, with their Domestick Servants, into the Town; refusing entrance unto *Bouillon* and *Rocheaucault*, who declared to those of *Bordeaux*, that they intended not to engage in any thing against his Majesty, having no other intention but to secure the person of the young Prince against the unjust violence of *Mazarine*; and that they had a confidence in them, and hoped they would not quit the protection of a Prince who was imprisoned for no other cause, but for the kindness and respect he had shewed unto their City, which he had endeavoured to right against the injuries offered unto them by the Fury and Injustice of the Duke of *Espernon*.

The same night that the Princes remonstrated these things unto the Citizens and People, they crossed the River, and went to quarter in the Suburbs there, where they staid three days; during which, they were visited by the principal persons of the City, whom they endeavoured to gain, by several kinds of applications made unto them. Monsieur *Lenet*, who was a great Servant and Confident of the Prince of *Condé*, and a person of great Wit and Judgement, being with some few others admitted into the City with the Princess, began to make some Factions and Parties, and had gained some Men, and several Women; who are not only easily persuaded themselves, but are also fit Instruments to persuade others; so as the Princes growing daily more and more in vogue, and the Court being desisted there, the Dukes one night came into the City upon pretence of visiting

1650. visiting the Princess; and seeing that no notice was taken of their being there, they staid, and each of them presented a Request unto the Parliament, desiring their Protection for six Weeks onely, within which time they promised to justify themselves and their proceedings to his Majesty.

The Forces they had brought with them were quartered neer the City; but they durst not propose the undertaking of a War to those of *Bordeaux*, that being a nice point, not to be mentioned but with great caution and dexterity. And in regard the undertaking of a War without money, was an extravagance like to that of going to Sea without Oars or Tackle, the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was a person of great Valour and Wisdom, considered that to engage in a War, having no other foundation to rely on but the people (who the more furious, are generally so much the more fickle and unconstant) were a great imprudence; and that 'twas therefore fit to rely on some surer basis, by craving the assistance of some Prince that might be able, by his Forces, to give a ballance to the Christian King. In order thereunto, they dispatched into *Spain* Monsieur de *Baz* who depended altogether on the Duke, and Monsieur de *Mazarolles* who was a Creature of the Prince of *Condé*, with charge that they should endeavour to engage the Catholick King, to assist them with Ships and Money; and at the same time sent *Gourville* to the Dutchess of *Longueville* and the Marshal *Turenne*, to give them notice that they should use their interest with the Arch-Duke and Spanish Ministers in *Flanders*, to promote their Proposition in the Court of *Spain*, and to perswade them not to neglect the making use of a conjuncture so advantageous to the Interests of *Spain*.

Gourville was in his journey taken within a quarter of a league of *Stein*, by a party of the King's Horse, and brought to *Sedan*; but not being known, he was by the Dutchess of *Longueville* freed upon the ordinary Ransom, and in few days after, sent back into *Guienne*, with the Orders agreed upon touching the management of a War on those two sides of *France*: And the Princess, the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *Rocheaucault*, *Lenet*, and others of their party in *Bordeaux*, continuing their Negotiations there, the Parliament at *Bordeaux* resolved finally to take the Princes under their protection, and continue the War against the Duke of *Espernon*.

For carrying on of this, the Duke of *Anguien* was declared Generalissimo, the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rocheaucault* Generals under him, and the Marquisses of *Saneben*, and of *Lusignan* their Lieutenants; and the Marquis of *Sillery*, being of the Family of *Brullart*, and a Kinsman to the Duke of *Rocheaucault*, was sent after the former into *Spain*, with the news of this Declaration; who found in the Court of *Spain* as great a readiness to entertain a Correspondence with the Princess, as the Dutchess of *Longueville* had met withal in *Flanders*. The Spaniards well knew, that a Civil War kept up in *France*, was a powerful remedy to cure their own inward distempers, and therefore applied all their study and endeavour to foment it; and *Dan Giuseppe Osorio* was thereupon presently sent by the King of *Spain* unto the Princess and the Generals, with Money and Provisions fit for the carrying on of the War: so as from that time, new Levies, and all other necessary Preparations, were publickly made for the encouragement of the people, and complying with the ambition of the discontented party; the Spaniards having thereby compassed their ends, and raised a flame in *Guienne* and *Champaigne*, which are two of the principal Provinces of *France*.

The Cardinal knowing of what importance it was to hinder the increase of this mischief, which, if neglected, was like to prove so fatal unto *France*, thought

thought there was no delay to be used in it, nor any time to be afforded for letting it take further root; and therefore proposed, That the Duke of *Orleans* should undertake a Journey unto *Bordeaux*, as the most proper means to reduce that City, whilst the King should, at the same time, by his presence, quell the Disorders raised by the Spaniards on the side of *Flanders*: but his Royal Highness having refused to undertake that charge, either upon the uncertainty of the success, or being dissuaded from it by the Frondeurs, who suspecting that the King, if he should quell the *Bordeaux*, and prove victorious in *Flanders*, might re-establish his Authority, were fearful they should then be punished according to the greatness of their demerits. The matter therefore coming again to be debated in the Council, the Cardinal represented at large the importance of it, and declared his opinion, that although the Enemies Army lay encamped upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, and notwithstanding the ticklish condition of *Paris*, and that in *Flanders* they began to stir afresh, and notwithstanding the danger his Majesty might incur in his health by the fatigue of such a Journey, and the great heats in that Province; yet his Majesty was rather to go in person thither, than that the motions in that Province, being one of the greatest and most famous in the Kingdom, should be neglected. The Council being perswaded by his Reasons, it was accordingly resolved by the Duke of *Orleans* and all the rest; and thereupon, that they might loose no time, notice was given of it to the Duke of *Espernon*, that he might be careful to draw together what Force he was able; as also to the Marshal of *Milleray*, who was then with some Troops in *Poitou*, that they should come and draw towards *Bordeaux* with their men, that so when his Majesty should come into the Province, they might presently fall upon action.

In pursuance of this Order, the Duke of *Espernon* drew what Forces he could together, and went to *Agen* a principal Town in *Guienne*, situated about eight hundred paces from the *Garonne*, which heretofore ran by the Walls thereof; during whose absence, Monsieur de *la Valette*, who, as you have already heard, was by the retreat of the Dukes left Master of the Field, having in vain endeavoured to pursue them, upon his return home seized by surprize the Island of *St. George*, kept by some unexperienced Citizens, and placed a Garrison therein, leaving Monsieur de *Canoles* a Lieutenant-Colonel to command them.

This Island lies about three Leagues above the City of *Bordeaux* in the *Garonne*, not much inhabited; but the possessing thereof hindred the Commerce, which by that great and Navigable River those of *Bordeaux* held with the neighbouring Provinces; and this hapned upon the 22th day of *May*, at which time the Island was seized, and the Inhabitants thereof plundered. Those of *Bordeaux* finding that by the reception they had given to the Princess of *Condé* and other the Enemies to the Court, they had incur'd his Majesties displeasure, and drawn a War upon themselves, the event whereof was uncertain, but the miseries they were to suffer by it most assured, began to make preparation for defence of their City; they shut up several Gates that were not necessary, placed Guards upon all the Avenues, and made some Outworks, but those weak, and not defensible, because the Supplies of Money from *Spain* were not paid in that proportion as was agreed, or if sent from thence, were applied to private uses. The Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rocheaucault*, and Monsieur *Lenet* the Prince of *Condé*'s Agent, made Levies of about 3000 Foot, and between 6 and 700 Horse; and shortly after, with a good number

1650. of Citizens and Souldiers marched out of *Bordeaux*, to fight Monsieur de la Valette, who was quartered at *Chastillon* upon the *Dordogne*; and finding him too well fortified to be attacked, they marched into *Medoc*, where they surprized *Chastellau*, a Town four Leagues from *Bordeaux*; and had advanced farther, if the Duke of *Espernon* and the Marshal *Millerau* had not by their marching up, and joining with *La Valette*, stopped their further proceeding, and enforced them to retreat to *Blanchefort*. *Espernon* upon the 26th. of June drew towards *Medoc*, and engaged the Enemies Forces commanded by Monsieur de *Chambou*, a *Marschal de Camp*, in a fierce Skirmish, which ended with equal loss on both sides; those of *Bordeaux* retreating in good order to the City, which gave such an Alarm there, as they suddenly took Arms, and about 4000 men under command of the Dukes of *Bovillon* and *Rocheaucault*, falling out, fell so briskly on the Kings Forces, as they enforced them to retire over the River *Jala*, with the loss of about 50 Officers and Souldiers; and of the Citizens were about 25 Souldiers, and Monsieur de *St. Brixlalerimont* killed, and *de Guitault* and *de la Rosiere* wounded. And because the Island of *St. George* was a Pass of huge importance to *Bordeaux*, the Dukes considering the great forwardness of the Citizens and Country adjacent, took a resolution to endeavour the recovery of it; and in order thereunto, sent Monsieur de *Rochelaura*, and Monsieur de la *Motte*, with 400 choice Foot, and some Companies of the Citizens armed, upon the enterprize, which they happily performed, falling upon them suddenly, so as they were constrained to retire into a Church and a Mill, where being attacked, they were forced to yield themselves Prisoners of War; there being about thirty Souldiers killed, and 100 taken, amongst whom was Monsieur de *Cavolet*, the Governour; those of *Bordeaux* being thereby freed of a Thorn which sorely troubled them, and leaving to the Royalists onely the sense of their miscarriage, in neglecting to fortify a Post of that advantage when they had seized it. *Espernon's* Forces having repassed the *Jala*, took up their quarters in the Town of *Mecan*, which they plundered; and marching into the *Medoc*, recovered *Castlenau*, the Garrison surrendering upon good conditions: from hence they passed into the *Granc*, a most plentiful Country full of little Hills, on which are produced all sorts of Fruit, and great quantity of Grapes, whereof are made the best Wines in all those parts, which are therefore bought up by the English, *Hollanders*, and other Nations, to so great an advantage of the Owners and of his Majesty, that the sum of 150000 *Doublons* is said to be yearly paid onely for the custom of it.

The King's resolution to go for *Guienne* being divulged, the Duke of *Orleans* (though he had before approved the Counsel) and the *Frondeurs* shewed to be dissatisfied therewith, giving out Reports, That 'twas a thing advised by the Cardinal, onely for his own particular designs. They said, He was to marry his Niece the Countess *Martinozzi* with the Duke of *Candale*, and settle the Duke of *Espernon* his Father in that Government: That from thence he designed to go for *Languedock*, and solemnise the Marriage of *Mancini* with the Duke *Mercœur* in *Tholouse*; turn out the Count de *Alez* from that Government, and get the same unto himself. With these false Reports they endeavoured to poison the people, and raise sinister opinions in them, contrary unto the truth of the Fact; it being most certain, that both the King and his Council were willing, and had desired the Duke of *Orleans* to make that Voyage. The Duke of *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, and the Parliament, seemed also to be troubled at his Majesty's going; and taking this for a fixed Maxime, That they were not to suffer those of *Bordeaux*

to be overcome and punished, because 'twould be a great addition unto his Majesty's power; which by that means would become much more absolute, and would be also a great increase to the Cardinal's Reputation in managing the Affairs of State. They therefore took from thence an occasion to make a second Rupture between the Cardinal and the *Frondeurs*: The Duke of *Beaufort*, and those of his party, said, 'Twas not reasonable that the imprisoned Princes should be in the Courts power, because they having had the greatest share in the imprisoning of them; and having by that means incurred their hatred, and desire of revenge; It was but just and reasonable, that they should also have a hand in their deliverance whensoever they were released, and their share in the thanks should be due for it. This seemed to proceed from the jealousy they had, lest the Prince of *Condé*, being released by the Cardinal, should in acknowledgement of that Obligation, side with him against them. But the truth was, the *Frondeurs* had themselves a great desire to joyn with the Prince of *Condé*; and a Marriage being proposed to be between the Princess of *Chevreux* and the Prince of *Conty*, to unite together against the Cardinal.

The Parliament of *Bordeaux* having in this mean time got notice that the Court was highly incensed against them for having entertained the Prince of *Candé* with her Son, and for other declarations they had made in favour of the Princes; and had resolved to punish them for having acted therein contrary unto their duties, and the trust reposed in them; and being sensible that of themselves they were not able to bear off the storm was falling upon them, resolved to try if they could awake that Spirit in the Parliament of *Paris*, which seemed to be at present quieted, and laid asleep; and resolved therefore on the 18th of June to send Monsieur de *Voyssin* to them with a Letter and Instructions; which because it contains the Reasons upon which they seemed to justify their proceedings, is here inserted.

IT is now near two years since this Province, and in particular the City of *Bordeaux*, lay under all the injuries and persecution imaginable: You have been pleased, my Lords, to publish unto the world how sensible you were of our afflictions: at such time as having eased the City of *Paris*, and obtained a Declaration from his Majesty for confirmation of their Rights and Privileges, you were also pleased to contribute your assistance to this Province, as a Member of the Kingdom which continued still under affliction; so as we must acknowledge that the resentment you were pleased to express of our injuries, was the great motive which induced his Majesty to grant us that Peace, whereof we have hitherto enjoyed no other benefit save the name onely, it being broken and denied unto us, contrary to the knowledge and gracious intentions of his Majesty, by him that hath for his own private ends raised and fomented a War against his Fellow-Citizens; and the Metropolis of his own Government. And although we have not ceased humbly to represent and make known our grievances from time to time, it hath been to so little purpose, that it seemed they intended by continuing him over us, who is the cause of all our misery, to deprive us of all hope ever to be released or quitted of it. This being our condition, some few days since the Princess of *Condé* with the Duke of *Anguien* her Son came hither without any other company but their Afflictions and grief for the Imprisonment of the Prince her Husband, contrary unto the purport and effect of the late Declaration, and desiring our protection for the security of their Lives and Persons. Her Sex, the Age of her Son, and their Quality, might justly challenge from us

1650. not only Justice, but Compassion also; and yet we resolved, according to the duty and obedience we owe his Majesty, not to interest our selves in the matter, but only to receive them into the City during his Majesty's good pleasure, and humbly to beseech him that he will refer the judgement of the Princes unto competent Judges, with such Instructions as he held to be most for the advantage of his Service, and the quiet of this Province, which is now going to be the Theatre, where several Tragedies are to be acted, by reason of the many Factions risen upon the publishing of that so famous Declaration which your Zeal and Care of the publick benefit of France procured to be made in the year 1648, and for the overthrowing of that which his Majesty had been graciously pleased to declare in favour of this Province, where we have seen les Intendants des Finances to return, and notwithstanding all their fair pretences, to exercise most barbarous cruelties, where Monsieur de Foule hath been seen by his presidial Sentence to adjudge whole Towns and Parishes to be burned down, and to condemn the Inhabitants some to be hanged, some to the Gallies, and others to banishment, without distinction of Age, or Sex, for not having paid what the covetousness of the Partisans would extort from them, making their disability pass for a Crime, and executing these inhumane Sentences by force of Arms, and without any other form of Justice. We are therefore in hope, that as the said Declarations, and the Peace, which was the consequence of them, were obtained by your Intercession, you will also employ your selves to obtain for us the effects of them; and that you will make use of your interest with his Majesty in such manner, that by your Intercession there may be a stop given to those ravages and oppressions, under which this Province groans, and which may probably occasion the ruine of the State by the destruction of this Province, which is one of the most considerable parts of France, and is now upon the point of being torn in pieces by his Majesty's Subjects the Inhabitants thereof, and other strangers, who are desirous to make use of this conjuncture of affairs, to the destruction of the Monarchy. This is the subject of our present application to you upon occasion of the Princess her coming hither, whereof we held it our duty to advertise you by a member of our own, unto whom we humbly pray you to give credit: And that you will believe we are your most humble Servants and Brothers.

Monsieur Voysin, who was the Person intrusted with the Letter, coming to Paris, desired audience from the Parliament, who met the 4th of July to register the Letter from his Majesty under his Seal, whereby he left the Duke of Orleans his Lieutenant-General there during his absence: the Parliament, before they admitted him, or received the Letter from those of Bourdeaux, thought it fit to adjourn till the next day, and in the mean time to beseech his Royal Highness, that he would be present at reading of the Letter, and the discourse which Voysin was to make upon it. The Duke readily consented, and came accompanied with the Duke Beaufort, the Marshal de l'Hospital, and the Coadjutor: The question being then put whether they should receive this Deputy, after a long debate it was resolved in the affirmative; whereupon being called in, he presented his Letters of Credence, and that directed to the Parliament, and made a long discourse, wherein he represented what he thought most conducing to the advantage of his Country, inveighing particularly against the actions of the Duke d'Esperson, and those of Monsieur de Foule Master of the Requests, who had a while before been sent an Intendant de la Justice in Limousin, according to the Agreements in the Treaty of Peace, made in pursuance

1650. suance of the Declaration dated the 28th of October 1648, and touching the Imprisonment of the Princes; but it being then late, the Court was adjourn'd till the next day, at which time the Duke of Orleans was also present: The first President there gave an account of the Note passed for admitting the Deputy sent by the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and that the motive they had for desiring his Royal Highness presence at the doing of it, was, that they might by his assistance be able to resolve something worthy the reputation of that high Court, and convenient to be put in practice, having regard unto the present posture of affairs as they then stood. The Duke told them, That he desired the Parliament should know, his Majesty had late before sent for the Duke of Esperson to Court; and that by Letters of a fresher date he had seconded that command: That their Majesties went into Guienne with a resolution to deal graciously with his people, and redress their Grievances: That he was resolved not to be rigorous against the Parliament, as being satisfied that if they had in any thing transgressed their duty, they were forced unto it: That he was resolved to pardon all that should submit unto him; such only excepted as should be found to have held intelligence with the Spaniard, against whom Process should be made before competent Judges to be appointed for the Tryal of them. The Parliament then adjourned till the next day; at which time, upon debate touching the resolution to be taken in that affair, it was resolved, that the words spoken by the Duke touching Esperson should be entered upon Record: That the Deputy sent by those of Bourdeaux should give a Copy of his Depuration in Writing, which together with the Letters from those of Bourdeaux, should be sent unto their Majesties by Messengers from them, who should have orders humbly to beseech the King and Queen that they would be graciously pleased to condescend unto the Petitions and Complaints of the Bourdelois, and restore Peace and quiet unto that afflicted Province. It was also resolved, that the business of Foule should be examined, and that he should be proceeded against upon the Informations given that he had been guilty of much Violence and Extortion in the execution of his Commission. The President Bailleul was ordered to go to Court with these Instructions, who was to be attended by one Councillor out of every Chamber, and two out of the Grand Chambre; these were the Messieurs Meusnier, St. Tot, Canaye, Camus, Pon Cassé, Bitault, and the Counts Montanglan, Mangé, and Martmeau, who set forward upon the 8th of July towards the Court.

There were in France at the same time several Councillors sent from the several Cantons of the Switzers, to sollicite on the behalf of their several Countries the payment due by the King unto the Forces of that Nation under his pay, the same amounting to a very considerable sum; upon occasion whereof, many of the Commanders and Souldiers, being discontented, had in several places laid down Arms, and declared that they would serve no longer unless they were paid all their Arrears, and secured of their Pay as it should grow due for the time to come. This affair was a matter of great consequence in that conjuncture of time, and was also very carefully considered by his Majesty's Council, who were sensible that 'twas a thing of huge importance not to disoblige these Forces, which being well paid, do serve truly and faithfully on all occasions. And the Marquis of Chasteau Neuf Keeper of the Seal, Monsieur de Longue Trea-surer, and Monsieur de Tillier Secretary of State, were therefore appointed to treat and agree with them; who after several Meetings and Treaties had between them, at last upon the 20th day of June came to the conclusions following.

1650. First, That they should be forthwith paid in ready money 40000 Doublons, and 60000 more at three days of payment; the first at the end of July then next following; the second upon the last of September; and the last Payment to be made on the last day of December the same year, together with 1000 Doublons more for the Interest of those Sums; For the Payment whereof, his Majesty was to depose some Jewels as a pledge for the securing of those Payments.

Besides which, his Majesty was to pay in five years following the sum of 250000 Doublons more, by 50000 Doublons at each Payment. The first to begin upon the first of January 1651, and that the sum of 66000 Doublons more should be paid in the year 1656, all which said Payments should be secured by assignations to be made upon the Kings Revenues of Lyons, Valentia, and those of Paris; for which the Farmers of those places were to give security.

As to the payment of the Colonels, Captains, and Souldiers that should be in his Majesties service, there should be a Fond established, and 15000 Doublons paid monethly until all was satisfied.

This Agreement was signed by both parties, Registered and Verified by the Parliament in solemn form; with which the Cantons were all satisfied, and the Deputies returned home highly contented with the Honours and Favours his Majesty had been pleased to bestow upon them, declaring that they would continue to serve him faithfully with their Lives and Fortunes upon all occasions.

The end of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The FIFTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The King and Court Return from Champagne to Paris; The Spaniards raise their Siege from before Guise, a Journey to Guise is proposed, and resolved upon. The Frondeurs are apprehensive thereof, and Muting again against Mazarine; commotion in Burdeaux at the news that the King is marching that way. The Princess of Conde incourageth the Burdelois, who therefore joyn with the Princes, and prepare to make Resistance: something of action insues, and soon after agreement is made. The Kings entry into Burdeaux, who within a few days parts from thence and comes to Fontenbleau. The Spaniards besiege, and take Piombino, and Portolongone in Italy, and make themselves Masters of La Capella, and of Rethel in Flanders. The Princes are carried from the Castle of St. Vincennes to that of Marcouffi. The Archduke moves a general peace with the Duke of Orleans; his ends, and Artifice. Mazarine goes to the Army in Champagne; Marishall Plessis Pralin, takes Rethel, gives Battel to General Turenne, Routs him. The Spaniards take Flix, Mirauet, and Tortosa in Catalonia. The Princes liberty is proposed by the Duke of Orleans, and by the Frondeurs; Many Treaties are had, and many disorders arise thereupon.

THE Court being returned from Champagne to Paris, it was not hard for the Cardinal to free himself from being Prest to Transport the Princes into the Bastile, as well out of his great affection which he bore unto the King and Queen, as by the instigation of the Princes Friends, and Kindred; who apprehended Conde's life, if he should fall into the hands of the Frondeurs; and especially of such, as being full of Malice and Revenge, made them not a little afraid: knowing very well, that all of them being fully bent to effect their desire; which was to strengthen their Faction the most they could, either by totally annihilating the Prince, or by winning him wholly over, so to destroy afterwards, either by his assistance, or without his obstacle, the Cardinals Authority; which made them press the Queen, that the Princes persons might be secured rather in the Bastile than elsewhere.

News came this mean while, that the Spaniards had raised their Siege from before Guise, whereat the Kings Ministers did not a little rejoyce,

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1650. seeing their advice had succeeded so well. Wherefore the courage of the Cardinals Enviers failing, who saw him grow daily stronger and stronger; The Duke of Orleans took occasion thereupon, (being eg'd on by the Coadjutors) to joyn the rather with the *Frondeurs*; so to counterpoize that greatness which did not a little vex him: They therefore by common consent resolve to hold up their Authority, especially in *Paris*; wherefore the time of choosing the Provost of Merchants (a place of concernment, especially then when the City was divided into Factions) being now at hand, they gave out, that for the following years they would have Monsieur *La Fenne* have that Office, who was a Counsellor of Parliament, and in whom they did much confide: to the end that being joyn'd in interest with the Inhabitants, they might the more freely dispose of the Counsel of the City; so as they press the Cardinal now no longer in a fair becoming way, but told him boldly that they would be gratified in that person. And the Dutchess of *Chevreux*, the Dutchess of *Monbazon*, and Duke *Beaufort*, told him freely, that if he would have them esteem him their Friend, he must by no means refuse it. The Cardinal was much troubled at this, he complained much of the *Frondeurs* boldness, which setting aside the respect they ought unto the King, they durst so sawcily meddle with that which did not belong unto them: but as in a great storm a wary Pilot strikes the mainyard, and takes down the Masts to keep the Vessel from being exposed to the injury of the winds; so the Cardinal, the weak condition of States being considered in the Minority of Princes, to keep from breaking with those who perswaded him to clap up the Princes, was content to give them satisfaction, suffering *Fenne* to be chosen, whom the *Frondeurs* pretending to make use of as partial to them, and as an instrument to work their ends; so the Cardinal by his innate attractiveness, and assisted by Fortune, which commonly favours him that can sooth her up, knew so well how to handle *La Fenne*, as at last he prevailed with him upon the weightiest concerns. The Cardinal thinking by the *Spaniards* raising their Siege from before *Guise*, that they were weaker than indeed they were, and consequently less to be feared, was the more minded to make the Journey to *Guienne*, to suppress the designs of the *Burdelois*, hoping to reduce that City to obedience within a few days. But the more successful he fancied his designs, the *Frondeurs* jealousies grew the greater; wherefore they studied all means possible, whereby they might either totally ruine him, or make him more pliable to their wills. So as keeping still close together, they gave out that they would never tolerate the suppression of *Burdeaux*, nor yet the Marriages, nor his establishment in *France*; and by the way of friendship they made it be insinuated into him, that he should not do well to suffer the King to go from *Paris*, and leave affairs in the condition they were in. But the Cardinal professing that his main end was to restore the King to his Regal Splendor and Authority, which was not a little obscured by the disobedience, and exorbitant pretensions of Subjects, he minded not the *Frondeur's* threats; but defending himself on the one side from the Treachery of his Enemies, and fencing himself on the other side from the infidelity of his Friends; he by his wit and simulation rendred all prejudicial attempts vain.

But for that the *Frondeurs* pretention to divert the King from his Journey to *Guienne*, which was intended to suppress the *Burdelois*, tasted of insufferable boldness and petulancy; and that being no good pretence whereupon to raise novelties, it would have wanted the general applause, to gild over the indecency thereof, they made use of a palliated zeal to the publick good, as if they desiring the general peace, found no obstacle but the

the Cardinal, who did in several manners divert it; though when he arrested the Princes, he promised to conclude it, and thereby to put an end unto the peoples miseries, and these affections were so zealously carried on by *Beaufort*, and his Adherents, as if the Cardinal had had the disposal of his Enemies will, and as if the *Spaniards* were to have given way to whatsoever should be demanded by the *French*. Whereupon the *Parisians* were more exasperated, and people murmured in all places, not being aware of the art wherewith affairs were masked, nor of the cheat which was put upon them, whilst the Cardinal wisely knew that to have peace, the Kingdom must be in a condition of continuing War, and not to discompose Treaties by civil discords: it not being to be doubted, but that the *Spaniards* would have cooled in their desire of agreement, and would have heightened their pretensions the more by how much they should see *France* involved in intestine troubles. Thus by degrees they began to colour over the breach, which they were resolved to make; *Beaufort* coveting popular applause, desired a breach, knowing that the best way to become powerful with the simple people, was to seem to hate what they hated; he therefore used all means to be accounted an Enemy to the Cardinal, and this the rather for that by reason of the visit which was made him (as hath been said) he began to grow less in the opinion of the *Parisians*; people ran not after him, as they had wont to do, when he past through the Streets, and many of the Licentious people would call him a *Mazzerinian*: so as it became him to think upon new ways to regain their good will, and to remove the opinion, that it was not the publick interest, but his own private concerns which made him close with the late Revolutions.

The Journey to *Guienne* being upon these Reasons resolved upon, the Duke of Orleans remained chief Governour in *Paris*, assisted by the Marshal de L' *Hospitale* the Marquis of *Chasteau-neufe*, and by Monsieur de *Tillier* Secretary of State. The King and Queen, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Cardinal, with the whole Court and all the Agents of Forraign Princes, went from *Paris* on the 4th. of July, towards *Guienne*; and some speech of peace between the Two Crowns being renewed, the glory whereof was desired by the Cardinal, he desired the *Venetian* Embassador *Michiele Moro-sini* to follow the Court, that he might make use of his Mediation, if the Adversaries should incline to agreement. This news coming to *Burdeaux*, the Citizens thereof were much troubled; many publick and secret meetings were had to find out what best expedient was to be had. Some were for humbling themselves, and for submitting to the King, rather than to expect force, and to dismiss the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *Rochefoucault*, to the end that they might expect some good by Clemency.

What can we expect (said one that was of that mind) but that the King being made more certain of our contumacy by our resistance, shall forever shut his ears against any subjection that we can offer? that being bereft of all the Prerogatives that this noble City hath ever enjoy'd, we be forced to receive such hard Laws, as are usually put upon the Conquered by the Conquerour? Why do we carry our selves so proudly against our King, who passing by all the injuries that we have done him, hath never shewn himself loth to pardon us? there is no doubt but that the Duke of *Espernoun*, exceeding the bound of conveniency, hath injured us in many things; but these are miseries common to all States, which have not their Masters ear. And upon this occasion, who knows not that more good may be had by humbly acquainting our Sovereign with our grievances, than by having recourse to violent means, which

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are always hurtful when accompanied with want of respect to the Sovereign; by what forces shall we oppose the whole Kingdom, which attributing not only her losses, but the retarding of her Victories to our perfidiousness, will be upon our backs to vindicate the injuries of their betrayed Country, and the outrages done to Majesty? if commerce cease, if Traffick fail, what helps can you expect from an afflicted City which hates the Authors of her miseries? you will not therefore look to do any thing of your selves, will you perhaps hope for good from foreign forces? say I pray with what heart shall we see the *spaniards* within our Walls, who from their very Cradles hate our Nation? who having been so often beaten by us, with nothing more then to make themselves whole by our losses? for my part (said he) I cannot think that the Heavens mean us so much mischief, as to blind us thus. But if our sins shall pull down such mischiefs upon us; may the Heavens be propitious to me in shutting up mine eyes in an everlasting sleep, that I may never see *Garonne* swoln with our blood, or hear my Country, as flourishing as any other in all *France*, groan under inevitable slavery and ignominy, to the eternal testimony of her contumacy, when her King stood in most need of her.

The pathetick commiseration of this pious and prudent Citizen, had well nigh prevailed to persuade the Assembly to humble themselves unto the King; but, for that Offices are vendible in *France*, which makes them be usually conferr'd upon those who are the most wealthy, though perhaps upon those who are most ambitious and incapable; it was strongly opposed, particularly by those that were of riper years; for the young men were more moderate. Moreover the name of *Conde* was almost adored in that City, nor was his Wives being present there of small moment, in making the Citizens well minded towards him, by reason of her rare endowments both of mind and body: she encouraged those to stand upon defence, who hating the present Government, did unwillingly hear such discourses as tended to surrendering; which as they presumed, would make *Espernoun's* Government more cruel than before, wherefore one of the Graver sort did with much vehemency exaggerate the grievances which he pretended to receive daily from the said *Espernoun*, which were not to be remedied but by the change of Government: for the Duke, working (as they thought) according to the dictates of the Cardinal, it might be conceived their sufferings would have no end save by obliging the Court by resistance, to give the Province such satisfaction as was pretended unto.

Have we (said he) past the Rubicon, and shall we not stand to our Arms? what good have we received by our modest complaints made to the King, that he would be pleased to moderate, I will not say *Espernoun's* Government, but his Reign, who was born to be the ruine of this Country? nothing; but the more consolidating him in his Tyranny, and the making him the bolder to destroy us; nor can he do otherwise, whose hopes being grounded upon alliance with *Mazarine*, we can expect nothing but that growing daily more furious he shall prejudice us more by his indiscreet Government, then whole Armies would do. It is not we alone, said he, who are in these miseries, nor are we only they who are compell'd to have recourse to Arms, to keep back force, the commotion is Universal throughout the Kingdom. *Paris*, the place wherein our Kings reside, finding that it is not justice nor honesty which now prevails, but the Favourites pleasure, betakes her self to those means, which are those alone, that are left her to defend her self against the wrongs which she receives; and shall we fear to be overcome? All other Provinces encouraged by our example, will betake themselves with us to seek out remedies for those evils

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evils which do now disquiet the Kingdom. The *spaniards*, if we shall have need of them, will not fail to assist us, without hopes of getting footing in these parts, where they know they can take no root; they will be satisfied in diverting in some sort the King's Forces, which may perhaps bring on the general peace, which is as much desired by all the World, as it is kept off by the King's Ministers of State, and we being the promoters of this good shall purchase praise, whereas by idly looking on, to our shame, we shall at last like Cowards bewail our misfortunes, to the eternal Infamy of this warlike Province.

The Parliament had hardly well ended their discoursing hereupon, when the Princess of *Conde* accompanied by other Princes and Gentlemen of that party appeared; who renewing by new exaggerations the commotion before awakened in those Councillors, and inciting the mutinous people to adhere to their fury, obtained so much, as they joynd yet more straitly in Union with the Princess, and gave fitting orders for War, declaring still, that they would be good *French-men*, and faithful Subjects to the King. They did not notwithstanding send any Embassy to the King, but sent Monsieur *Voyssin* with Letters to the Parliament of *Paris*, and to Monsieur *Guionet* their Deputy in Ordinary, acquainting him with their Resolution, whereunto they were compelled by insupportable grievances, quite contrary to that famous Declaration of the Year 1643. whereof the Parliament of *Paris* having been the Authour, they desired them to interpose in procuring ease to the threatening ruine of that Province. They reduced their grievances to Three heads, their being oppressed by their Governour, whom they therefore desired might be removed: the contriving of the King's Declarations, and Will, concerning the Imprisonment of the Princes; and the extortions, and violences used by the *Financiers*, and that they might not be opposed by such as adhered to the King, and who complained of these proceedings, they drove them all out of the City, calling them *Mazzarinians*, and bad *French-men*; they secured the Princess of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Anghienne*, and all their dependants, that they might live securely under the protection of the King and Parliament. They made hast to arm themselves, that they might keep the River open, they renewed their decrees of Union between all the Corporations, and Officers of the Chamber of Edict, and charged Commissaries appointed to that purpose to proceed incessantly in execution of the decree against such as were suspected.

Not long after this decree, *Marack* a servant of the Queens, came to the Parliament with Letters from the King, dated the 22. of *July*, and he was bidden not to stay at *Poitiers*, but to go strait on to *Burdeaux*, to cross the proceedings of the Dukes of *Boullion*, and *Rochefaucolt* against the King's Service. These Letters were accompanied by others, from the Secretary of State; Monsieur *de Urtiere*, directed to the Procurator General, wherein he acquainted him with the King's Journey to *Guien*, to the end that the Parliament might appoint Commissioners to meet his Majesty, and render due and usual respects.

When these Letters were delivered to the Parliament, they resolved to make an humble Remonstrance in writing to his Majesty; that the Cardinals coming near *Burdeaux*, who was an Enemy to that City, and a favourer of *Espernoun*, might cause diffidence, and despair in the exasperated people. But that his Majesty should not doubt of the Parliaments sincere fidelity, and it was also resolved that the Procurator General should answer *Urtiere*, that the Cardinal was the occasion why they durst not send Deputies to their Majesties, to assure them of the Cities intire Loyalty,

1650. Loyalty, and unalterable obedience, and all these were delivered to the same *Marack*.

The Cardinal finding that it would be a long and difficult business to make the *Burdellois* not adhere to the interest of the Princes and that if they should fight, the Victory must be very bloody; and being desirous that the Subjects might be reduced to obedience, with as little shedding of blood as was possible, he did again endeavour an agreement before he entered the Province, which he gave in charge to Monsieur *de Lavie*, who took upon him to write to Monsieur *Mirat*, chief Counsellor of the Parliament of *Burdeaux*, desiring him that he would come himself in person to *Roquedetau*, that they might confer touching the propositions to be sent to the Parliament: the invitation was embraced, and *Mirat* being come to the place of conference, *Lavie* told him that the King was willing to listen Graciously to the Remonstrances of Parliament, and to the Princess of *Conde's* intreaties touching the Princes liberties, and that he hoped to get a Gracious answer from their Majesties within 15 days, if that the Dukes of *Bulloin*, and *Rochefaucault* would withdraw, and that the City would lay down Arms: it not being fit that the King should set the Princes at liberty, whilst his Subjects were in Arms. *Mirat* engaged himself in the names of the above-said Dukes, that they should speedily retire to their own houses, and should quit the Kingdom, if the Queen should so command them, so as the Princes might be set free; and thus the conference ended. Yet the same Dukes endeavoured still to unite themselves more firmly to the *Burdellois*; and to get speedy succour from *Spain*, which declared it would assist them, but would first see the Parliament declare it self more openly, which occasioning some difficulty, it was so handled, as some of the more seditious sort made the meaner sort of people Mutiny, besieging the publick Palace, so to force the Parliament to make the pretended Declaration, which they did, but much against the will of the Assembly, who were about to accept of the King's proposal. *Giurato Pontack* went with a great Squadron of armed Inhabitants to assist the Parliamentarians, and by the death of 3 or 4 of the most seditious freed them; whereupon the Princess of *Conde* went to the Parliament, and excusing her self, said she knew not of it. *Ostio*, to encourage the Counsellors, caused some chests of *Patacoons*, covered over with doubloons to be brought, which made a sumptuous shew, that all appearing to be Gold, the publick might hope for assistance, and particular men for profit. Things being thus established, it was thought fit to send *Ostio* out of *Burdeaux*, so not to make the Court party more Jealous: and to let the Princes do what they should please upon this occasion; and so to cover over the loathsomeness of that disobedience which was deeply rooted in the hearts of ill minded men.

The Duke de *St. Simon*, Governour of *Blaye* went at this time to pay his respects to the King, and to assure him of his Loyalty. The Count d' *Ognon*, of the Family of *Faucot*, Lieutenant of the Governments of *Roche*, of the Islands of *Oleron*, and whereof the said *Ognon*, after the death of Marshall *de Breze* had made himself almost an independent Master, would not go to Court, feigning himself to have the Gout, thinking to stand looking on, and to advantage his interests according to the conjuncture of times, either by absolutely establishing himself in the close of affairs, in those Governments; or by becoming necessary to the Court, oblige their Majesties to make him Duke, and Peer, and Marshall of France, which he very much longed to be. The Cardinal was aware of his designs, but did dissemble, seeming to believe otherwise than he did; and think-

ing it better to leave him quiet there, than by seeming to distrust him, to put him upon some headlong Resolution; especially since he seemed rather inclined to follow the Princes party, than to be Loyal to the King.

His Majesty being advanced to *Sibour*, the Parliament of *Burdeaux* sent President *Pichon*, with some other prime Counsellors to him, who being brought into his presence, in few words told him that nothing better became a puissant Prince, than Clemency; which was the bait which did captivate hearts, and establish Scepters; who by their Birth-right were acknowledged to be the Sovereigns of State, and by their mildness became masters of men. That the Parliament hoped for these favours, which had always kept within the bounds of duty, nor had ever any other aim but the service and glory of his Majesty, through whose goodness they hoped to see that fatal Tree eradicated, which brings war and confusion with it wheresoever it comes.

The Court was no ways satisfied with this complement, which was specious in appearance, but unaccompanied by effects; for the *Burdellois* continued disobedient, and still strove to bring over the people of other Provinces to joyn with the Parliament, together with their secret intelligence still held by the Princess of *Conde* with the Court of *Spain*, wherein their chiefest hopes lay; and they strove particularly to keep correspondence with the Parliament of *Paris*. From whence they were still encouraged by express Letters, Offers, and Messengers, saying they would serve them; as also did Duke *Beaufort*, the *Coadjutor*, and the *Frondeurs*; still endeavouring to seduce the people against the Cardinal; yet the aforesaid Deputies were civilly heard, and answered with like civil words. Monsieur de l' *Urliere* being appointed to treat with them, and to produce such proposals as should be thought convenient. They also tried the Loyalty of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, to interest it with that of *Burdeaux*. But, those of *Toulouse* proceeding maturely in their resolves, and not caring much whether the Cardinal, or any other were the director of Government, would not joyn with them, especially since their City not being Fortified, and lying in the Center of the Province, it would upon all occasions be subject to the evils of War. But in regard of the publick good they mediated with his Majesty that he would grant the *Burdellois* desire, by favouring them with the removal of the Duke of *Espernoun* from that Government.

Whilst affairs went thus, Marshal *Millerey*, who was ordered to go into those parts, with such Forces as he had got together in the Neighbouring Provinces, about the end of July, entered into that Tract of ground which lies between *Garonne* and *Dordone*, called the Country between the Two Seas; and assaulted the Castle of *Vaires*; there was a Burrow beneath it, intrenched by the *Burdellois*, and guarded by 300 Foot, Commanded by Monsieur *Richon*, a Citizen of *Burdeaux*, who did defend it Valiantly, till the 3. of August; but was afterwards overcome through intelligence, which was held by Marshal *Biron*, Camp-master, with a Captain that was a kin to him that commanded the Castle. Here was *Richon* made Prisoner, and being brought to *Sibour*, was by the Court hanged for a Rebel: notwithstanding means used to the contrary by the said Marquis *Biron*, and at last by *Madame de Orleans*, who had her request granted, though too late, for sentence was executed before the pardon came. In this interim the form of Agreement was drawn up on the Courts part by *Urliere*, and made known to the Deputies of *Burdeaux*, the effect whereof was, that the King was come into *Guien*, to shew his goodness to *Burdeaux* by a general act of Amnesty or Oblivion, and was therefore to be

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be received in like manner, as Kings were usually received in the Towns of their Dominion, that the Dukes of *Boullion*, and *Rochefaucolt* were to be sent out of the City, as being declared by the Parliaments of *France* guilty of High Treason, as chief inciters of all the disorders; and that things should be put into their former condition. But just as it was hoped that this would take happy effect; the news of *Richon's* death discomposed all, and did so incense the people, as they ran up and down the Streets crying Justice and Revenge, but no peace. Wherefore the Duke of *Boullion*, who had divers Prisoners in his hands, which were taken in the recovery of the Island of *St. George*, on the 6th. of *August*, caused *Monfieur de Caroles* to be hanged.

The *Marshal Millerey* being gone from about *Vaires*, incamped at *Creon* three Leagues from *Burdeaux*. The Knight of *Vallette*, Lieutenant General under *Espernoux*, commanding all those Forces in chief, in the Dukes absence, undertook to recover the Island of *St. George*; but as he advanced too forward to discover the Enemy, he was shot by an Harquebuse on the Thigh, whereof he dyed at *Cadilliack*, four days after the Court came to *Libourn*, to the great grief of as many as knew him: he was a Gentleman of much Generosity, and very faithful to the King, he had served the Commonwealth of *Venice* long in *Italy*, and it was he who entering *Paris* when it was besieged, threw divers Papers amongst the People, wherein he exhorted them to expell the *Frondeurs*, and to submit unto the King, for which he was imprisoned, and hazarded his life. Count *Palaw* was by the King put in his place; the Island being stoutly defended by *Monfieur De la Motte Delas*, the Kings men were forced to tarry there some days longer than they had thought, waiting for their Canon, which made much for the *Burdetois*, for if this important place had been lost, the City had been reduced to great straits, and want of many things, wherefore it stood the King's men much upon to perfect this enterprize, who did therefore plant some great pieces of Canon upon the hill of *Cambes*, wherewith playing incessantly upon the Fort, and making several assaults, they forced it to surrender, which redounded much to the prejudice of the City, which was not far off. So as thinking how to defend this place, they caused some Baracades to be made at *Sanfurino*, which were furnished with Soldiers of Fortune, to keep the Inhabitants from going out. There was also a Fort with four little Bulwarks at *Bastida*, a place beyond the City, over against the City. The Port of *Diconx* was fenced by a woful half Moon made of *Marle* without a Ditch, some other armed Vessels were put into the Water.

Affairs passing thus in *Guien*, during the Kings absence from *Paris*, the Court being engaged in Arms before *Burdeaux*, could not supply the needs of all Parts, States, and Cities, which required defence; wherefore the *Spaniards* took the advantage of the present conjuncture of times, being well informed by *Count de Ognate*, Viceroy of *Naples*, who knew very well how much it concerned his King to bereave the *French* of *Piombino*, and *Portolongone*, which were receptacles for the Enemies Fleets, to the prejudice of that Kingdom, and therefore resolved not to let slip that opportunity which was now offered by the troubles of *France*. He prepared all things sitting, and betook himself to that expedition, which was approved of by many Princes of *Italy*, and also by some Foreign Princes; for these Harbours were become receptacles for *French* Pirates, which troubled Navigation, not distinguishing Friends from Enemies, to the great hindrance of Traffick; Nor did the Court of *France* remedy this, as well because it was not good for her to disgust a number of men well experienced

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ced in conducting Fleets at Sea; as also that they pleaded a Law in their defence, which was confirm'd by the States General in the time of *Francis* the first, permitting the reprisal of all Vessels which carried Merchandize of any whatsoever sort, belonging to the Subjects of any Prince with whom *France* was in War. The Viceroy having mustred 6000 Foot 800 Horse, and being accompanied by many Gentlemen and Titulado's imbarqued on the 10th. of *June*, seconded by *Don John of Austria*, who as the Kings Son had the chief Command; one part of the Forces imbarqued in the Island of *Elbe*; one part with Count *Conuersano*, who upon this occasion was made General of the Horse, incamped before *Piombino*; and Cannon was planted at one and the same time, against both these places; they began to dig Trenches, that they might hasten the Conquest before succour could be sent from *France*; which being impossible to be done in those Domestick Wars, he had of himself provided for the Defence of *Portalongone*; and orders were sent to *Provence*, that all possible means might be used to send some relief thither. But nothing being to be done without money and experienced Commanders, the orders availed nothing. The *French* Agents who were in *Rome* foreseeing these difficulties, thought good to interest the Pope, and the great Duke; but all their reasons could not prevail with these Princes, who prohibited their Subjects to assist either party.

Count *Conuersano* did this mean while straiten *Piombino* being recruited by *Don John de Austria*, with 1000. Foot, and having driven the *French* out of the Town, he betook himself to oppugne the Castle, which was constantly defended by the besieged, who were encouraged by the Arrival of *Seignior Valperga*, a *Piamontese*, well experienced in the Military Mytery, who was come into *Provence*, hoping assuredly to relieve it. But the place not being able to hold out longer by reason of the situation, which was so weak as it was not to be fortified; the Governour parlied on the Eighteenth of *July*, by virtue of which capitulation the *French* and *Swissers* being to go out, *Valperga* was detained as an *Italian*, and not comprehended in the Articles; the place being Garrison'd, *Conuersano* went with all his Forces to strengthen the Vice-Roy before *Longone*; whither 500. Foot were come, sent by the Marquess of *Caracena* Governour of *Millan*; and Skirmishes past daily between both parties. But whilst *Cavalliere Poll* was providing a Vessel in *Thouloen* to attempt Relief, Cardinal *Mazarine* gave order to *Monfieur Lauriere*, the Lieutenant of a *French* Gally, to arm it suddenly, and that taking in 100. of the Queens Guard, he might endeavour succouring the place. *Lauriere*, who was very valiant, but not over good at ordering affairs, instead of going the nearest way to *Monte Christo*, from whence (the Winds having kept the *Spanish* Gallies aloof from that Haven) he might have effected his design, he wheeled about by the Coast of *Corfica*, and came late to the aforesaid Island; which the *Spaniards* being aware of, they sent *Janettino de Oria*, General of the *Neapolitan* Squadron, to find him out, with two good Gallies; which *Lauriere* perceiving, he got underneath *la Bastia* a City upon the Strand of *Corfica*, and craving protection of the Governour *Jouan Bernar-do Veneroso*, obtained it, and *de Oria* was wisht by the same *Veneroso*, to bear respect to the Commonwealth of *Genua*, which stood neutral, giving order that in case he should assault *Lauriere*, the Canon should play in his defence: But *Lauriere* not daring to tarry on that shore, where there was no Haven, unarmed his Gally, and made to land, whereof *de Oria* being aware about the Evening, and seeming as if he would return towards *Elba*, he caused three pots of Artificial fire to be put into a little Boat with

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only three men in it, who feigned to go to land, but dexterously accosting the Gally, threw the fire-works into her, which burned all that was above water, which the *Corricks* perceiving, the whole City was put in Arms, and the Governour did what he could to chastise the Transgressors; but the Boat got away, the Commonwealth was much displeased at this action of *de Oria's*, who being a Subject of theirs, they called him to account for it, and for his contumacy condemned him to perpetual Banishment.

The mean while, on the 28th. of July, the *Spaniards* fiercely assaulted the *Tenaglia*, and the half moon, which they took, by which loss the Defendants were totally deprived of Water; and Monsieur de *Novalliack* Governour of the Town, hearing that the Gally was lost, and that there was little hope of any other succour, parlied on the first of August, to surrender upon fair conditions of War, if he were not relieved by the 16th. of the said month, the news whereof he speedily sent into *Provence*, that the Commanders of those parts might have sent Relief, which might have come time enough, had it been in readiness. But the Forces being employ'd in *Guienne*, it was impossible to apply due Remedies to the affairs of *Italy*; So the time being expired, the agreement was made: And thus the *Spaniards* recovered a Fort which was not likely to have been so unfortunately taken.

The *Spaniards* began also to cheer up in *Flanders*, being encouraged by Marishall *Turenne*, and by the weakness of the French Army, which was much lessened by drawing out the best Troops to march towards *Burdeaux*, and by the Kings being gone from those parts with the finews of the Souldiery; wherefore on the 21. of July, the Spanish Army came before *La Capelle*, to get an entrance into *Champagne* by the acquisition of that place; and in 3. days they perfected the line. The Archduke came also thither to encourage his men the more; and on the 27. the Battery began, so as *Plessis Pralin*, wanting Forces sufficient to relieve it, and the Governour thereof Monsieur *Roquepine* being badly provided of defence; he parlied on the 2d. of August, and marcht out with Arms, and Baggage, to the great confusion of all the Inhabitants upon those Frontiers, as well for fear that Wars might happen, as for the indiscretion of the Souldiers that were their Friends, who wanting pay, made Plunder lawful. The *Spaniards* being so luckily gotten into that Fort, General *Turenne* did continually solicit them to get farther into *Champagne*, and prevailed with the Archduke to give 4000. of his own Army commanded by Count *Fusendaglia*, to facilitate the taking of *Reibel*, a great Town upon the River *Aisne*, by means whereof the Spanish Army did not only secure it self from the French Army, but from the fear of wanting Victuals, by reason of the fruitfulness of that Country. They fell furiously upon it and took it within two days, there being none but Inhabitants in it, who did at first resolve to article, so to keep from being plundered. He at the same time took *Chasteau Porcienne*, two Leagues off upon the same River; put a strong Garrison into it, and fortified it.

Marishall *Plessis Pralin* being much troubled at this the Enemies good success; and seeing that by reason of the weakness of his Forces he could only mind defending the greatest and most important Cities, came to *Rheims*, to encourage those terrified, & tottering Citizens, with his presence, and to shelter his Army in that City, the Metropolis of all *Champagne*; Marishall d'Ertee went to *Laon*, whereof he was Governour.

But the Spanish Army being strongly recruited grew bold, and hoped to make further acquisitions; yet not being able to make the Inhabitants of *Rheims* waver, by reason of their hopes of the Kings Army which was incamped

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incamped near them, and out of their Loyalty to the King, the Archduke advanced, and took *Newcastle*, *Pontevera*, and *Bajochies*, where they took up the Generals Quarters. The Count of *Fusendaglia*, advanced to *Brame*, four Leagues from *Soissons*, and quarter'd there. The *Spaniards* took also *Fimes* and *Fer*, two little Towns weakly walled about, and marching as far as *Marne*, booties were continually taken to the terror of the Whole Country, and in this march Marquis de *Hoihencourt*, who defended some passes with his Troops, was fought, routed, and pursued even to the Gates of *Soissons*, and narrowly escaped falling into the Enemies hands, whose Scouts came to within ten Leagues of *Paris*; where fear increased mightily, by the flight of many Country people, who brought what they had into that City. Many of the Citizens, and people, were rather glad, than sorry for these disasters, as were also the Parliament, and Frondeurs, who solicited the Duke of *Orleans*, that by his Authority, assisted by the Frondeurs, and *Parisians*, he would take the imprisoned Princes from out of the hands of Monsieur de *Bar*, thinking that the Princes being to acknowledge this as an Act of theirs they might be bound to depend always upon him, and that thereby the misdeserts of the Frondeurs might be conceal'd, who having had a hand in their imprisonments, assisted now to their freedoms. They did not care much for the advancement made by the *Spaniards*, nor for the Countries destruction, nor for any other disorder to the prejudice of the Crown; Thus the whole affair of the *Parisians*, Frondeurs, and of the Court, was reduced to the imprisonment of the Princes; But Monsieur de *Tillier*, who was left by the King with the Duke of *Orleans*, did so strongly oppose the Frondeurs design; as the *Spaniards* being advanced so near *Paris*, as that they might assault *Vincennes*, and make themselves masters of the Princes persons, he prevailed with the Duke that they might be removed to beyond the Rivers of *Seine*, and *Marne*, and put into the Castle of *Marcusse*; where they might be kept till the Court should return from *Guienne*; and that then it might be resolved whether they should be sent, to the satisfaction both of the King and Duke. They spoke also of carrying them to *Haure de Grace*, but *Tillier* durst not be too forward therein, least they might have been taken from them by the way, as they might easily be.

But things went otherwise in *Berry*, for the Queens Regiments of Horse, and those of *Bongy*, being come to Count de *St. Aignan*, he went in August near to *Montronde*, where he continued for a month, still defying the Garrison, though it were more numerous than his men, but as he returned to his Camp with but only 30. Horse, he fell into an Ambuscado of the Enemies, who shot at him with Muskets, and Pistols, wherewith he was wounded in the hand, and had his face burnt; yet throwing himself fiercely amongst the Enemy, he forced them to fly, without loss of any one of his men, and having slain some of the Enemy with his own hands, he returned to his Quarters; and was no sooner healed, but being advertised by *Cavalliere Barada*, that a party of the Enemies were in the Castle of *Garghelissa*, he presently got on Horseback, accompanied by 300. of those of *Tsouldon*, and set upon *Garghelissa*, where the Enemy wanting all things, particularly water, they yielded the 2d. day, Eighteen Officers remaining Prisoners, and above 150. common Souldiers.

A Trumpet came in the interim to *Paris* on the beginning of September, with Letters sent from the Archduke, to the Duke of *Orleans*; wherein boasting of his good intentions to a general place, he invited him to accept of the offer. The Duke listened to what the Trumpeter said, and he being also desirous of peace, sent the Baron of *Verderonne*, Gentleman of

his Bedchamber with a gracious answer, shewing a reciprocal good will; which was not altogether well approved by all men, as misbecoming the respect due to the King, without whose consent no treaty ought to have been held with the Enemy: and the Duke after this having sent a Messenger to Court, to crave leave that he might apply himself to the Treaty, the King's servants observed that he had engaged himself further than he ought to have done. Yet to keep from irritating the people more, who already complain'd that no means was used to make peace; and also not to distaste the Duke totally, Commission was sent him to Treat, but with some others join'd with him. It was thought that these projects of the *Spaniards* tended to two ends: the one to increase the peoples hatred yet more against the Cardinal; the other to win the good will of the people, who were oppress'd with continual grievances, and by insolencies of War. And in earnest by this cunning things were reduced to that condition, as the Archdukes name was publicly cried up in *Paris*, and he, as well as the *Spaniards* were said to have deserved well of the *Parisians*; nay singing Songs and *encomiums* in praise of the Archduke, they called him a good *Frondeur*. But the Archduke knew not how to make use of the *Parisians* applause, as he ought to have done; for having so far engaged himself in the aforesaid offers, and his after proceedings not corresponding with his beginning, it was thought he did not mean sincerely, and that he did not really desire peace, so much as he seem'd to do. On the other side, the Duke of *Orleans* imbarqued therein, incited by vain glory, thinking to win the peoples applause by so good a work: he sent Messengers continually to Court, the Officers whereof spying into the *Spaniards* deep designs, laugh'd at the vanity of the business, which being built in the Air, vanish'd soon away in smok. The Count de *Avaux* knowing how much his power in Court was lessened, and thinking how to regain it, grew in love with these Treaties; and intending to be the guider thereof, so to win credit with the people, he went with the Pope's Nuntio to *Soissons*, to confer with the *Spanish* Commissioners; but he found none there for the Archduke, as was appointed: nay *Don Gabrielle di Tolledo* at his return to *Paris*, said that Orders were first to be expected from *Spain*, contradicting plainly what the Archduke had said, who affirm'd that he was Plenipotentiary to conclude all things. But the Prince of *Conde's* Friends finding that the *Parisians* were pleas'd with nothing more than with this whisper of peace, fram'd some Libels in the name of *Marshall Turenne*, though he knew nothing of it; and on the 4th. of *September* they were found fastned upon all the Corners of the Streets, and the people ran to read them with such delight, as the Duke of *Orleans* striving to have them pul'd down, the people did oppose it with so much heat, as two men were upon that occasion kil'd. The Contents of these Libels were verbatim as followeth:

The Marshal of *TURENNE* to the good Citizens of *PARIS*.

IF Cardinal Mazarine, who is the disturber of publick Tranquillity, had not refused to make the most advantageous peace three years since, that France could desire, the Kingdom would not have been troubled with so many commotions as hath cost it so much blood and Treasure; and you should not now grieve to see the fire which is preparing to consume so many fair Provinces; unless you extinguish it. The Archduke, who might justly make advantage of the disorders of France, and of the Confusion whereinto it is put by the wickedness of some

some particular men, who prefer their own particular interest before the peace of *Christendome*, comes to your Gates to offer you that peace, which till now the Cardinal Mazarine hath hindred. This design appears to me to be so generous and so good for the publick, as it is fitting to follow it. Friends! you are invited to receive it, he himself presents you with it, it now depends upon you. Lasseure you the intentions of this Prince are sincere; his offering to Treat with his Royal Highness, and with the Parliament, the moderation which he will use during the whole course of this Negotiation, will justifie to all Europe his intentions to make it peaceful; he tells you that the disloyalty of Cardinal Mazarine, which is better known by strangers, than by you, hath made his Catholick Majesty resolve not to accept of any proposals made by him, but to make use of his absence to Treat thereof with the Duke of *Orleans*, and with the Parliament of *Paris*, who are bound to be accountable to the King, and to the State, of the publick conduct of affairs, and of the disorders which the continuance of War will occasion.

It is you that must solicit your false Tribunes, who are become Mazarine's Pensioners, and Protectors, who have long laugh'd at you, who have sometimes excited you, sometimes allur'd, sometimes cool'd you, sometimes held you back, (according to their Capricious and different progress of their ambitions) from preferring the publick interest, and the general good to the welfare of this States-man, whom afterwards, when he hath paid them for their friendship, they exalt unto the Heavens, notwithstanding the continuance of this War.

The Archduke comes with a spirit of peace, intending to facilitate the conclusion of a Treaty so necessary for the two Crowns; but he protests, that as he will leave nothing undone to effect so noble, and so glorious a design to *Christendome*, so he will employ the Army which he commands, to revenge his Catholick Majesty, in case these just and reasonable conditions, to which he submits himself, shall be refused; and will allow of whatsoever the licentiousness of a lawless and necessary War will permit, to punish your obduracy.

People, do you second these good intentions, demand peace boldly; this is the means to re-unite the Royal Family, and to free your selves of your Enemy Cardinal Mazarine, and from the combustions, ruines, and desolations, which you see are preparing, and from all the evils whereunto the Cardinals bad guidance, his ignorance, insufficiency, and malice does continually expose the State, and all the King's Subjects.

This writing made a great noise, and was greedily swallowed down by the people, incapable of the artificial imposture to render the Cardinals administration of Government generally more odious. This was therefore one of the chief motives which made the Duke of *Orleans* apply himself to the *Spaniard's* proposals, so to pacifie the *Parisians*, who were much incens'd by reason of the assured hopes they had to have peace in this present conjuncture of time.

The Duke of *Orleans*, and the *Frondeurs* did this mean while go about to destroy the Courts designs against *Burdeaux*; least if that Town should be lost, and that thereby the King's Forces should cease being diverted in those parts, the Kings concerns should prosper better in all other things, to the destruction of their ends, and the establishing the credit which he had won. And truly the Kingdom was then in a sad condition; for the very Nations, who were oblig'd to concur to the greatness thereof, were those who diverted its glory, and wrought all its disturbance. Wherefore the *Frondeurs* finding that the *Burdellois* were not of themselves able to defend themselves against all the Kings party, and that they were therefore liable to an irreparable loss, they imploy'd all their industry, and did what they could to assist them; they cried out that that Journey

1650. was destructive to France, whilst the Spanish Forces proceeded on in Italy, Catalonia, and in Flanders to the prejudice of the Crown of France. The Parliament sent President Balicnle, and seven other Counsellors to desire his Majesty that he would appease these commotions; the King answered that all convenient means had been used to reduce the *Burdellois* to their duty. Who instead of corresponding to his Princely clemency, had made small account of it, hanging up a Prisoner of War, contrary to all custom; and giving other aparent signs that they had no thoughts of peace; and thus the Commissioners were dismissed, and returned to Paris. But the Parliament not satisfied with this answer, resolved to send *Messieurs de Menfrier*, and *Birant* again to the Court with the same desires, whither they went on the 8th. of September, together with the President de Gournes, and some other Counsellors, who were come from *Burdeaux* to Paris: and to these the Duke of Orleans added Monsieur de Condrey Montpensiere, to be assistant to them. When Condrey was come to Libourn, he sent a Trumpet to *Burdeaux* to acquaint them with his coming, but the Letter being only superscribed *Aux Messieurs*, and the Parliament thinking that the superscription should have been *Aux nos Messieurs*, four days were spent in the dispute thereof, at last Condrey being come into the City, he presented the Assembly with the Duke his masters Letters; together with two Records of the Parliament of Paris, touching the conditions of peace, which the Duke his master had drawn up. Whereupon the Parliament being to consult, and the ten days contained in the agreement being well nigh expired; they told Condrey, that it became them not to begin, till from the day that the Parliament knew the Dukes intentions, by the Letter which they had writ unto him; that then the Letter being of great importance, it should be participated to all the Corporations of the City, and to the parties interested, and they desired him to make this time be agreed upon, and that in the interim all Hostility might cease, and that the passage upon the River might be open. The Cardinal shewed Condrey the Original proposals of the Dukes of Boullion, and Rochefaucolt, and of Fontenella Guirato de Burdeaux, with those of the Spanish Agents, which were intercepted by Monsieur Landa Basco, late Serjeant Major of Burdeaux, who afterward became obedient to the King, by the perswasion of Vicount Virlada. The said Landa got the Original of these Letters, and of the answers from Spain, wherein he faithfully observed the Cardinals Orders; and though the Original of these proposals was carried to the Parliament of Paris, for the Letters were in Cyphers: those Gentlemen took occasion to throw them away without perusing them, but did notwithstanding applaud the Spaniards offers, and desire of peace, to make their actions grateful to the people by this specious name, though they knew there was no reality in it, for the Enemy would have appeared to have been unwise, in condescending to a peace in a time when War was to be very advantageous to them, by increasing dissention in France, which was the only object of their thoughts. But the Court reflecting upon these proceedings, prejudicial to the Kings Dignity, for that the Parliament of Paris, had nothing to do to meddle with what did not belong unto it, would lose no time about it, having means by force to expedite all differences; and therefore resolved to pursue the business, which being brought to an end, paid every one in the moneys which they deserved. Thus on the 23th. of August did Marishal Millerey with all his Forces appear upon the mountain of Cenon, within a quarter of a league off Bastida, and incamped upon the side of Fenilats, and Cenon; and went with 1700. Foot to discover Bastida, resolving to do as he should see occasion. But finding it well fortified, and in con-

condition of being continually relieved by water, he returned to his former station; and the Cardinal being desirous to hasten affairs before further troubles arose in Paris, he made his men pass over the River near Camber, and approached with them near Burdeaux. The Inhabitants being resolved to defend the Town, fortified the Suburbs of St. Surine, the Women, Children, and the Religious people labouring continually thereupon. And for that the whole confidence of the *Burdellois* lay on this Suburbs, the King's Counsel resolved to expugn it. The Marquesses of St. Magrine, and of Rochelaure, were appointed to fall upon the Barracado upon the head of the street Coderan, which was defended by Duke Rochefaucolt with 400. Soldiers, assisted by Count Colignie, by the Cavaliers de la Riviere, by Todias, and Boves, both of them being Camp-Masters, by two Brothers of Carbonieres, and by Monsieur Menville. Count Paluan advanced with other Troops to assault the other part of the Suburbs called the *Carthusians*, situated upon the River, and so to pass to the Pallace Calliano to cut the Enemy from retreating from the Suburbs, the Church whereof was in part fortified, and defended by the Duke of Boullion, with about 200. of the Inhabitants, 60. Voluntiers on Horseback, led on by Count Briola, and with some other Soldiers of the Prince of Conde's, and of Rochefaucolt's guard, commanded by Roche, and Baron; and another Barracado upon the way to the *Carthusians* was guarded by the Count de Meille with Counti's Regiment. The assault being thus ordered by Marishal Millerey, he ordered the Marquesses of Rochelaure, and of St. Magrine, to go with their men to a certain Cross, above the said Church; but they losing the sight of this Cross, and falling upon an other nearer the Suburbs, they were set upon by the Duke of Boullion, and a skirmish immediately ensued. The Marishal not having as yet given all requisite orders, nor disposed of all the Soldiers as he intended, sent to Rochelaure, and St. Magrine, willing them to retreat immediatly; but the Soldiers being already engaged fell confusedly upon Rochefaucolt's Barracado, which was stoutly defended for a while, till some more of the Kings men came in by another way, assaulted them on the back, and overcame them; Monsieur Menville being slain, and Boves, Carboniers, and Todias, together with divers other Officers and Soldiers taken: and Duke Rochefaucolt ran great hazard of being either slain or taken himself; wherefore the Princes forsook the Suburbs, and retreated to the City. Count de Paluan not being yet come, who was ordered to place himself with his men between the Suburbs and the City, to keep the Enemy from retreating.

Thus was the Suburbs taken by the King's men; and the action was remarkable for the forwardness and generosity of the Combatants on both sides. But it was more bloody on the assailants side, for a great many Soldiers and Officers were taken. Choupes, and Marin, both of them Camp-masters, Genlis and Riberpre, Captains of the King's Guards were wounded. The honour of this Day belonged to Marishal Millerey, and to the Marquesses of Rochelaure and St. Magrine, who commanded the Forces that day, and ordered the assault; and such was the *Burdellois* terror and confusion, as had the Kings men then advanced, the Enemies affirm they had assuredly taken the half moon, which was almost already abandoned.

The City was much troubled at this loss; the rather, for that the Soldiers who were within the walls, did not satisfy the Inhabitants expectation. The Dukes of Boullion, and Rochefaucolt fired the Suburbs in several places, and several Houses near the City, before they retreated; so as Millerey quartered some of his men the next morning in the Houses that were unburnt.

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On the 7th. of September, two Batteries were made against *Port Dolphine*, but without effect: for it was platform'd presently, and another Battery was made to make a breach between the Gate *de Diaux*, and the Tower *Trombette*. But the *Burdelois* being very diligent to repair the ruines made by the Artillery, sallied out the next day, being the 9th. of September, against the Barracadoes of *Croix de Spine*, and at the same time another Troop assaulted the Trenches of *Pallace Galliane*; in both which sallies the besieged received some prejudice. The same day the Dukes of *Boullion*, and of *Rocheaucolt*, went out with a great many Soldiers and Gentlemen against the quarter *du Croix de la Spine*, which they stormed, though the Kings men resisted stoutly, and firing it retreated, being pursued by the besieged, who were come thither, and in that heat assaulted the half moon *Porte Diaux*, which was valiantly defended by the *Burdelois*, who beat back two fierce assaults, slaying above 100. of the Kings Foot, and divers Officers of the *Gnienne* Regiment. The Cardinal was much disquieted, for the business required expedition, and seeing how hard it was to get the half moon, he confided more in Count *Paluan*, than in any other, who was to command the next day: he ordered him to expugn it with all his might; which he attempted on the 10th. of September, orderly, with extraordinary violence. But *Rocheaucolt* came in with the Prince of *Conde's* Guard, and made it good thrice, forcing the Kings men to retreat, with much loss to *Navaille's* Regiment, whereof some Officers were taken: The Cardinal finding now how hard it was to overcome the obstinate valour of the Defendants, went to the King to *Burg*; and *Millerey* despairing of success on that side, went further off, to batter the City Wall, but still unsuccessfully.

But the *Burdelois* were much troubled to see no succour come from *Spain*, as they were made daily to believe; and the King had but six Vessels to oppose them, if they had come; wherefore the Cardinal moved a conference, which was well accepted; with intention notwithstanding on the besiegeds side, to bear the business yet a little longer on, if they could, still expecting relief from the *Spaniards*, which the *Burdelois* would have made use of, though peace had been made; so resolute they were, that the Cardinal, nor Duke of *Espernoun*, should never boast of having brought them to their beck. The Parliament and City sent their Commissioners to *Burg*, without any in the name of the Princes, or Generals; and to keep the Citizens from making any final agreement, the Princes made Messengers sometimes appear as if they had come from *Spain*, with assured hopes of succour: and though the Court indeavoured to raise jealousies between the Dukes of *Boullion* and *Rocheaucolt*, yet could they never make any impression of distrust, for each of them was sufficiently assured of one another for the common concernment that was between them; nor was there ever a party more united than that of *Burdeaux*, where every one strove to do his utmost; nor was there during the whole Siege any falling out between any particulars, save between Count *Colligni*, and the Marquesses, who was wounded, and dyed two days after.

A new Battery was made in the base Court of *Buriera*, to play upon that part of the Wall which joyns the Archbishops Garden to *la Toure delle Strage*, against which Wall they plaid furiously for three days together, and began to make a considerable breach therein: though it were continually repair'd by the Defendants. And doubtless if the City had been assaulted at first in that place, so many men would not have been lost, and the Court might have had its ends sooner; wherefore the Cardinal considering that by the prolongation of this Siege, no good might peradventure

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ture be done upon *Burdeaux*, and much mischief might fall out in *Paris*, where there were very great commotions. And on the other side the Parliament of *Burdeaux* finding their Foot destroyed by continual action, and the aid from *Spain* come but slowly on, they resolved to imbrace peace, to which they were invited.

The Princes of *Conde*, and the Dukes of *Boullion*, and of *Rocheaucolt*, were therefore perswaded to send one for each of them along with the Parliament Commissioners, but they declaring that their whole concernment lay in the Princes their liberties, and knowing it unreasonable to Treat thereof now, refer'd themselves to the Parliament, whom they desired to have a care of their interests, and of the rest that were engaged in this business. Thus the Treatie of peace advancing, and no relief appearing from *Spain*, the *Burdelois* bethought themselves of setting some treaty on Foot; and the Cardinal (being willing to admit of any reasonable desires) gave way that the Duke of *Candalle* might send a Passport to *Gourville* by another name for him to go to *Bourg*. Whither being come, he offer'd in the names of the Princes of *Conde*, and of the two Dukes of *Boullion* and of *Rocheaucolt*, all the security that the Cardinal could desire: nay they went so far, as the very Generals themselves offered to become Prisoners for six months, to assure him the more of their real intentions. They also propounded a marriage between the Prince of *County*, and a niece of the Cardinals; and though the *Burdelois* had an unspeakable aversion to the Duke of *Espernoun*, who by that Treaty was to be removed from that Government; yet they offered to beg him upon their knees for their Governour, provided that the King would grant the Princes their liberty. But the Court could never be brought to declare it self in this; for it had engaged its word to the Duke of *Orleans*, to do nothing without his knowledg: Affairs being upon these terms, the Treaties of peace commenced with the Commissioners of *Burdeaux*, assisted by those of *Paris*, who were come purposely to *Burg*; and after several conferences, it was resolved that conformable to the proposals made by the Duke of *Orleans*, Articles should be made, as they were, without the knowledg of the Princes of *Conde*, or of the Dukes of *Boullion*, or *Rocheaucolt*.

These Articles consisted of a general Amnesty granted by the King to all the Inhabitants of *Burdeaux*, to all the Generals, Captains, and Soldiers that served in that City; that the Princes of *Conde* might retire with the Duke of *Anguienne* to one of his or her Houses in *Anjou*, where she might live, and enjoy all her Estate, and that of the Prince her Husbands securely; she being to renounce in writing, which was to be delivered into the Kings hands, all Leagues and confederacies made by her, as well within as without the Kingdom; and that in performance thereof, she should give order for the ceasing of all hostility made or ordered in her name, or in the name of the Prince her Husband, in his Towns of *Berry*, *Turen*, and in other parts on this side the River *Loire*, and to withdraw Garrisons from divers Towns possess'd by them, which should be put into the Kings obediens. And that she the Princes might go to *Montrond*, upon condition that she would reduce that Garrison to bare 200. Foot, and 60. Horse, to be paid from the time forward by the King out of the Revenues of that Province, provided that she put in necessary caution, that the Militia of that nor of any other Towns should make no outrodes, nor commit any Hostility against the Subjects of those Provinces, and all of them might enjoy the present act of Amnesty: by vertue whereof all Prisoners of War, on both sides should be set at liberty; that when this Declaration should

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The Princess, and Dukes being advertised, that the agreement was made without them, sent Monsieur *Figeau* to be present at the Treaty, and to subscribe the Capitulation in their names. The agreement being published, on the 2d. of *October*, and all Hostility ceasing, the Princess of *Conde*, the Dukes of *Anguien* *Boullion*, and *Rocheaucolt*, together with a great many Gentlemen went the next day from *Burdeaux*, toward *Contras*; and within half a League were casually met by Marishal *Millerey*, in one of the Vessels of the Fleet, and by divers other Vessels of Monsieur *Mantrick*, who saluted the Princess with all their Artillery; and the Marishal accosting her, asked her, whether she would pass under the Windows of their Royal Majesties, and not come out of her Barque to kiss their hands. To which (being so advised by the Dukes) she answered, that she would willingly go do her duty, and upon her knees beg her Husbands liberty, if she thought her doing so might be acceptable. The Marishal presently dispatht away a Boat to tell the King that the Princess was coming to pay her respect to their Majesties; who soon sent Duke *Danville* with many Coaches to meet her; and when she was come to Court, she was lodged in *Millerey's* house, and was complemented there in the name of the King, Queen and of all the Court; though the Marishals invitation was not well liked, since no good could come by this visit, and that it might rather cause (as indeed it did) Jealousie and Suspicion in the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Cardinal meant to set the Princes at liberty without his consent or knowledg. The Princess afterward visited their Majesties, and complements being past, with bended knee, and pouring forth abundance of Tears, she humbly beg'd her Husbands liberty, using such passionate, and affectionate Speeches, as did not only move their Majesties, but all the standers by, which when Madamoselle heard of, believing that at that meeting the freedom of the Princes was concluded, without searching further into the truth; she dispatht away a Messenger to the Duke her Father, at which news he was much troubled, as was also all the *Frondeurs*; but hearing afterwards that the Princess had got nothing but hopes, they were pacified. The Dukes of *Boullion*, and of *Rocheaucolt*, did also press the Cardinal in private to the same effect, intending either to obtain the Princes their liberty from the King, or to make a breach between the Cardinal and the Duke of *Orleans*; they told him that the Princes would be the more obliged to him, when they should see their liberty proceeded merely from his affection, and not enforced; that it would redound much to his glory throughout all *Europe*, when it should be seen that it lay in his power, to restrain, and also to reestablish the Prince in his greatness. That the demeanure of the *Frondeurs* might make him know that their designs were first to ruine the Princes, to the end that they might afterwards more easily pull down him the Cardinal; or else by giving them their liberty, ingage them to joyn in his, and the Queens ruine; that the War was ended in *Guienne*, but that the desire of re-kindling it would never

ver end in the Kingdom, as long as the Princes were imprisoned; that this was plotted in all parts, and that the thoughts of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of others, aimed all at this: and that finally they themselves would not deny, but that all their endeavours should tend to the same end, as those who were bound to prefer this before all other interests.

This discourse wrought the effect which the Duke desired; it wrought upon the Cardinal, and did infuse such jealousy into the *Frondeurs*, and Duke of *Orleans*, as it made the Duke resolve to reunite himself with them, and again to endeavour the Cardinals destruction. The Queen, nor the Cardinal were neither of them well pleased with Madamoselle; for having always thought her well affected to the Court, she upon this occasion appeared otherwise.

But this agreement did disturb other affairs; for the hatred of the *Parisians*, and the authority of the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Beaufort*, and of their adherents did thereby increase the more against the Cardinal, whom they told, that howsoever they would have the Court return speedily to *Paris*, and that the journey to *Toulouse*, and *Provence* should be put off to another time, which was intended, that the States General might be held there, and to raise monies, which they wanted much, to provide for the occurrences of the Kingdom, and particularly of *Catalonia*, and for payment of the Servants of the Court, who had not received any monies of a long time, the Cardinal was minded that the King should go to *Languedock* and *Provence*, before his return to *Paris*; for besides that the People should thereby see the Kings Person, which wins upon the peoples love; there was some need of his Majesties presence in those Provinces, as well to hold the States General in *Languedock*, as to quiet the differences in *Provence* between the Count de *Ales*, who was Governour of that Country, and the Parliament; but the Cardinal being told that for certain the Duke of *Orleans* did extremely desire the King should return to *Paris*, to take order for affairs there, and to provide for the safe custody of the Princes, who were not thought to be safe enough in the Castle of *Merconisy*, he resolved to return to *Paris*, where the *Frondeurs* grew daily more desirous to deprive him of the glory which he might have gotten with appeasing the uproars of *Provence*.

On the 5th. of *October* the King, Queen, and the whole Court, entred into *Burdeaux*, with above 4000. what Horse, what Foot, which were brought in, not so much for the Kings safety, as for his Grandezza, whereat the *Frondeurs* were so terrified, as many of them sought to hide themselves. The *Burdellois* appeared mightily pleased with the King coming; they lodged the King, Queen, Cardinal, and Duke of *Anjou* in the Archbishops Palace; Madamoselle d' *Orleanse* in President *Pontacks* stately Palace, and the Cardinals neeces were lodged in the *Doyen*. The Court tarried ten days in *Burdeaux*, and being solicited by the Duke of *Orleans* to return to *Paris*, it marched thitherward.

The Court being come to *Orleans*, instead of going straight to *Paris*, went to *Fountainbleau*, to take order for securing the Princes; who on the 15th. of *November* were removed from the Castle of *Merconisy*, and were convey'd to *Hauvre de Grace*, conducted by Count *Harcourt*, with 400. Horse, and as many Foot; and after Eleven days march, they were shut up there, being still under the Guard of Monsieur de *Bar*, and of those whom he confided in. After which the Queen was not afraid to return to *Paris*, since the Prisoners were gone so far from thence, and that they were now at her disposal. The *Frondeurs* were much troubled thereat; who with all the other Malecontents ceased not to exclaim against the Duke of *Orleans*, that

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There were two means to be used for getting the Princes liberty; the one by closing with the Cardinal, the other by joyning with the *Frondeurs*; the Princesses would not by any means abase themselves so far as to receive help from the *Frondeurs*, they rather inclined to lean towards the Cardinal, and to agree with him. But since the Court cared not much for the *Frondeurs*, now that the Princes were secured, and did mind nothing but aggrandizing the Kings Authority, it was not judged fit, to trust too much to *Conde's* fickle nature, and that it would be better to expect a while; so as the Princesses finding that their Husbands were not likely to get their freedom, at least for some time by the Cardinals means, they had recourse to the Duke of Orleans, and to the *Frondeurs*, and the Treaties were very privately begun by the Princess Palatine, who in the managing of this Affair behaved her self very discreetly, for spinning on the time of Treaty as long as she could with the *Frondeurs*, she was perswaded she might bring them over to the Queen, and Cardinals party. She therefore negotiated this with the Court equally affectionately, and with equal Dexterity: shewing them how much more worthy they would be of commendation, by obliging the Princes to eternal gratitude, by an act of singular clemency, and confidence; and that by persisting to be rigorous they would afford the *Frondeurs* occasion to merit this from the Princes, and consequently to increase their pretensions, with evident danger, that being so strongly backt they might make way for more pernicious consequences; but all this did nothing with the Cardinal, who thought he could not now confide any longer, and held it dangerous to bring the Princes back to the Court, during the Kings Minority; so the Palatine was forced to advance the Treaty with the *Frondeurs*.

The Dutchess of *Chenereux*, with many others entred likewise into this new confederacy against the Cardinal under a publick pretence, but with private ends; and they strove to shew their Majesties, how necessary it was for them to return to *Paris*; but the Cardinal strongly opposed this, shewing how dangerous it might prove to the Kings power, and how unsafe to the Court, to put themselves into the peoples hands, and into a faction, which having broken all the bonds of Duty, they might expect all bold attempts from them, and he moreover made it known, that the Kingdoms peace consisting in the imprisonment of those that might subvert it, this maxim was constantly to be insisted upon, without fearing the Duke of Orleans, or the *Frondeurs*, who could do little, or nothing out of *Paris*, without having the imprisoned Princes at the head of an Army, and without the joyning of the other parts of the Kingdom, which being all very obedient, were of themselves able to curb *Paris*, if it should attempt any novelty.

But the Queen being perswaded by the Dutchess of Orleans, and by the Dutchess of *Chenereux*, who negotiated as a friend and confident between

tween the parties, resolved at last to do against the Cardinal's Counsel, and to return to *Paris*; from whence all the mischief ensued which befell the Court afterwards.

And the Kings concernments were no less prejudiced in *Catalonia*, *Italy*, and in *Flanders*, than in *France*. For the Commanders in *Flanders* being but illfavouredly paid, were forced to give way to Military licentiousness in those Towns which were wont to be civilly dealt with; which caused them to complain bitterly, being indiscreetly plunder'd by the Horse of *Flix*. And though process were made against Monsieur *Santa Colomba Marin*, Governour of *Catalonia*, by the pressing of the Countrey people; yet nothing being able to refrain their licentiousness, the *Catalonians* resolved to acknowledge him no longer for their Commander, but to deny him those contributions, which they were forc't to pay him, to preserve themselves from Military insolence, grounding themselves upon the agreement made with the King of *France*, that none but those of the Nation, and not any *French* should be made Governours of any Towns there.

But Duke *Mercure* not being satisfied with this reason, resolved to force them to obedience; sent Colonel *Baltazar* thither with 1000. Soldiers, part Horse, part Foot, wherewith entering *Mora*, a great Town upon the *Ebro*, he plundered it, using great extortions, and did the like in many other Neighbouring Towns; which made the people take up Arms, and besieged the *French* in the said Towns of *Mora*; so as the Vice-Roy finding violent means hurtful, he sent *Don Giuseppe Margherite* thither, one who was in good credit with them, to reorder affairs with his presence.

He marched thitherward, not without danger of being slain, for by intelligence held by the Bail of *Vilboda*, (who feigned to be his friend) an Ambuscado was laid for him in certain narrow ways through which he was necessarily to pass, which was to give the sign when the Enemy was to advance. But *Margherite* advancing so fast, as he had not time to give the sign, the Enemy moved not, but suffered him to advance on to *Falsét*, a chief Town of those parts, where by his credit he accommodated differences, promising the Countrey people that the *French* should go out of their Towns, and that the Garrison of *Flix* should not injure them; and having satisfied them all, he went to *Mora*, drove out *Baltazar*; whercof *Marques Borry*, who commanded the *Spanish Forces* in chief, being advertised, he laid another Ambuscado for him, as he returned from *Flix* to *Mora*, near *Composina*, but *Baltazar* being overseen in Wine he went by water instead of going by land, whereby the *Spaniards* were deluded, and his drunkenness was *Margherite's* safety.

Borry staying afterwards with his men in those parts for seven or eight days, he made the *Catalonians* be assaulted by an Ambuscado, conducted by the aforesaid Bail of *Vilboda*, and by *Lewis Magrinat*, an Inhabitant of *Falsét*, but the *Castilians* came off with the worst, for about 40. of them were slain, and as many taken Prisoners, and the rest saved themselves by the Mountain. *Margherite* being afterwards sent for by the Vice-Roy, came to *Santa Colomba*, where the Vice-Roy was with the *Marquesses* of *Marilly*, and *Marinilla*; and went from thence to *Barcelona*; but before he went from thence, a Council of War was held, wherein it was resolved to divide those Forces into the most considerable places, as well to reinforce those places, as to spare the Country from quartering; but this was not affected; for news being brought, that a body of *Spaniards* was entred by *Granadiglia* (a Country lying between *Flix*, and *Lerida*) the Vice-Roy would fight them; but failed in his designs, for the *Spaniards* were

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were seasonably retreated, and *Falset* being at the same time revolted, the Vice-Roy was forced to come before it with 3000. Combatants, and with the Artillery drawn out of *Flix*; wherewith he forced those Country people, and 200. *Spaniards* who were come from *Taragona*, to yield upon usual conditions of War, and with general pardon to those that rose. Here were the Regiments of Mount *Poullion*, *La Motta*, and *Faltazar* quartered under this mans Command; who pretending afterwards that the Citizens went about to revolt again, made the Town be plundered, with so much terrour to the other Neighbouring Towns, as the *Spaniards* were thereby invited to besiege *Flix*, which they took.

Duke *Mercure* endeavoured to relieve *Flix*, and came to *Compassina*, where it was resolved to fall upon the *Spanish* Camp, and get into their Trenches. He therefore came within sight of the Enemy; but finding them too well provided, he suffered that Town to fall into their hands; *Mercure* having been incamped four days, and suffering much for want of Bread, for all the Corn that was in the Neighbouring Villages was brought into *Mirauet*; he went from thence to *Tineza*, where he routed 50. *Spaniards* that were quartered in *Reux*, and slew the Bailly of *Villebay*, and from thence fell into the vally of *Taragona*, a fruitful Country, where the *French* tarried two months, doing nothing, wherefore the *Spaniards* making use of the Enemies negligence, went speedily to take in *Mirauet*, upon the same River of *Ebro*, half a days march from *Flix*, towards *Tortosa* wherein there was a Garrison of 500. Foot. At the first onset *Dolerier*, Governour of the Town was slain, and within eight days the Town was taken. By reason of these fortunate proceedings, Marquess *Mortara* went to before *Tortosa*, where Seignior *Lannage Gringenier* Commanded, and Monsieur de *Chaison*, as the Kings Lieutenant (a brave Soldier, and well beloved by those people) with about 1500. Soldiers, and though the *Spaniards* were then so strongly recruited, as that they had 8000. fighting men, and that the Citizens, and Country people stood for the most part for *Spain*; yet not being able to do any good by storming, as at first they indeavoured they resolved upon a Siege, wherewith in six weeks space they reduced it. Duke *Mercure* knowing the importancy of the place, strove to relieve it, and writ to Don *Guiseppe Margherite*, to send him Victuals from *Barcellona*: *Margherite* forthwith hired four Merchants Ships which were in the Haven at *Barcellona*, and fraughting them with great store of Cattle, he sent them to the *French* Camp in the plains of *Taragona*. And whilst the said Munition was unloding at *Cambrils*, where the Vice-Roy was, seven *Spanish* Gallies, Commanded by Duke *Alberkirque*, fell upon them, and after a long fight, and with loss of some few men, made himself master of the four Vessels; so as the Duke wanting means to make his attempt, the City capitulated, and surrendered; after which losses, Duke *Mercure*, though recruited with 1000. Foot from *Barcellona*, and with as many from *Provence*; seeing the *Spaniards* were retreated to their Winter quarters, and that he had had but ill success in that employment, he also retired with his Army to their quarters, and with leave returned to *France*; leaving the Marquess of *St. Magrin*, to Command the Forces.

The Archduke making use also in *Flanders* of the *French* being engaged in *Guien*, went to *Rethel*, where was great store of Corn and other provisions, and consulting what enterprize he were best to fall upon, the Count *Grandpre*, of the Family of *Joyence*, and who was then a great favourite of the Prince of *Conde*, propounded the taking of *Moson* upon the *Moë*, which had been his Government, and he prevailed that it should be attackt with 4000. *Spaniards* under Don *Stephano di Gammarra*, and with 2000.

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French, of *Longueville*, and *Turen's* Troops, who passing over the *Mosa* on the 4th. of *October* began the expugnation; but they found greater resistance than they expected; yet being loth to give over a work of such importance, the Count of *Fuenseldagna* came before it also with other *Spanish* Forces. The Archduke with part of the Horse retreated to *Brussels*, leaving Don *John delli Ponti*, a *Neapolitan*, Governour of *Rethel*; he hastned the business before Marishal *Plessis Pralin* should be able to relieve it. And though the Defendants, out of hope of being relieved, and for fear of being ill treated by *Grandpre*, did stoutly defend it, yet not being able to resist so many reiterated assaults, they yielded on the Eleventh of *November*; the *French* Garrison marched out, and the *Spaniards* entred; who not thinking it fit to give the Government thereof to *Grandpre* by reason of his instability; nor yet to deny it him, lest he might be displeased, they took a middle way, which was to declare him Governour thereof, but not put him in possession, pretending need of him in the Camp; and promised never to make peace with *France*, till he were re-admitted thereinto; which the *Spaniards* did, that they might be free masters of that Town, which was of such importance to their affairs, lest *Grandpre* might be won over by the Cardinal, whose Maxim it was, rather to sweeten his particular Enemies by fair means, than to ruine them by rigour.

After this, *Turen* went over the *Mose* to *Olesy*, and quartered between that River, and the *Aisne*, that he might enlarge his quarters in more commodious and plentiful places, and to refresh his Army, which was much weakened, and wearied with this Siege: since he could not perwade the Count of *Fuenseldagna* to stay with his men between those two Rivers, as he had wisely advised. Wherefore the Cardinal finding that he should have done but little, if after having subdued *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and *Guienne*, he should not also have freed *Champagne* from the Enemy, he resolved to go himself in person to the Army, and to drive the *Spaniards*, and *Turens* Troops from *Rethel*, and the other Neighbouring Towns, having to this purpose re-inforced the Kings Camp with part of the Forces brought from *Guien*, and with others taken into pay by the Prince *Taranto*, some to the Duke of *Tremaglia* in *Poitou*, and by the Marquess of *Aligre*, and others in *Auvergne*, he doubted not but to have the glory of driving the Enemy out of the Country.

The Cardinal parted from *Paris* about the end of *November* in great Pomp; leaving the Parliament, and the *Frondeurs* much mortified, to see that to the power of Government he had, the Command of the Army was added. When he was come to *Reimes* with an Army of 12000. choice veteran Soldiers, the recovery of *Rethel* was resolved on by a Council of War, towards which the Army marched on Friday the ninth of *December*, Commanded by General *Plessis Pralin*, and by Messieurs *Villaquiere*, and *Oquin-court*, Lieutenants General; the next day they took the Suburbs, and began to play upon the Gate, and passing over the Bridge, assaulted the Town, from whence they were at first valiantly repulst by *Jonan delli Ponti*, a *Neapolitan*, who Commanded within the Town with 1200. Foot, and 200. Horse. But at the second assault, those that were within knowing that they could not defend those imperfect Walls, they capitulated on the 13th. day; though it was but a false Alarm on that side, given by only two Regiments, the Kings Army being all on the other side the River; This happened just when General *Turen* was come with his Army as far as *Tagni*, to relieve the Town, which he did not doubt to do; for the *French* Camp having no line about it, and being divided in several quarters on both sides of the River; he would have made them rise, or would have entred the

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Kings quarter by the intervall. *Turen* moved this, for if the Town should be lost, his quarters would have been straitned, and he could not have maintained himself long, but all his men would have been ruined this winter; for the *Spaniards* would not suffer him to quarter in *Flanders*, where the Archdukes Forces were already quartered; who for the expence, and in consideration of the time of Year, would not tarry there, but declared that he left the care of that place to *Turen*; who was more concerned in the preservation of that place than the *Spaniards*, they being content to keep *Moson*, *la Capelle*, and *Catellet*, into all which they put good Garrisons, for that they afforded good conveniency upon any occasion to enter into *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and into the Bowels of *France*, and the Kings Army could not be re-inforced save only with 2500. Horse from *Lorraine*, conducted by Monsieur *Fouges a Savoyard*, and by Count *Ligneville*; and with 2500. *Walloon* and *Lorain* Foot, Commanded by *Don Stephano Gammara a Spaniard*; which being join'd to 2000. German Horse lately raised, the whole Army consisted of 5500. Horse, 4000. Foot, and six field pieces. *Turen* hearing by some Prisoners that were taken, that the Town had capitulated, and fearing to be slain upon by the Victorious Army, faced about, and marching all night, went to lodge in *Vallatadi Burg*, near the River *Aisne*. Then Marishal *Plessis Pralin*, though he had not as yet possession of the Town, called a Council of War to advise of what was to be done, before he would adventure to give Battle: where it was considered, that the *Spaniards* chief design being to drive *Turen's* Army into the French quarters, so to ease the Towns of *Flanders*, it would be a matters part to disturb their design, and to drive them also from *Chasteau Porcienne*; which would redound much to the prejudice of the Enemy, their ends being thereby broken, for which they had taken, and fortified those Towns, to effect which it was thought there was but two means; the one to oppose them with the Army all the Winter, by which trouble and sufferings their own Army would either be destroy'd, or so lessened, as that the next Spring they should not be able to make head against the Enemy: the other to come to a general action of Arms, before the French Forces should be diminished, and before *Turen* should have recruited his, as he easily might do by the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*: or leaving both these to betake themselves to a third means, which was to go to their winter quarters, which would be as bad, if not worse than to lose a Battel, for thereby *Turen* would obtain his intent; all these reasons being weighed by common consent, all pitch upon the resolution of fighting as soon as might be. *Plessis Pralin*, solicited the Governour of *Rethel*, therefore to end the Capitulation by the next day break, and at the same time when the Garrison began to march out, he hastened his march after the Enemy; that he might overtake him, and engage him to fight. But being come to *Geneville*, he was told by a party of Horse which came then unto him, that the Enemy was already so far advanced as it was impossible to reach him with his men, who were already wearied with the Siege, and with their march; wherewith he acquainted the Cardinal, who sent him word, that if he could do no otherwise, he should retreat and that he would expect him at Dinner that day; but he was advertised by the forerunners of another party of the quarters of *Oquin-court*, and of Lieutenant General *Le Rose*, who were further advanced, that *Turen* had haulted in the said vally of *Burg*: wherefore without sending to the Cardinal, he hastened thither, being resolved to fight, and by Moon-shine he came on the 15th. of November before it was bright day to the vally of *Smide*; from whence the Enemies *Croats* were just then gone, having heard news of the advancing

vancing of the Kings men. Then General *Turenne* giving sign to his Troops by three several shot of Cannon, that they might rank themselves in order, the Commanders were so diligent, as the most of them were in Battle-array upon the tops of the Mountains, before the Kings men could come up unto them, as they indeavoured; which when *Plessis Pralin* knew, finding how he had failed in his first design, which was to have gotten between the Enemies quarters, and to have kept them from joyning, he betook himself to march with much diligence upon the paralell line to the Enemy; and getting the upper hand with his right wing, on the part where *Turen's* left wing stood, intending to play upon it on the Flank, now that they were weak, and that the *Lorainers* were not yet come up unto them, who came not long after; but *Turenne* also hastning his march, both the Armies marched in a paralell line for above a League, not far from one another, and then came the *Lorainers* in, with whom *Turenne* finding himself able to resist the Kings men, he staid upon an advantageous situation, to put his Army in Battle-array, and to put the business to the arbitrement of Fortune.

He drew out his men into only two lines, that his Front might be the larger upon the top of the Hill, which extends it self into a large plain; and he according to his custom, placed himself upon the left wing of the Horse, assisted by Count *Duras*, by Baron *Boutenville*, and by Messieurs de *Beaunau*, and *Montelieu*, who were the prime Commanders. Monsieur *Fuges*, and Count *Lignanille* Commanded the *Lorainers*, who ranked themselves on *Turen's* left side. The right was possesed by the five newly raised Regiments of the Germans conducted by Monsieur *Lanau*. *Don Stephano di Gammara*, assisted the *Walloon*, and the *Lorain* Foot; and the French were led on by Messieurs *di Bethets*, *de Rosopere*, and by Count *St. Quinten*; whereof the first Commanded *Turen's* Brigade, the 2d. that of the Crown, and the 3d. that of *Stenay*, on the head of which Battailions stood *Marquess Hocourt*, of *Omale*, and Count *Bossu a Fleming*. The six field pieces were placed on the Front of the Army, preceeded by the Forlorn hope who were to give the first Skirmish; some *Croats* were to scour the Country, and to Skirmish with the forwardest of the Enemy.

Marishal *Plessis Pralin* having discovered the vally which lay between the two Armies, divided his Army, which consisted of 4000. Foot and 500. Horse, into two Battailions also; the first whereof was led on by the Marishals self, accompanied by Monsieur *Maincamp*, Monsieur *Villaquiere*, the *Marquess d'Oquin-court*, and *de la Rosa*, all four Lieutenants General; by Count *Plessis Pralin* Son to the General, by Count *Nauailles* Vicount *Corvalle*, Monsieur *de St. Gervies*, and Monsieur *Fleshenteyne*; with whom were divers other Officers, and experienced Gentlemen. Messieurs *de Valle*, and *de Pradell* commanded the Foot, which were divided into six Battailions, on the Front whereof were placed two pieces of Canon. The 2d. Battel contained five Battailions of Foot, part French, part Dutch: led on by Messieurs *Chaumontelle*, *la Susa d'Emerant*, *la Flotte Vencinille*, and others, in the intervall between these two Squadrons of Foot were two Squadrons of Prince *Thomaso* of *Savoy* his Gens d'arms, some Companies of the Generals, and of his Sons, and of my Lord *Digby* an Englishman. Monsieur *d'Inville*, Marishal of the Camp had the care of the reserve of Horse of this 2d. line. The King's Army advancing in this order, General *Turenne*, to keep the Foot from adjusting themselves between the intervals of Horse Squadrons, as they began to do, advanced himself in person with his wonted courage, and the *Lorainers* were so ready on the left hand as they gave leave only to three Squadrons of the Enemies Horse to op-

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1650. sieur *Lanau*, who commanded the five Dutch Regiments in *Turenne's* right wing had his Horse slain under him, and was himself taken Prisoner in the first charge wherein he had some advantage; all his men were put to flight, which caused the Kings men of the left wing to return to the right wing, where charging the second fresh line of the *Lorrainers* they routed them utterly, so the field was won, wherein Count *Lignaville* was taken Prisoner; and Monsieur *Fouger*, who had received two wounds, and Edward Prince Palatine, together with two other German Colonels were slain.

General *Turenne* as he past between the *Lorain* Squadrons, and his own Troops, finding himself alone, for all his Gentlemen were mingled with the Enemy, and his Horse being again twice wounded, was invironed by some of the Kings men, who asked him if he would have quarter, when Monsieur *de Berge*, Captain of his Guard coming in, they defended themselves with unparalleled courage, and throwing two of the Enemies to the ground, they luckily got free from the rest, crying out that they were the Kings Officers; and that those Dutch men would have kil'd them. Thus they escaped out of the Field; and *Turenne* met with Monsieur *de Vane*, Serjeant Major of *Beauveau's* Regiment, who lent him a Horse wherewith he saved himself: so as finding both the wings of his Army utterly routed; the Foot presently threw down their Arms, and ran all, save *Turenne's* Brigade, who refusing quarter, fell in with unheard of boldness into the midst of the Kings Squadrons, where they were all either slain, or taken, after an hours fierce conflict. Here was *Haucourt* taken Prisoner, who commanded two small bodies of Horse, and Don *Stephano de Gammara* General of the Spanish Artillery, Count St. *Quinten*, and Colonel *Capon*, and divers other Officers and Soldiers were slain. Thus the Kings men won the day, were masters of the Field; took 24. Ensigns, all the Drums, and about 3500. Prisoners; and about 1800. were slain. General *Turenne*, the Counts *Bossu*, and *Reens*, and some more Horse, retreated towards *Barleduc*, and from thence to *Stenay*, the rest who escaped the Victors fury, dispersed themselves several ways.

Of the Kings Army there died upon the Field, beside Count *Plessis* Son to the General, *Aluimare*, *Vale*, and *Carnalle*, all of them Field Marishals, Serjeant General *Rosa*, Colonel *Bous*, and the Vicount *de L' Hospitale*, besides many that were wounded, about 480. Soldiers, and Officers of lesser account.

After this Victory the Garrison of 300. which was in *Chasteau Porcien* yielded upon discretion to Camp Master *Bougy*, who during the Battel, was besieging it with 1500. men; and all the other Garrisons under *Turenne* in the Towns beyond the River *Aisne* did also surrender.

This Victory was accompanied by the taking of *Barleduc* which the *Lorrainers* held; *Viscerge*, which was stoutly defended by *Mailleferd*, a *French* Colonel; the Town and Castle of *Miraucourt*, which yielded upon discretion to Marishal *Ferte Senetre*; who was he that took all these Towns, as also the Castle *Gardia*, with the Garrisons of *Vic* and *Mongennick*.

But the season being unfit for further proceedings, and rest being rather to be thought upon for the Soldiers, than new enterprises, they were put into their Winter quarters; the Cardinal being thus Victorious, no less by this fortunate success, then by having secured the Princes this year in the Kings name, taken the Towns from them which they possess, succord *La Guise*, recovered the Castle of *Dijon*, *Belgarde*, *Dannwilliers*, *Cleremont*, *St. John di L' Ansne*, *Verdun*, *Caen*, *Diepe*, secured *Hauvre de Grace*, and *Roan*, ended the commotions in *Guienne*, reduced *Burdeaux*, and driven the *Spaniards*

1650. niards from *Rethel*, it is impossible to relate what confusion they were in, who murmured against his Government of affairs, and who were jealous of his actions. His Friends, who according to the fashion of the Court, do flatter Fortune more than persons, solicited him by their Letters to come & receive Triumph in *Paris*, telling him that these happy successes had stop't all mens mouths, wherefore he returned to *Paris* on the last of *December*, which occasioned the bad accident which followed, as you shall hear, which he had shun'd, had he tarried but one month longer in the Army out of *Paris*. The Coadjutor after the Battle at *Rethel*, being desired by his especial friend Monsieur *di Militiere* to mind his studies, and not to meddle any more in factions, and in the intrigues of the Court, where the Cardinal grew daily greater; answered that he would follow his Counsel; but that he must first end two things; which were, to drive the Cardinal out of Administration of Government, and to set the Princes at liberty; and that then he would betake himself quietly to his book.

The Cardinal afterwards thinking himself obliged to put some esteem upon those who had signalized themselves in the late Battle, made the King bestow the Marishal staff of *France* upon *Villaquiere*, who was afterwards called Marishal *d' Aumont*; upon *la Ferte Imbault*, called the Marishal *d' Estampes*; and upon the Marquesses of *Oquin-court*, and of *Ferte Senatre*, the one Governour of *Peronn*, the other of *Lorrain*. He gave the Government of *La Fera*, intending him further honours, and he consoled all the rest with hopes and promises; he had also promised Count *Grance* to make him Marishal of *France*; but the Duke of *Orleans*, who growing jealous of the fame which the Cardinal had acquired by so many conquests; and seeing that in the Election of the four Marishals there was none chosen that depended upon him but *Estampes*, and that he could not get him to have the first place in precedence, though he were the antientest servant, opposed *Grance* his Election. So as the Cardinal not thinking it fit to exasperate the Duke any longer, hoping to bring him over afterward upon better reasons to his designs, he forbore conferring that honour upon *Grance*, who not well contented with the denial of what his so long service had deserved, retreated to his Government of *Graveling*, and by causing jealousies afterward in the Court, he made *Orleans* suffer the intended honour to be confer'd upon him. Thus every one rejoicing at the Cardinals prosperity either really, or in appearance, according as they shared therein; others were so full of fears, and emulation as not governing themselves by what was just or reasonable, they fell upon all destructive Resolutions.

The imprisoned Princes Friends who labor'd their freedom, when the Cardinal was absent, finding how generally it was desired, got the Princess of *Conde*, and Madamofelle *de Longueville*, to present each of them a Petition to the Parliament, to move them to protect the Princes, and to interest them in their dis-imprisonment. The Petition being delivered in the Princess of *Conde's* name on the first of *November* by Monsieur *Deslandes* Payer a Councillor, it was read the next day in the Parliament. After a Narrative of what had been done touching the imprisonment of the Princes, it contained that in conformity to the Laws of the Kingdom, and answerable to the Declaration of the 24th. of *October*, 1648. Process might be made and expedited against the Princes, and that in the mean time they might be brought to *Paris*, and placed in the *Louvre* with such guards upon them as should be thought fit. The prime President said it was a business which would suffer much discussion, and moved that it might be put off till the next week, so it was put off till the next Wednesday: on

on which day Monsieur *Talon* strove with a pithy Oration, to inform the Assembly that the Declaration of the twenty eighth of *October* could not derogate from the Regal Authority, the Kings Council being concerned in the Princes their affairs: that therefore the said Petition should be transmitted to the Queen Regent, desiring her to reflect upon it, and use therein her accustomed goodness and clemency. Monsieur *Crespine* Dean of the Parliament presented the other Petition of Madamofelle *Longueville*, which concerned the same business, desiring that they might be placed in *L' Hostell de Soissons* in *Paris*, where she might render the Duke her Father the service and assistance to which she was by birth and nature bound. This Petition was not well read, when Monsieur *de la Roche* Captain of the Prince of *Conde's* Guard, came to the Parliament door, demanding to be let in; for he had a Letter to present from the three imprisoned Princes, which he was commanded to deliver to the whole Assembly; when he came in, the Letter was read, which contained the same things as did the Petitions presented by the two Ladies. The Letter was written by the Prince of *Conde's* own hand, and subscribed by the other two, dated from *Cudbonville* the 19th. of *November*, after that *Telonne* had replied, that the Letter, and the supplications ought to be sent to the Queen, the Assembly rose, adjourning their meeting till the next Friday. Then the Princes their Friends represented to the Duke of *Orleans* how that it was a strange thing to keep the Princes of the blood in *Hauve de Grace*, an unwholesom place, situated in the Sea, where they were continually in danger to die. To which he answered that they were sent thither against his will, and that they ought to be removed from thence. The Parliament meeting on Friday to resolve upon these supplications, Monsieur *de Saintote* came with a Letter from the King, wherein he commanded the Parliament not to resolve upon any thing, till they should know his will, this was readily obeyed; to which purpose the first President, and one other President, four Counsellors of *Le grande Chambre*, and two of every Chamber of Inquests, met the next morning. These Commissioners being brought into the Queens Chamber, who for some indisposition of health kept her bed; her Majesty told them that by reason of her being ill, she could not say much to them, but made the Lord Keeper tell them that they should not meet any more upon any whatsoever occasion, till she were better: for she was resolved as soon as she should be well, to take order for all things, and to give them all satisfaction. That as for the business of the Princes it was of high consequence, and that before she could resolve any thing therein, she must advise with her Council, and with the Duke of *Orleans*, which she could not now do by reason of her sickness: when the Commissioners made this report to the Assembly, they agreed all in putting off the business, but they differed in the time; some would have it for eight days, some for four; but four days was resolved upon. Monsieur *Crespine* moved that publick prayers and procession might be made for the Queens health: but was not seconded by above 10. or 12. voices, all the rest being exasperated against her for upholding the Cardinal. At the next meeting, the King sent them another Letter, charging them again, not to meet as concerning the business of the Princes; for that his Majesty would shortly take order therein. But the Assembly continued, and in contempt of the Kings Commands began to treat of the Princes concerns, they read the Petitions of the two Princesses, and the Princes Letter; several motions being made, it was resolved to send *Donyat*, and *Maynardan* to desire the Duke of *Orleans* to come to the Parliament, for *Naiian* said the business was such, as he could not speak his opinion but in the

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the Dukes presence. Thus the Assembly was adjourned till the next day, as the Assembly rose a great noise was heard in the outward Hall of the Palace made by divers who were hired to do it, amongst which one was so bold as to say, and swear to President *Mesmes* in an outrageous manner, that they would have justice, and a fig for *Mazarine*, which made the President return into the Chamber, fearing worse. The Duke of Orleans answered to the desire made unto him by the two aforesaid, That he would not come to the Assembly for that there was so great tumultuating; and that when he should come, it should be to the cost of some body, who made it lawful to publish that the Princes were removed from *Marcoust* to *Hauve de Grace*, without his consent; that knowing they would not meet without he were present, to treat of affairs of such importance, he would not come to them; but let them do what they would, nothing was to be done but to remit that business to the Queen, to do what she pleased therein: and that it had never been heard that the Parliament did meddle in any such affairs; That whereas it seemed strange unto them that Monsieur *di Bar* should guard the Princes, let them consider that the late Prince was guarded in the Castle of *Vincennes* by a Lieutenant of the *Navarre* Regiment. Notwithstanding they continued to treat of the Princes, and the aforesaid *Dandales* moved that a Remonstrance might be made both by word of mouth, and in writing to the King, that *Hauve de Grace* not being a fitting Prison for Princes of the blood, nor *la Bar* of a fitting condition to be their keeper, (it being a place belonging to the Guards of the Kings body) the Princes might be removed to the *Louvre*, and be there guarded by the Kings Officers. *Crespin* being of the Kings party, asked where the Parliaments Artillery was to force *Bar* to let loose the Princes? and whether they had 50000. Ussieri or Serjeants to make an Army and besiege him in case he refused to obey them. Thus the Assembly ended without concluding any thing, and adjourned till the next day. When the Marishal de *L'Hospital* being in the great Hall, and hearing himself called a *Mazarinian*, turned about and said aloud; who is he that calls me a *Mazarinian*? one of the insolent people replied, I am he that says so, but who are you that ask me? The Marishal wisely said nothing, finding that they were people who desired nothing but to raise Tumults. When the Assembly met again, the same *Dislandes* propounding what he had done before, added, that if the Parliament should think good to fall upon the Cardinals bad Administration of Government, he would lend his helping hand, but that then the other Parliaments must be invited to co-operate jointly for the good of the State, this being well liked by many, afforded occasion to many to commence the discourse. Counsellor *Brussels*, seconding *Dislandes*, added, that all the Evils that had befallen France for the four last years, had proceeded from the Cardinals bad guiding of affairs; he imputed unto him, that he had appropriated unto himself almost all the Revenues of the King, that he detain'd the pay of the Armies, and of the Fleets for his own use, which occasioned the Soldiers plundering and extortions even to the Gates of *Paris*. That it was a shame for France to tolerate a stranger so long, he then fell to speak of the Prince of *Conde*, shewing that in the Kings own Declaration he was charged chiefly with being too ambitious of having the places of Government bestowed upon his Friends; which if it were a fault in him, it might much more be called guilt in the Cardinal, there not being any strong place whereof he was not now absolute master; that his going to *Rethel*, was only to treat of *Charleville*, and of *Monte Olimpe*, and alledging divers other examples, and reasons, concluded that in their Remonstrances, they must mention the Cardinal, and declare unto

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unto the King in writing, that unless speedy remedy were taken, he went about to undo the State. *Champound*, *Refuge*, *Meulmer*, *Sevin*, *Coqueley* and others continued to inveigh mightily against the Cardinal; but nothing was resolved upon, for the delight of backbiting spun out the time till it grew late; nor was there any thing concluded the *Munday* following. For news coming that the Battel of *Rethel* was won, the Chambers were invited to assist at *Te Deum*, which was no pleasing news to many, for that it was altogether in praise of the Cardinal; in whose behalf *Mainerdeau* *Champre* advancing, said, (that all the good Fortune of France proceeded from the Cardinal, who was the cause of obtaining that Victory, and of all the advantages gotten by the former *Champagniar*.) He commended his Government, and joined in opinion with those that were for the King. And for what concerned the Prince they were to be given into the Cardinals custody, who would have a particular care of them, but he was not listned unto. The Parliament met the following days, and the *Coadjutor* discoursed vehemently against the disorders of the State, not naming any body; he said that the Victory being gotten, and the Enemy being so reduced as they could do nothing, they must think upon home affairs, and free the Kingdom from the bad Administration of the *Finances*; but that all things could not be done without setting the Princes at liberty, which was a point of State, and ought to be done, though they should not prove innocent. *Barine* master of the requests, *Aisne*, and other Councillors, continued still to blame the Government; but President *Viola* was more passionate than all the rest, he discoursed largely of the Princes affairs, he spoke of the Cardinal as of the common Enemy. He quoted a place of Scripture, where it is said that Forreigners ought not to be received into the Government of States; nor be acquainted with publick affairs; adding that all the Kings confederates did abandon him, by reason of the bad satisfaction they received from the Favourite, when they were to negotiate any thing. That the few Princes of *Italy* who were yet Friends to France, were in doubt whether they should continue still so, or no, that *Catalonia* which had cost the King above 60. Millions, was about to be lost. That the *English* did threaten, that all France was full of fire; wherefore he concluded for the Remonstrances. *Blanmenill*, and *Gilbert* shewed examples out of History, of what disorders had befallen States, which have been governed by Forreigners; and how that all Princes that ever made use of them, have been forced to abandon them, and to send them away; and here amongst other examples he alledged the Declaration made by the late King *Lewis* the 13th. when the late Prince of *Conde* was set at liberty, after a long imprisonment occasioned by the ambition of the *Marquels de Ancere* a *Florentine*. *Gilbert* remembring violences committed by Ministers of State, against the chief Lords of the Land, added that Favorites thought themselves out of credit, when they did not do some *Coupe de Maistre*. That Cardinal *Richelieu* had begun it, and *Mazarine* had continued it, as was to be seen in divers Presidents, and Counsellors, in *Messieurs de L'Hospital*, *Vitry*, *Barrillon*, Duke *Beaufort*, Marishal *Della Motta*, and lastly in Princes of the Royal Family. He did inculcate that evils must be provided against by stout Resolutions of Parliament, which had always upheld Regal Authority, though the Cardinal imputed all the disorders thereunto. And here he called to mind that *Henry* the 4th. said once to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he acknowledged his Crown from the square Caps. *Lottin* said hereupon, that it was no new thing for Parliaments to meddle in such affairs; for that it was to be found in publick Records, even to the years 1415. and 1417. that the Parliament had no-

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1650. minated Commissioners to make Remonstrances to the King, touching the ill Government of the State; and that the Cardinal said false in saying that the Parliament was an Enemy to the King, and Kingdom. Vedaw condemning the Government of Forreigners, alledged an example, taken out of what History I know not, of a Lake seated between certain Mountains, whereinto if a stone were thrown, it would become Tempestuous: others spake in praise of the Princes, and were all for the Remonstrances: at last three or four days being spent in such like discourses, in which time many Libels were posted up on several corners of the Streets, tending to sedition; the first President finding that the greatest part were for the Remonstrance, and that it lay not in the wit of man to alter them, that he might not appear contrary to the Princes to whom he was also a well wisher, was contented that an humble supplication should be made to their Majesties for the Princes liberties, to which function he himself with some others of the Assembly were deputed, who not having audience before the 22th. of January, spoke as followeth:

Sir, It is to be believed that your Majesty is informed of the present condition of your Kingdom and of the late conquests, which have been such as they may be said to be peculiar to your Crown; we have with grief seen the loss of so many advantages, of so many Towns in Italy, and in Catalonia, which have cost so much Blood and Treasure. The Enemy hath been so bold as to set his Foot in France, and to take Towns in sight of the French Army. Your Majesty hath been forced to go into many Provinces of this your Majesties Kingdom, to quench a fire which seemed to extend it self every where; your Majesty hath been forced to march into several Provinces of your Kingdom to quench a fire which seemed to threaten a general Conflagration, the pains and troubles of which voyages hath prejudiced your Majesties health, and (which is the greatest misfortune can belong to us) hath put your life into much danger: all men know that these disorders have happened since the 18th. of January, 1650 that fatal day wherein two Princes of the blood were imprisoned, together with the Governors of Normandy. Some thought by this to break the thread of all our disasters, and to quiet France; but in lieu thereof it hath widened all wounds. We very well know that there are some secrets of State, which it is not lawful to pry into, and that there are some mysteries which ought not to be soon made known; It being sufficient that in time the truth shall be made known. This perhaps hath made us believe there were many strong, and valid reasons for this Imprisonment, which in time might be discovered, had not the Letter which was sent to the Parliament the next day deciphred the Enigma, making us know the innocency of the rather unfortunate than blamable Princes. We placed the strength and welfare of this Kingdom in the Regency intrusted in our Vertuous Queen, your Sacred Majesties Mother, assisted by the Duke of Orleans, and by the Prince of Conde: but as soon as this knot was loosened, all misfortunes besell us. We had thought that the Authours of this Council might have altered their minds, knowing that there is no way to keep off publick ruine, but to think upon the liberty of these Princes, and to restore unto France those Champions who have kept her so long Victorious, and preserved her from all foreign injuries; but though we have expected this with impatience, as necessary for the good and safety of this Dominion, we will boldly say it hath been in vain; the liberty of these Captives might make us know that our Enemies were no longer able to advantage themselves by our disorders, and divisions. But when we expected this good fortune, we were struck with astonishment, to see them removed to another Prison, where their lives are in danger, yes I say in danger; and I add, that they may well be kept from our eyes, but never from the hearts or minds of true Frenchmen.

Madam,

1650. Madam, this is the effect of our humble Remonstrance, who ought to watch, that the publick may receive no prejudice; we have been long silent out of respect, and had been so still, had it not been, that we might have been blamed for not giving notice of the threatening disorders. But Sir, as this Assembly (if your Majesty had extended your Authority too far, upon any particular Member of this Parliament) had been obliged to have interceded for that Member, so ought it much more to do so for the Princes of the blood, who are children of the Royal Family, the firmest upholders of Monarchy, and the most noble and honourable Members of this Kingdom. So many Victories, so many Conquests, so many Services done to the State, plead in their behalf; as if any thing might be feared from their comportments, the apprehensions which are conceived might suffice, that unless their misfortune have a speedy end, the stones which do inclose them, will speak so loud, as the passers by, who shall hear them, will carry their mournful complaints throughout all France, will awaken the hearts of all true Frenchmen, which will make such a noise, as it is to be feared, that from this bold action, some inconvenience may result unto your Majesties, in this so great and pressing danger. We humbly beseech your Majesty, Madam, to find out some convenient Remedies; and that you will give us leave with all dutiful respect to say, that unless you provide speedily for it, the zeal, care and fidelity, which we owe to the preservation of the State, and to the Kings service, will force us to lay our hands to it, and to employ all our endeavours to keep this Crown from falling. We have thought fit, Madam, to represent all these considerations to your Majesty, and humbly to desire that you will set these imprisoned Princes at liberty, to the end that they may be able to do that faithful service to the State, as they have formerly done, and Sacrifice the Remainder of their blood and lives to the glory of this Monarchy; further beseeching your Majesty, that you will grant a place of safety to Madamofelle de Longueville, where she may pay her piety to her Father.

This Resolution of Parliament, which was the first thing that was done in favour of the Princes; did much incourage the Enemies of the Kingdom to further their wish for intent, and being backt by the Assembly, they betook themselves to endeavour rather the Cardinals ruine than the release of the imprisoned; for though their projects were maskt over at first with the pretence of the Princes liberty, (which was approved of by many, as what might impede greater disorders) yet the Coadjutors secret meaning being by little and little, to ingage the Parliament and Duke of Orleans in the behalf of the Princes, and in prejudice of the Cardinal, he did what he could to keep off the Cardinal, and to bring the Princes to Paris, under the judicature of Parliament; because unless the Cardinals expulsion had preceded, it might have impeded the Princes freedom, or that if he had furthered it, he might have been upon such conditions, as he might have been arbitrator of the Government of the Court, and of the whole Kingdom, which was the groundwork of all his thoughts, as we shall in all his actions observe; so as it may be conceived, that he had no solid reason for his hatred against the Cardinal, but only the Cardinals glory and fortune. The Queen, who proceeded very considerably in all her Resolutions, and who endeavoured nothing but the service of the King her Son, sought to gain time, hoping at last to make the Duke of Orleans see with what cunning the Coadjutor went about to abuse his natural goodness. She defer'd answering the Commissioners eight days, in which time she and her Counsell having dived into the Parliaments design, she answered them, that the Assembly had wont to advertise the King, when they medled with any thing touching his Authority, before they

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1650. took any Resolution; that they had done so the year 1562. upon the Letters which were sent them by the late Prince of *Conde*. That the late commotions were an example of this, when the Parliament would not resolve any thing upon the Duke of *Orleans*'s Letters, without knowing the Kings pleasure first therein, that now they had altered their course, having resolved upon the Petitions of the Princes of *Conde*, and of *Madamofelle Longueville*, and undertaken to make a Remonstrance for the Princes liberty, not letting the King know, that any such Petitions were presented them. That though this was a business whereof the Parliament ought to take no cognizance, since it depended solely upon the Kings Authority, and that it could not be granted but by his mere goodness, regard being had to what was contained in his Letters sent to the Parliament, and to all the Sovereign Assemblies, and received with applause by the People; yet all this should not keep the King from giving the Princes their liberty, which he was content they should have without delay, provided that the Forces of *Steney* should cease, and that *Marishal Turenne* would lay down his Arms; and to the end, that none that were of that party might have any pretence to retard the doing so, the King offer'd pardon to all that had been, or were yet of that party: to which purpose he would order Letters to be sent presently to the Parliament, and that as soon as Arms should be laid down, the King would free the imprisoned. Though some few, who had other designs in their head, were not well pleased with this, yet the greatest part of the Parliament appeared satisfied; and it was ordered, that some should be sent to the King to make the keepers of the Seal expedite this Decree. But whilst affairs past thus between the King and Parliament, we must not omit what was done at the same time on behalf of the Princes. The Princess Palatine, and her friends, seeing a general disposition to favour the Princes, and an extraordinary aversion to the Cardinal, she continued the Treaty, which (as hath been said) was begun, and at last concluded it with the Duke of *Nemours*, who had both of them full power from *Conde*. It was managed, and ended by *Croissy*, a Counsellor of Parliament, and subscribed by the Duke *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, President *Viola*, Monsieur *Arnaude*, and by *Fossense*; every one engaging for themselves.

The principal Articles contained an agreement, how to obtain the Princes liberty, by the Parliament and peoples means. The Coadjutor insisted upon the means, how to remove the Cardinal from about the King, and that the Princes adherents should oblige themselves strictly thereunto; And though some of *Conde*'s Friends were for giving all satisfaction to the Cardinal, to interest him in the Prince his liberty; yet all were not of that same opinion, least if it should be discovered, that they should endeavour to pull down the Cardinal, the Princes might be plunged into greater difficulties, either by hazarding their lives, or by losing the hopes they had, of getting their liberty by agreeing with the Cardinal, yet the Coadjutor insisting, that he would do nothing but upon that condition, and promising to engage the Duke of *Orleans* therein, they were forced to consent thereunto; and that the Cardinal might not come to the knowledge of this, they resolved to keep it from *Beaufort*, lest he might communicate it to the Dutchess of *Monbason*, and she to others; so as the Treaty being carried by *Croissy* to the Princess Palatine, to subscribe and read it; the Coadjutor handled the business so, as that this Article was skipped in reading, and that *Beaufort* did also subscribe it without perusal, but pretending that the Original which was to remain with the *Frondeurs*, might be delivered to him, and that the Transcript might remain with the Princess Palatine, whereby they might meet with the same inconvenience, they resolved with-

without her knowledge to put them both into the hands of *Blanmevell* sealed up, making him give his word never to give them out, but in the presence and by the consent of the Coadjutor, and of the President *Viola*.

To this Treaty another was added some few days after, between the Duke of *Orleans*, the Palatines, and the Duke of *Nemours*, wherein they engaged themselves to use all their power for the Princes liberty. And in the same Treaty a marriage between the Duke of *Anguien*, eldest Son to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Dutchess of *Alanson*, second Daughter to *Orleans*, was concluded, with obligation that the Prince should not change any of the Kings Council, nor place any others therein without consent of the said *Orleans*, in it was also confirm'd the marriage between the Prince of *Conty* and the Dutchess of *Cheveraux*; wherein there were some rubs put by *Conde*'s friends, presaging what the consequences might be. But the Coadjutor kept still firm, saying, this was the only means to win the Duke of *Orleans* his favour, though it was known afterwards that he did not so passionately desire these marriages. After these Treaties the Prince of *Conde*'s Friends put forth a Declaration, wherein the Prince promised to second the Duke of *Orleans* in making the Coadjutor Cardinal. All these acts were by *Croissy*, and *Camertine* (intimate friends to the Coadjutor) carried to the Duke of *Orleans*, who underwrit two copies without reading them, nor knew he what the contents were more than what the Coadjutor was pleased to acquaint him with. Without whose suggestion, doubtless *Orleans* intended no ill to the Cardinal, nor would the Princes friends have demanded more than the Prince his liberty, which when it should have been had, the Parliament would not have prest for keeping the Cardinal from Court. These writings being afterwards carried to the Princess Palatine, and to the Duke of *Nemours*, to be subscribed by them, they agreed that they should remain with *Croissy*, who was to deliver them to the Duke of *Orleans*, or to *Conde*, when he should be at liberty.

Encouraged by these Treaties, the *Frondeurs* began to solicit the Princes liberties; which made the Cardinal aware ere long of *Orleans* his alienation from him, not so much out of any coolness that he found in him, as for the bad speeches which many of his Court used concerning him; but he was not yet fully inform'd of the secret plots that were a weaving against him; and it was strange that so many days being spent in these Treaties, he got no perfect notice of them, they were too far advanc't before he perceived them; so as after having imploi'd many persons in Messages, and Proposals, he at last offer'd, in the presence of both King and Queen, to be reconciled; but this was rather in appearance, than real, but though *Orleans* forbore not the Cardinals Conversation, and Dined sometimes with him; yet after he had underwritten the aforesaid Treaties, he could not so well dissemble, as not to discover his inward mind. The Cardinal, who was not to be parallel'd for wariness, finding this, and knowing that there could be nothing but the ill impressions suggested by the *Frondeurs*, and of his other Enemies, speaking thereof with the Queen in her Chamber on the Twenty sixth of *January* at night, told her that her Majesty must warily observe the proceedings of Parliament, where, it might be, there were *Fairfaxes*, and *Cromwells*. The Duke who minded nothing but how to execute the Coadjutors suggestions, thought the pretence fit to give fire to the Mine; so as the Parliament being met on the first of *February* to think of the fittest means how to get the Princes out of Prison, being persuaded that the Court did not desire it, and that the Kings promise was only to gain time; the Coadjutor being now sure to be assisted by *Orleans*, unmasked himself, and spoke more freely than before; he shewed how

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necessary it was to get the Princes liberty as soon as might be; and that he had order from the Duke to assure them, that this was his opinion, which he would employ all his power to effect. The Counsellors wonder'd much to hear this, for believing hitherto that the Duke stood well with the Queen, they could not discern whence this alteration should proceed. *Beaufort* ratified what the Coadjutor had said, and declared that he was of the same mind; nothing was resolved upon that day, for the Members being astonish'd at the novelty, adjourn'd till the next day: and the Coadjutor going to acquaint *Orleans* how well the Parliament was pleas'd with what he had told them in his name, made him the more inamored with their applause, and established him more firmly in the Resolution which he had taken.

Monsieur Tillier going at that instant to know from the Duke whether what the Coadjutor had said in Parliament was by his Highness permission or no, or done barely by the Coadjutors self, answered somewhat angrily, that what the Coadjutor had said, was done by his desire, and that he should always approve of what he should say, or do. The whole Court was much surpris'd with this answer, and made them resolve to send to Treat with the Princes touching their liberty. The next day the Duke of *Orleans*, moved thereunto by the Coadjutor, sent for the Lord Keeper, for *Marishal Villeroy*, and for the Secretary of State *Tillier*, and bad them tell the Queen in his name, That he would never come to Court, nor sit in Council as long as the Cardinal was there; and said further to *Villeroy* That as Lieutenant General of the State, he assign'd over the keeping of the King's person unto him, which his head should be answerable for. On Friday the third of February, having with yet greater energie, by order from *Orleans*, repeated his opinion touching the Princes liberty, told the Assembly how the Cardinal had told the Queen in presence of the King, that there were *Fairfaxes* and *Cromwells* in the Parliament, & that it was to be feared that their intentions were to suppress Regal Authority, according to the example of *England*. That the Duke not able to tolerate so great a Calumny, had assured the King that it was altogether false, and that there was none but faithful servants to his Majesty, either in the Parliament or City, whereof he would become surety both in general, and in particular; and that the Duke had told the Cardinals self, that he was a wicked man, and worthy to be reprehended, for instilling such ill opinions into a young King against his affectionate Subjects, by whom his Majesty was generally loved, their hatred extending only to the Cardinal, whom they knew to be the only cause of the Kingdoms ruine. And that upon this the Duke had sent the day before for the aforesaid Lords, and had wisht them to tell the Queen that he would come no more to Court whilst the Cardinal was there.

At the names of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* they were all highly scandalized, inso much as three propositions were made against the Cardinal; the first, that he should be made Prisoner; the second (and this was made by President *Viola* (who was more incens'd against him than all the rest) that he should be sent for to the Parliament to give an account of his Administration, and for the words which he had said to the dishonour of the *French* Nation. Here the first President interrupted him, saying, he was too hasty; and after some contest between him and *Coulin*, who spoke impertinently against the Cardinal, the third proposal was made; which was, humbly to desire the Queen that he might be sent from Court; the mean while, the Coadjutor's friends having divulg'd throughout the City the aforesaid words spoken by the Cardinal of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax*; the male-

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contents resented it, and said they were injured; for the *French* do not only love, but even idolatrize their King; so as in a moment the whole City, which was quiet before, grew mutinous, the people running up and down the Streets, yea even in the Palace it self, crying out, Let the King live, and let *Mazarine* dye.

The Queen sent the next day to the Duke of *Orleans*, to know whether he would be content or no that she should come and visit him, and bring the Cardinal along with her: who answered, Her life would not be safe amongst an incens'd people. The Queen repli'd, she would come alone without the Cardinal; he answered, He feared the people would rise. Then the Duke sent to the Marishals of *France* to forbid them to take orders from any one but himself, who was Lieutenant General of the State, and of his Majesties Armies; they answered, That whilst the King was present, they were to depend upon the King, & upon no other. He sent the same order to the Provost of Merchants, wishing him to will the Colonels and Captains not to take up Arms without his Command; they excused themselves with ambiguous words, and went presently to acquaint the Queen therewith; who answered, They might not do ill to receive orders from the Lieutenant General of the Crown, since she could not believe that he would command any thing contrary to the Kings service; at the same time many of the Nobility being assembled together in the Marquis of *Vieville's* House (who was not over affectionate in his heart to the Cardinal) to think how to get satisfaction from the Cardinal, for what he had said to their shame; he carried them to *L'Hostella d'Orleans*, telling him, That if he pleas'd, he would frame their assembly, to which the Duke, not dissenting, they had their first meeting, and choosing the same *Vieville*, and the Marquis *Lordis* for their Presidents, both which were desirous of novelty, that so they might be of some consideration, and get advantage thereby, since as yet they were in no great credit at Court.

The Coadjutor finding that the Parliament delay'd the execution of the three proposals against the Cardinal; and that the first President, with many of the more moderate sort, sought to sweeten bitterness, and that suiting himself to the most plausible opinion, he desired earnestly the Princes liberty; insisted that they were to acknowledg it from the Queens goodness, who had already given way thereunto; and had sent Marishal *Gramont*, *Monsieur de Lyon*, and *Monsieur Goulas* to treat with the Princes selves. And he perswaded *Orleans* to come to the Parliament, and by his Authority to foment what was desired; the Duke suffering himself to be perswaded by the Coadjutor, came to the publick Palace on the fourth of February, accompanied by the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Gioyuse*, and *Retz*, by the Coadjutor's self, and by all the great ones of Parliament: he told them that he had given the Coadjutor order to acquaint the Assembly with what the Cardinal had said to the King to their detraction; and with what his answer was, both to the Queen and Cardinal; and how that in regard of such unworthy speeches, he had sent word to her Majesty, that he would come neither to Court, nor Council, so long as *Mazarine* was there; adding, That he was come to Parliament, intending to joyn wholly with them, and to see all things performed that they should Decree; that for above a month nothing had been spoken of in the Privy Council, but private business, instead of taking order for the Emergencies of State, or the Princes liberty; that the Cardinal would not have them disimprisoned, though himself had solicited any time these three months. He also declared that it was the Queens importunity that had made him consent to their imprisonment, and that she was induced thereunto by the Cardinals

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faſſe ſuggeſtions. He made alſo a Narrative of what had been done ſince the Princes imprifonment; blaming what had been done at *Burdeaux* by the Cardinal; and that if he had conſented thereunto, it was only that he might not diſpleaſe the Queen, to whom he had always profeſſ'd much obſequiouſneſs: but that perceiving now, that inſtead of growing better, things grew worſe, he was reſolved to go no more to Council as long as the Cardinal was there; that he was come to the Aſſembly to acquaint them with thus much, and to be adviſed by them, knowing that ſo he ſhould not erre.

This the Dukes ſpeaking ſo freely againſt the Cardinal, was applauded, not only by thoſe few that were his Enemies, but made deep impreſſion in many others who had altered their minds, ſince they had heard what the Coadjutor had related, and which was afterwards confirm'd by *Orleans*.

The firſt Preſident who was a good man, and of great experience, answered in very reſpective terms to the Duke, and with much moderation, That he was abſolutely for the Princes liberty, but not by violence, nor by any other hand than the Kings. Then entering upon the Dukes diſcontents, he ſaid, That if they aroſe from the Princes imprifonments, he might be ſure they ſhould be freed from imprifonment; but if from the Cardinals greatneſs he was to make uſe of his wiſdom therein, for it was lawful for the King to make uſe of whoſe ſervice he pleaſed, and that if he thought himſelf injured by the Cardinal, if he would declare his reaſon, there were means to ſatiſſie him without putting *France* into confuſion, here the Duke interrupted him; ſaying, That for what concerned the Princes liberty, he the Duke ought to know more than he; but that he did not believe him, for he had a tie in writing upon Bar, that he would never ſet them at liberty without order from the Queen, and from him the Duke.

Whiſt the Counſellors were giving their Opinions, the Maſter of the Ceremonies came to the Parliament with a Letter from the King, commanding them to ſend Commiſſioners to him. Some were of opinion not to hear him; but the Duke would not ſuffer any ſuch contempt, they therefore reſolved to continue the Aſſembly, and in the interim to ſend the firſt Preſident, and Preſident *Baillet*, with twenty Counſellors more, to receive his Maſteſties commands. Then came Count *Brien*, the firſt Secretary of State, who in the Queens name, deſired *Orleans* to come and aſſiſt in Council in the Court; aſſuring her ſelf, that he who had always born ſuch affection to her Maſteſty, would not reſuſe her ſuch a favour. The Duke replied, he could not answer her there, but when he ſhould be returned to his own houſe, he would, as he did that very night; declaring, that there could be no ſafety for him, whiſt the Cardinal was there: when the Commiſſioners came before her Maſteſty, the Lord Keeper acquainted them with the reaſon why the King had ſent for them; and at the ſame time he delivered a writing containing what the Queen had to ſay to them, to the Secretary of State *Guinegante*, who read it. After which the firſt Preſident ſaid, that the Aſſembly marvelled, why after the Parliaments Remonſtrance, and after her Maſteſty had paſt her word that the Princes ſhould have their liberties, there was ſo little ſign thereof: to which the Queen answered that Marſhal *Grammont* was already gone to treat with them, and that ſhe was content they ſhould come out, giving neceſſary precaution for the ſafety of the State: afterwards enlarging her ſelf, and re-aſſuming what had been read, ſhe ſaid, That all the relations that had been made to the Parliament, were mere Calumnies, ſuggeſted by the Coadjutor, who had told them falſehoods; that he pretended to too much, and that he was of an unquiet ſpirit; that he inſuſed pernicious Counſel

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Counſel into the Duke of *Orleans*, becauſe he was not choſen Cardinal, which he had been ſo bold as to deſire, threatening if otherwiſe, he would ſet fire on the four quarters of the Kingdom. She afterwards recounted what had paſt in Council the *Tueſday* before between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Cardinal; ſhe complain'd of the Dukes having reſuſed to let her come unto him, under pretence that the people might commit ſome outrage upon her perſon; which conſideration, ſhe ſaid, ſhould not at all have altered her Reſolution, but on the contrary, if ſhe ſhould have perceived the people begin to ſtir, ſhe would have come out into the Streets, being ſure that her preſence would ſuddenly have quieted all diſorders, for ſhe very well knew what Reverence the *Parifians* bore to Royal Perſonages: ſhe added further, that ſuch affairs as theſe ſhould be carried on mildly. That Marſhal *Grammont* was already gone, and that therefore they needed not have any more meetings about that; and ſhe moreover told them, that the King was growing out of his minority, and ſufficiently inform'd, to diſtinguiſh between thoſe who were ſeditiouſly given, and thoſe who were well affection'd, of which number, ſhe ſaid, they were, and that the King would one day remember them for it, ſo ſhe diſmiſt them. The Commiſſioners being returned to Parliament, the firſt Preſident related what the King had ſaid, and made the writing which was given him, be read, and which contained almoſt the ſame thing; whereupon they began to conſult, and there was difference of opinions. But at laſt *Orleans*'s Authority prevailing, the *Frondeurs* and tumultuous people, whereof the Hall was full, joyn'd in a Reſolution of beſeeching the Queen, to ſend a letter away ſpeedily for the freedom of the Princes, and to ſend the Cardinal from Court, grounding their pretence upon what the Duke had ſaid, that he would not go to the Council ſo long as the Cardinal was there. And they further ſaid, That ſince there was a neceſſity, that one of the two ſhould retire, it was fair and honeſt, that his Highneſs the Kings Uncle, and Lieutenant General of the State, ſhould tarry, and that the other who was a Forrainger ſhould be ſent away; this being decreed in the Aſſembly, the firſt Preſident was ſent to acquaint the Queen with it, and humbly to deſire the Princes liberty. Thus the Aſſembly ended, and *Orleans* returned to his own houſe, attended on by many of the Gentry, and by a great number of the Populacy. The next morning he ſent for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and for Marſhal *Schomberg*, and told them, That he being Lieutenant General of the Crown, they were hereafter to come to him for order touching their employments, the one being Colonel of the *French* Infantry, the other of the *Switzers*, they both answered, That they knew very well what became them to do, and the reſpect which they were to bear him: but that whiſt the King was preſent, they were only to depend upon his Maſteſty; the ſame day the Queen ſent for the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, and for Madamelle, and diſcourſed with them above two hours; but no good came of this conference, for there were few who through either envy, or emulation did not declame againſt the Cardinals greatneſs; neither had the Dutcheſs of *Anguien*'s indeavours better ſucceſs, who labour'd to take off *Orleans* from the ſiniſter impreſſions, which the Coadjutor had made in him, of the Cardinal.

But though there was ſo great concurrence of people about the Duke, yet the Palace Royal was frequented by much Nobility and thoſe of the greateſt eſteem; who kept their due obedience to their Maſteſties. Amongſt which all the Marſhals of *France*, except *de Eſtempes*, Duke *Mercure*, who ſtill was of the Queens party, never waver'd from the friendſhip which he profeſt to the Cardinal, and ſent a challenge that very day to his Brother *Beaufort*, but Marſhal *de Eſtre* hindred their meeting. Whiſt

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Whilst things were in this posture, both sides studied how to win the peoples affection, wherein the whole affair did consist; but they being born away by the desire of Novelty, inclined rather to favour the malecontents, than the Court, which made the *Frondeurs* joyn the more closely to the Princes, and to the Duke of *Orleans*.

It will not be much from the purpose, upon this occasion, to say something upon the Court interests, which consisted wholly in the Kings and Queens Authority, and in the Forces of the Kingdom, which were firm in the same Resolution with the Cardinal, never to set the Princes at liberty, till the King being come to years of Majority, might be able to divert those Plots, which they had framed in his minority, to the prejudice of his power, for now they were in a safe place.

The Duke of *Orleans*, together with his Wife and Daughter, being joyn'd to *Beaufort* and the *Frondeurs*, solicited the Parliament, and the *Parisians* to concur in freeing the Princes; to the end that the Cardinal's credit being lost, their Authority might be the more considerable in the King's minority. The Dutches of *Cheveraux*, and the Coadjutors aim was the same; She by reason of the Marriage agreed upon between the Prince of *County*, and her only Daughter; and the Coadjutor promising himself by this Alliance, that the Dutches was to have with the Prince of *Conde*, to arrive at the Cardinals Cap; since he had no such hopes from the Court. Thus *Paris* being wholly set by the concurrence of so many Princes, and people of quality, upon pulling down the Cardinal, nothing was seen in the Parliaments Palace, but the concourse of people, and of Cavaliers, who publickly cri'd out for the Princes liberty, and against the Cardinal. So as instead of seeing the Court quieted after the favourable successes in *Champagna*, and the peace of *Guienne*, it was on the contrary become fuller of confusion: But the Cardinal not being aware of the correspondence which the imprisoned Princes had with their adherents, was not much troubled thereat, by reason of the assurance he received from *La Bar*, who thought not to be deceived by his own people; for the Prince of *Conde* won one of *Bar's* Servants, who was appointed to attend him, by whose means he received Letters, corrupted the Guards, and had notice of all things by the means of Physicians, & Chirurgions, which visited him: so as he sent, and received advertisements without the knowledg of *Bar*, or of the Cardinal. Thus the Dutches of *Cheveraux* having made the Marriage sure, and the Coadjutor having won the Duke of *Orleans's* favour, they kept him always firm to them; the Dutches of *Cheveraux*, and the Princess Palatine carried all things with great dexterity, and secrecie; and amidst all the tumultuous meetings that were made in *January*, the first President did great service, as well in the publick assembly, as in private discourse with their Majesties, as Commissioners from the Parliament, using his best indeavours for the Princes liberty. The Court and Cardinal being thus undermined, saw they were obliged to give the Princes their liberty; yet they failed not by means of many Princes, and others on whom they relyed, to handle the agreement so, as that they were to acknowledg their Release merely from the Queen, and should be only bound to her, and joyn with her, if they could but break the designs of the Coadjutor, and of others. The Marquis *Chastoneuf*, who for his venerable age was well thought of by both sides, sent for the Prince his friends to him, as *Viola*, *Veswond*, *Croisy*, *Arnault* and others, and in presence of Secretary *Tillier* propos'd a particular Treaty for the Princes liberty. *Conde's* friends listned willingly to this; for they suspected that the Cardinal being gone, and when *Orleans* should be Arbitrator at Court, he might

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might still detain the Princes in Prison by the Coadjutor's intigation, which they said was the Coadjutor's hidden design, whilst the Cardinal was upon his journey to *Haure de Grace*, and whilst *Grammont*, *Lyon*, and *Goulas* negotiating with the Prince, did agree together, that *Conde* should renounce all Leagues as well within, as without the Kingdom, that he should not come into *Claremont*, *Bellegrade*, the Castle of *Dijon*, nor the Tower of *Burges* till four years after his disimprisonment; that the King should put a Garrison into *Steney*, that the Duke of *Longueville* should quit the Government of *Normandy*, as being too near *Paris*; having another Government as good given him. The Dukes of *Nemeurs*, and of *Roch-fauolt*, who were come to *Paris*, subscribed the Treaty; and bound themselves to observe it, since *Orleans* had not given them the Kings Letter till after they had signed it. The Queen did this to further *Lyon's* Negotiation in *Haure de Grace*, who had order to handle the business so, as that the King might receive no prejudice thereby: and that it might appear to proceed merely from the Queens favour; but whilst Monsieur *Urliere* and others went to see this Treaty performed, the Cardinal set them at liberty, so as their was no more speech thereof; and the Princes came out of Prison, as you shall hear in the next Book.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The SIXTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

Cardinal Mazarine parts unexpectedly from Paris, and goes to Haure de Grace. The Parisians rise, and under pretence that the King and Queen might also go out of Paris, they set Guards round about the Palace-Royal. The Princes are dis-imprisoned, and return in glory to Paris. The Cardinal goes to Sedam, and retires from thence to Bures in Germany. The Dutchess of Longueville, and Marishal Turenne are restored to Court. The Marriage between the Prince of County and Madamoselle Chevereux is broken off; whereat the Dutchess of Chevereux is scandalized; and become an Enemy to Conde, who loseth many friends. Assemblies of Ecclesiasticks, and of the Nobility insue. They pretend to call an Assembly of the States General and are dissolved, with promise from the King that they shall be called another time. Marishal Chasteauneuf is in disgrace at Court, and the Seals are delivered to the first President of Parliament. The Duke of Orleans, and the Frondeurs are troubled thereat; they make the Queen re-assume them, and deliver them to the Chancellor of the Kingdom. The Prince takes new distasts at Court, and begins new troubles; at the Cardinals return divers proposals are made by both parties. Conde at unawares retires from Paris, goes to St. Maure, pretends not to be safe at Court, demands that some State Ministers be sent away, which is done; but is not content for all this, he makes other pretentions; the Queen seeks all means how to appease him, but in vain. He makes league with Spain; and by his friends, and kindred is forced to make War; which he does unwillingly, foretelling no good success. The Spaniards begirt Barcelloga; and divers accidents happen in those parts.

THE Parliament being fomented by the Duke of Orleans, by the Frondeurs, and Male-contents; and which was of more importance, being frightened at the rage of the people, who ran in great numbers storming to the publick Palace, after they had made humble Remonstrances to the Queen for the liberty of the Princes, and for the removal of the Cardinal; it was questioned whom the Provost of Merchants ought to obey, in case the people should take up Arms; and the assembly seeming to give that Attribute to the Duke of Orleans, and the

the commotions growing hotter, and hotter in the City, the Cardinal was in danger of his life. Wherefore the Dutchess of Chevereux, who did not build too much upon Orleans his stability, and who desired that the Cardinal would yield, used all possible means to make him be gone; shewing the Queen sometimes how necessary it was to satisfy Orleans, who being sweetned by this demonstration of esteem put upon him, would be easily won over: sometimes saying, That if the Cardinal would yield but for some few days, till such time as the Duke might be brought back to Council, he would undoubtedly be appeased; and being a Prince naturally well given, would by strong reasons be made to see how falsely he had been informed; from whence he might be brought to alter his mind, wherein she would be ready to co-operate, being as desirous of the Crowns good, as any other whosoever; but the Counsel were of several opinions: and though there were but few that did not inwardly desire the Cardinals fall: yet some were absolutely against his departure, advising that 2000. Gentlemen of the Countrey who were well affected to the Court, should enter Paris, make head against Orleans, and drive him, and all the turbulent Spirits out of the City; who wanting the presence of the imprisoned Princes, could expect but little from any else, who wanted credit, and were not fit to govern War, as was Conde; and some that were more affectionate to the Crown, said, That upon this occasion they might follow Cromwell's example, who had reduced London, a great and powerful City, for people and wealth, to intire obedience; by making the Army advance into the Suburbs, and begirt the City again, as they had done the preceeding year. Plessis Pralin, de Eure, and the Father of Marishal Santerre appeared more concerned for the Cardinals tarrying than all the rest; for they said plainly, That they had rather see him in that condition, whom they by experience had found to be cruelly demean'd, than others who per-adventure weremore rigid, & had further pretences. Count Servient Tillier, and Lion, were true to the Cardinal, and contributed Counsels becoming the Kings service. But those who naturally were given to love novelty, desired he might absent himself, and these were more in number. Chasteauneuf, the Guard de Seaux particularly, strove to shew that there was no better expedient for the present than the Cardinals absence, and that the effect must be removed by the removing the cause: some others of the Cardinals Domesticks, taking offence at the strange proceeding of the Frondeurs, and Male-contents, said, That he was to maintain himself by force, and to assuage the tumor before it did more infistolize; these said, That the King was absolute Master; and that the Subjects were to renounce, not to censure the Kings actions; that all the strong holds, Soldiers, Subjects, and greatest part of the Nobles were for the King. Wherefore they ought not to foregoe the Resolutions of suppressing of some ambitious Spirits, who were encouraged only by the popular breath of Paris, which being a populous City was subject to the fatality of wavering according to the fury of the rabble rout. That the strength of the Duke of Orleans, of the Frondeurs, Parliament, and people, lay only in their opinion of the Courts weakness; which the more reservedly it proceeded against them, it made them the prouder, and made one contumacious act a ladder whereby to climb up to greater; so as to be feared, they must appear not to fear: that the people seeing a Masculine resolution put on, would rather think of saving themselves, than of precipitating themselves into a party which was not able to sustain them. That the friends of the imprisoned Princes, fearing that their lives might be endangered, would forbear those attempts which might force the Court to use violence; that

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friends would be encouraged, and that it being in the Kings power to bestow all places, and honours, the desire of merit would prevail more with most men, than the unquiet party. That therefore they must be no longer in resolving, for slow resolutions in such cases shewed weakness, and fear, which was the only reason of the rashness of the seditious; nor did they forbear to say, that absolute power might be used upon the Parliament Commissioners; yea even to life, if their associates should transgress the bounds of duty. The Cardinal thought this advice was not to be contemned; and had he accepted it, it might peradventure have done the deed, but the Cardinal, though he wanted neither courage nor wit to have done it, answered that since the business concerned only himself, he would not engage the Kings Authority in his defence, against a Nation to which he intended glory and advantage, not misery and troubles, being confident that the Duke of Orleans, the Parliament, and people, would at last clearly discern the cunning of those that were Enemies to quiet: and that when this cloud should be once over, the innocency of his actions would in time appear more clearly, he therefore did only feel the pulse of the Provost de Merchants, of the Sheriffs, Field-Officers, and Colonels; and finding them readier to obey Orleans, than the King, he resolved to yield to the Popular violence, believing that like an high going Sea, it would grow calm when the winds should cease. Nor would he endeavour to carry the King and Court out of Paris, as well for that it would be very hard to do by reason of the strict guards that were kept in all the Streets; as also that the Court being gone, that powerful City would rest at the disposal of his Enemies, which was the thing they would be at.

Being thus resolved to be gone, he acquainted the Queen with it; saying, That if the Duke of Orleans, and the Parliament would be satisfied with this, things would go well, the loss of his person not being to be considered, if thereby the publick peace might be purchased. But that if no good should accrue by his absence, her Majesty might then believe there were some conceal'd plots against her service; that she should therefore in such a case keep conceal'd, and endeavour by all means to get the King out of Paris; and that she should not by any means suffer her self to be persuaded to set the Princes at liberty; for when he should be gone, and that pretences should not thereby cease, they were not to be set at liberty, unless upon such conditions, as that they should owe the Obligation only to the King's goodness, and to no body besides. He caused a Letter to be sent to La Bar, subscribed by the Queens own hand with order to obey what she should command: and to set the Princes at liberty, if agreement were made with them, or else to detain them, till they might in time be set free with more safety; things being thus settled, he left the Abbate Undedei with the Queen, to have a care of what should occur; and in the Evening upon the sixth of February, he called for Count Brienne, the first Secretary, and acquainted him with his Resolution of being gone: recommending the Kings interest unto him, whose Authority he said was several ways plotted against; and without more ado went down stairs, got on Horse back, and accompanied by only three, went by the Rue St. Honore toward the gate de Confrance; but hearing that many were run before to the Twille-ries, where Madamofelle d'Orleans then was (for they had had some inkling of his departure) he turned about and went by Porte Richelieu, and got into the Fields where many of his friends waited for him; he went towards St. Germans, accompanied by the Counts of Harcourt, and Palau, by the Marquesses of Ronserolles, Brevall, Plessis Belliere, by Baron Camilliack, and by many others of good condition, who in all might make about four

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four hundred Horse. He staid at St. Germans, and sent speedily to Monsieur Lyon who was gone before to Hauvre de Grace, to negotiate with the Princes, to know what their intentions were touching agreements, and to know of La Bar, if coming thither with orders from the Regent, he should be received, and obey'd. But Lyons negotiation proved imperfect, by reason of the novelties which had hapned at Paris, by which the Queen was compell'd to send orders for their Release without any manner of conditions. She also sent Count Broglie to Tillier with a Letter, acquainting him that the Council stood firm to their resolution of not setting the Princes at liberty, till that acknowledging their obligation only from her, they might have no occasion to reconcile themselves with the Frondeurs, but neither did this hit; for one of the Lords of the Privy Council acquainted Chasteauneuf, that the Cardinal had conceal'd that the Princes should be set at liberty by none but him. This man, though he were then an open Enemy to Conde, did notwithstanding consent to his liberty, so to sweeten him, and to let him see that he had forgot all former injuries: wherefore it being given out that Mazarine was gone to free the Princes; their Enemies fell to consider what prejudice might redound to them, if Conde should come out meerly by means of the Cardinal: wherefore that they might prevent him, they began with great ardor to procure his liberty. And Chasteauneuf caused President Perault, a great friend of Conde's, to be let loose out of the Bastile, without order from the Queen; but howsoever the Cardinal went to Hauvre de Grace, with firm intention, either to agree all things with the Princes, or else to keep them still in Prison; and here he was aware of the falsehood of many who appeared to be his friends: and how he had done ill in not making their Majesties go from Paris before he went away.

When it was known for certain that he was gone, many friends of his went after him, causing a noise in the Streets, which began in Madamofelles House: whose Servants going out armed into the Streets, stopt all passengers, as well Gentlemen, as others, whom the common people carried before her; and she making them be detained Prisoners, gave order with a man-like readiness, that all passages should be blockt up, suspecting that the King and Queen would also be gone. One of those that were stopt was Monsieur d'Estardes, the Governour of Dunkirk, a man of great loyalty towards the King, who was soon released by the Duke of Orleans; the noise of their Majesties departure still continuing, they suddenly took up arms. Beaufort, Count Tavannes, Monsieur di Chambois, and a great many other Gentlemen, got on Horse back, and ran in hast about the Palace-Royal; and the aim of some of the most seditious, being to take the King from the Queen, and carry him to Pallazzo della litta, the City Town house. They made it be given out that the Queen was about to go out of Paris, and to carry the King along with her; which made the people so jealous, as being stark mad, they armed all the ends of the Streets which led to the Palace-Royal, making also some Baracadoes: and this rumour being in a moment spread throughout all Paris, the commotion was great, and the Frondeurs manifested their hatred against the Cardinal with unheard of noise, more than before. The next morning, every one being surpris'd with this the Cardinals so unexpected departure, the Parliament met, and ordered that humble thanks should be returned to the Queen, and that she should be again desired to give order for the Princes liberty: and hereunto they added a desire that she would make a Declaration, whereby all Forrainers should for the future be excluded from the Kings Counsel, and all those of the Nation who had taken any Oath, to any other Prince, than the King.

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After Dinner the Queen sent the Guard *de Seaux*, Marilhal *Villeroy*, and Secretary *Tillier* to intreat the Duke of *Orleans* to come to Council: but he by the Coadjutor's Council, refused to come; saying, he could not do it with safety till the Princes were at liberty, the Queen did again under her own hand-writing, desire him to come: but he stood firm upon the negative, replying that he would not come, till according to his word, the Princes were set at liberty; and that there was no safety for him there till the Cardinal were gone further off; nor could he be induced to please the Queen, though those Lords offer'd themselves to remain Hostages, if he doubted the safety of his person. The Parliament Commissioners came to her Majesty to thank her for the Cardinals departure, and to desire her that she would send away her Letters to *Hauve de Grace*; to which she answered, that she was fully resolved to take all necessary order for the Princes freedom; but that she must first speak with the Duke of *Orleans*, for there were some particulars concerning their imprisonment, which were not to be communicated to all. That she had offer'd to go to *L'Hostelle d'Orleans*, or to any neutral place, as to the Queen of *England's* Court, if the Duke would speak with her touching this affair, not thinking that he would refuse to come and take his place in Council, after she had satisfied him in the Cardinals departure, that if *Orleans* refused to communicate his opinion to her, she should be obliged to call the great ones of the Kingdom together, to advise with them of what was to be done, and that she could say no more till she had assembled her Council.

The next day the Parliament met, where the first President reported what the Queen had said; whereupon *Orleans* said, It was not at all necessary that he should go to the Court to speak his opinion, for he would never say, but what he had already often said, and which he did now again affirm, that he was ready to set his hand to the releasing of the Princes, and to the sending of the Cardinal out of the Kingdom. That the Queen jested, when she said, that she had sent him away; for she had only made him change his habitation, going from her Palace at *Paris*, to that of *St. Germans*, where he still plaid the part of chief Minister of State, writ Letters, gave Council, and had ordered employment as well since he was gone, as he did before; that when the Princes were imprisoned, their Mothers Children, Kindred, Friends, and all that depended on them were sent out of *Paris*. But when the Cardinal was sent away, with a report that he was not to return, yet his Nephew *Mancini*, and his Nieces staid still at Court, and complained to the King of their Uncles departure: whence it was easily to be perceived that the Queen had not suffered him to depart, but that she intended he should return; and that she dream't of nothing less, than of the Princes liberty. This being said, the decree was almost resolved upon, which was made the next day. Several opinions being given, many were for the issuing out of a Decree against the Cardinal, his Favourers, and Adherents, and against all those that were gone out with him. But *Orleans* said there was no reason to punish his friends for accompanying him since they had therein behaved themselves honourably; others moved to set a brand upon his house, by declaring him a Perturber of the publick peace. Monsieur *Landes Payen*, said a man could not serve two Masters, reflecting upon some of the Members, who seemed to be for the Parliament, and yet served the Court; he added that all Cardinals should be forbidden all employments in State-affairs; as those who by their Dignities are sworn to serve the Pope, and by being State-Ministers, are sworn to serve the King; that they could not serve the one without being false unto the other: there were some who spoke against having any more

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Favorites in *France*; to which the Duke of *Orleans* reply'd, we are all of us the Kings Subjects, and though I be in a very eminent degree, yet I am one as all you are: we must not give Laws to our Sovereigns, nor force their inclinations, by inhibiting them to love one Subject more than another; it were I must confess (said he) to be desired, that Kings would never have any Favorite; but they are not to forbid it.

At last the Duke not thinking it fit to make such haste, his opinion prevailed, and it was decreed that their Majesties should be desired to give order for the disimprisonment of the Princes, and that they should declare their intentions, touching sending the Cardinal out of the Kingdom; and here it was observed, he answered those with much moderation, who were too violent in their opinions.

The same day the Queen assembled together all the chief Lords of *France* who were of her party, whereof there were two bodies composed: the one of Princes, Dukes, and Peers; as the Dukes of *Vandosme*, *Mercure*, *d'Elbeuse* with their Sons; Count *Harcourt*, the Dukes of *Espernoun*, and of *Candalle*. The other of the Marshals *d'Estree*, *di L'Hospitale*, *Villeroy*, *Plessis Pralin*, *d'Aumont*, *d'Estampes*, *d'Oquin-court*, and *Grance*, who being told what had past, it was resolved that *Vandosme*, *Espernoun*, and *d'Elbeuse*, should go and desire *Orleans* to come to Council. *d'Elbeuse* delivered the message, who said that his Highness might come with all safety to the Court, offering himself to be an Hostage for him; the Duke reply'd, that *d'Elbeuse* should rather hold his peace than speak, that it was a pleasant thing to observe, that when he was for the Cardinal, *d'Elbeuse* was for the Parliament, and that now that he had declared for the Parliament, *d'Elbeuse* was for *Mazarine*; which argued his continual averiness to him, though *d'Elbeuse* had had many obligations to him. The Dutches told him she was sorry that he was of the house of *Lorraine*, and *Orleans* after having used many sharp speeches, told *Vandosme*, and *Espernoun*, that he could not go to Court, without bringing the Princes with him. They then returned all to Court; whither being gone late that Evening with the rest of the King's people to acquaint the Queen with what had been decreed, and to know her Majesties pleasure, touching the sending of the Cardinal away; she answered, That she was fully resolved to release the Princes: but that she had somewhat to say to the Duke of *Orleans*, to which purpose she had desired to speak with him; and that seeing he was full of Jealousies without cause, she offer'd to send the Guard *de Seaux*, to confer with him, how they were to proceed in the disimprisoning of the Princes: that if he would not treat with the Guard *de Seaux*, she did not refuse to admit of those that were the Princes Friends into the conference: that for what concerned the Cardinal, he was gone without any hopes of returning, and that she did not know truly whither he meant to go, he himself not being resolved upon it; for he could not return to *Rome*, till there were a good understanding between him and the present Pope. The Cardinal having afterward written to the Queen, that he thought it fit his Nephew and his Nieces should go out of *Paris*, and this being granted, his Nephew went out *incogne*, with the Abbate of *Palau*, on the seventh day; as did also his three Nieces the next Evening, by the means of Abbate *Undedei*, who taking them out of the Palace, and concealing them that night in a friends house of his, they went afterwards out of the City in a Coach with two Horses, as Citizens; and that being come to *St. Denis*, where they were waited for, they got into a Coach with six Horses, and being well attended, went towards *Peronn*, whether by appointment the Marshals of *Oquin-court's* Lady was gone the day before, who staid

staid half way to meet them, and to bring them into that place, whereof the Marishal her Husband was Governour, who had renounced *Beaufort's* friendship, and imbraced the Cardinals, proving himself therein truly grateful.

The Parliament being met the next day, they were acquainted with the Queens answer. *Orleans* accepted of the Conference with the Guard *de Seaux*; and told the Assembly, That he would assuredly treat that day touching the Princes liberty; and that they should not be two hours together, before all necessary orders, and expedition should be taken in it; as also touching the Declaration of their Innocence, and that other against all Forreigners: so as the Parliament resolved to trust the Duke with what concern'd the Princes liberty.

And the Queen having told the King's people, that the Cardinal was gone without any hopes of returning, the decree was unanimously made against him, with order that it should be Printed, and sent to all the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, and that the Chambers should keep together till the arrival of the Princes. The Decree was, that within fifteen days he and all his Kindred and Forrain Domesticks, should be gone out of the Kingdom, and out of all other parts within the King's obedience: which time being expired, the disobedient should be extraordinarily proceeded against; and that it should be lawful for all men to fall upon them, and inhibiting all men to receive them.

This decree was approved by almost all the other Parliaments of France, who decreed the same. All this while the Baracadoes were kept up, and stricter guard than ever was kept about the Court, and every night Duke *Beaufort* went on one side, Count *Tavannes* on another, and Monsieur *de Chambois* on the third, with Troops of armed men to clear the Streets: in so much as on the ninth of February the Inhabitants of *Rue St. Honore* hearing the noise of Horses passing to and fro, came out, and finding some Sentinels advanced to the *Croix de Tiroire* they thought (according as it was cunningly given out) that there was a design to convey the King out of Paris, and the Duke of *Orleans* hearing it, sent *Souches*, the Captain of his guard presently to Court, where he found the Queen in Bed, and the King asleep, which appeased the tumult, whereupon the first President said the next day in Parliament, That it was an unsufferable thing that they should proceed with such licentiousness against their Majesties to whom they ought to bear respect and Reverence. But the news of the King's being gone, being dispers'd throughout all the City, many did believe it, and ran in such multitudes to the Palace-Royal, as the King was forc'd to shew himself twice or thrice at the window, whereupon the people cryed, Long live the King, and a fig for *Mazarine*. After Dinner the Queen sent the guard *de Seaux*, and Marishal *Villeroy*, again to desire *Orleans* to come to Court; who (the Queen having given him all satisfaction by sending her Letters to deliver the Princes out of Prison) said he would come the next day; and that his wife should first go visit their Majesties. And that Evening the Queen sent for the Provost *de Merchants*, and the Sheriffs, and told them how unfortunate she was, that it should be thought she would carry the King out of Paris, to free them from the fear whereof, she was content that Guards of good Citizens should be set at the City gates; but notwithstanding all this, strange outrages were committed against the Duke of *Espernonn*, Count *Harcourt*, and many others of the Court party by the common people.

The next morning Monsieur *Urliere* went to *Haure de Grace*, with Letters and expeditions for the delivery of the Princes, without any whatso-

ever

ever condition: with him went Monsieur *de Comminges* to complement the Princes on the Queens behalf; the Duke of *Rochfaucolt*, and Monsieur *Arnault* to do the like on the behalf of the Duke and Dutcheff of *Orleans*; President *Viola* in name of the Parliament, and Monsieur *Champlastrux*, as a servant and friend of *Conde's*, to the peoples great satisfaction.

Orleans, according to his word given to the Queen the day before, went to visit the Queen, with whom some usual complements being past, he staid not long. The Cardinal being come this mean while to *Haure de Grace*, was met two leagues on the way by Monsieur *Lyon*, by whom he was informed of what he had done before his entry, he sent the Horse that did accompany him to *Harfleur*, and he came in with only his Guard and family. He was welcomed with the going off of all the Guns, and by all the Inhabitants in their Arms from the gate to the Citadell, at the entrance whereof he was met by Marishal *Grammont*, and Monsieur *Bar*, who knowing now that he could not detain the Princes any longer, resolved to be himself the first that should acquaint the Princes with their liberty. Then the Cardinal after some short consultation had with *Grammont*, *Lyon*, *Goulas*, and *Bar*, went into the Princes lodgings, and addressing himself with a cheerful countenance to the Prince, said thus. I bring your Highness orders from the Queen for your own liberty, the liberty of your Brother, and Brother in law, freely without any condition; yet her Majesty desires you to love the State, the King, her, and also me: which being said, he bowed affectionately towards him, not forgetting his degree.

The Prince, with a glad some, but Majestical countenance, answered, I am obliged to her Majesty for Justice, I will serve the King, the Queen, (and imbracing the Cardinal) and you also, said he. The Cardinal reply'd, The Gates are open, I beseech you go presently forth: The Prince of *County*, and Duke *Longueville* would have gone out immediately; But *Conde* seeming to be in no haste, call'd for Dinner, and so without any manner of Ceremony, the three Princes, the Cardinal, *Grammont*, *Palnau*, *Lyon* and *Goulas* set down at the Table, and did eat with the same Domestickness, as if they had always been good friends; Dinner being ended whilst order was taking for their departure, some discourse past apart between the Prince and Cardinal, which what it was, is not known: from the Chamber they came into the Court-yard; where they got into *Grammont's* Coach, *Lyon* staying behind to receive orders from the Cardinal touching what the Queen was to do in his concerns; *Conde* was the last that stept into the Coach, whom when the Cardinal bad farewell, he not answering any thing, neither by action, nor word, bad the Coachman drive on. The Cardinal wondred much, not finding this answerable to the civilities he had received in the Chamber, and found what he was to trust to from him, who had shewed such inconstancy in so short a time; he was notwithstanding comforted to think, that if this mutability should continue, they might also alter their minds who were his Enemies, and might rely more upon him, as indeed many did, as shall in due time be said.

The Princes lay that night at *Gromeny*, four leagues from *Haure*, whither that very night came *Rochfaucolt*, *Urliere*, *Viola*, and *Arnault*, who knew not as yet that they were delivered. They sup'd altogether; *Conde* jested sometime with one, sometimes with another of them, very merrily, according to his custom, mingling mirth with seriousness in his discourse. He writ from thence to Monsieur *Croisy*, to assure the Duke of *Orleans*, that he was not entred into any Treaty with the Court, and that he ought all his obligation to him, desiring to know how he was to behave himself when he

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should

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They went the next day from *Gromeny* to *Roan*, where they prest the Parliament to make the same decree against the Cardinal, as the Parliament of *Paris* had done, saying, That they were charged so to do by the Duke of *Orleans*. From *Roan* they came to *Magny*, and so to *Pontoise*, where they found many of the Court Coaches ready to receive them, and it being divulged amongst the people, that *Conde* had bound himself to renew his friendship with the Cardinal, the opinion vanish'd in a moment, when they heard from the Prince his own mouth, how small account he had made of him, and of the conditions which he had offered him.

As they came to *St. Denis*, Monsieur de *Guiraut* complemented them from the Queen, and from that Town to *Paris* the whole fields were covered with Coaches, Horses, and with a multitude of people, with extraordinary applause and Jubilee. *Orleans*, *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, and all the other great ones met them at the *Croix Penchant*, where lighting out of their Coaches, they complemented them. The Prince at the entring of Fort *St. Denis*, caus'd his Coach to stay, and gave the Soldiers fifty Pistolets; from thence they went to the Palace-Royal, paid their respects to the King and Queen, thanked them for their liberty, and tarried with them about a quarter of an hour, discoursing of things indifferent. They then went to visit the Duke of *Nemours*, who was sick, and so went to *L'Hostelle de Orleans*, where they were expected at Supper; divers Princes and Cavaliers sat down with them, where in their Cups they forbore not to speak spitefully against the Cardinal, the Prince drunk the Duke of *Orleans*' health, and a fig for the Cardinal, they all pledg'd it in the same terms, except *Grammont*, and *Arville*, who drunk *Orleans*' health, but would not say those other words touching the Cardinal. After Supper *Conde* went to visit the Princess Palatine, professing much obligation to her, for what she had done for him; the next day, being the 17th. of February, they went to Parliament to witness their acknowledgments; where they were brought in by *Orleans* with great Retinue, and applause, professing their obligations to their Majesties, to his Highness, and to the Parliament, professing also that they would always serve the King, and would be governed by the Parliament. The first President, after having declared how well the Parliament was pleas'd with their liberty, spoke much in praise of the Prince, shewing what prejudice had been suffered by his detention; and here some desired that a declaration might be made of his innocency, and of all theirs that had adhered to him.

But to return to the affairs of *Normandy*, those who were of the Prince his party, were not a little troubled at the news that was given out, that the Cardinal was gone to *Haure*, to secure himself yet better, and that the Queen sought all means to be in safety out of *Paris*. And the *Frondeurs* growing still more wavering, being still bent to bring affairs to some extremity, strove to raise sedition in the City, under colour whereof they might legitimate their pretence to remove the Queen from her Regency, chose a new Council for the King, and that they might take the Government of the Kingdom upon themselves; but were it either out of Gods goodness, or the innate goodness of *Orleans* and *Conde*, who were against too violent Revolutions, all such attempts were still kept back, leaving the Government to the Queen, and continuing the Kings Council in their places, in peaceful manner.

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1651. The Cardinal went from *Haure* with about One hundred Horse, and with some of his friends, marching in long, cold, dark nights, till he came into *Picardy*, where he was received civilly by all, but by the Town of *Abeville*, where he was forced to pass over, the *Some* in small Boats, which were there by chance; and being past over, he came to *Dorlans*, (a strong Town between *Amiens*, and *Arras*) accompanied by *Bar*, the Governour thereof, where he staid a while, considering how he might take his journey with most safety, for there was danger in passing those Frontiers without a pass, which made the Queen write to him, to be gone speedily out of the Kingdom.

The Parliament being assembled on the 20th. of February, the King's Declaration was brought unto them, which contained, that no Forreigners though naturalized, should hereafter be admitted into the Council of State: which being read, it was added, that no Forreigner, nor French Cardinal should be admitted into the Council, which was done not so much in respect of Cardinal *Mazarine*, as to exclude the Coadjutor, who disturb'd all things, that he might be made a Cardinal, and so become first Minister of State. *Beaufort*, was one of those that were the Authors of this Addition, being distast'd with the Coadjutor, for having concealed from him the negotiations which he secretly held with other confederates. And the Princes friends insisting still to have them declared innocent; the Queen being willing to please them, was content that such a Declaration should be made, the contents whereof were; That the King growing apprehensive of the Princes their actions, by information had from several parts was forced for the good of his State to secure them, that time which matures all things, and brings the truth out at last, had made him know their innocence, and how the Crown was prejudiced by their imprisonment; that therefore in an affair of such importance, and in respect of the Parliaments earnest supplications, and by the advice of his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*, and others of his Council, he had resolv'd not only to give them their liberty, but to take away all pretences that might prove prejudicial to their Loyalties, he did declare the said Princes not only innocent of all jealousies which had wounded their Reputations; but that all *Conde*'s actions in particular had never tended to any thing, but to the establishment, and increase of Regal Authority, and to the good of the Crown, whereof the King was fully satisfied, annulling all Letters, and Decrees given out against the said Princes, and restoring them to their former places, honours, and dignities; this Declaration was verified in Parliament on the 27th. Printed and dispers'd throughout all Europe: And therein were also contained the Dutche's of *Longueville*, Marishal *Turenne*, and all the rest of that party. Six days after the Parliament met again, and the Decree made against Forreigners, though naturalized, was read, with the addition of excluding all French Cardinals from the King's Council. *Orleans* was the first who spok, being wish't so to do by the Coadjutor; and said that after this Declaration the Clergy had made a Remonstrance upon it to the King, and that Archbishop *Ambrune* had told his Majesty, that of the three orders which are in France the Ecclesiastick was the first and noblest; that no such motion had at any time been made since France had been a Monarchy. That the Oath which Cardinals take unto the Pope, comes after that which they take to their King and Countrey; so as they were injured by being excluded the King's Council, and in being bereft of serving the State; that this exclusion would not be well taken in Rome: that they had been *Mazarinians* that had insinuated this novelty into the mind of some body to revenge themselves of the Parliament, by

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putting discord between it and the Clergy, that when this Declaration was made, he was present, and was against inserting that clause, foreseeing the mischief it might occasion, by causing division between the Clergy and Parliament.

The first President said, That the French Clergy were not any ways concerned in this, for in the decree all French Archbishops, and Bishops were excepted; wherefore they had no reason to complain, and that the Archbishop *Ambrune* would be but little praised for his Remonstrance, it being well known, who it was that had excited him to make it. Monsieur *de Courtine*, master of the requests, alledged two examples to shew that the Clergy ought to content themselves with their callings, and not meddle in Court affairs. The one of *Antonio Perez*, who being fled into France in the time of Henry the 4th. was one day asked by his Majesty, how he thought France might be best governed? he answered, by three things; by good Council, rich Finances, and by keeping great power in Rome; inferring that to be powerful in the Pope's Court, they must have many Cardinals there, and that therefore they were to be kept at Rome, as not being necessary in France. The other was the example of the late Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, who going to take his leave of the Pope's Nuncio, when he went to command the King's Fleet, the Nuncio thunder'd these words into his ears; You shall not give an account of the men that shall be slain in the War which you go to make; but of those that shall dye in your Diocess during your absence, you shall be sure to give an account, inferring that a Pastor should have a care of his flock. Monsieur *Barin*, *la Galiffenniere*, who was also master of the requests, spoke against the Cardinal, saying he was to be made to give an account of his Administration of Government. President *Charton* said that the Crown had suffered much by the Administration of Cardinals, and that worse was to be expected, if they were continued in that employment.

The Resolution was put off till the next day, when much dispute being had thereupon by the first President, it was at last decreed, that the Cardinals should assist in their Functions in Rome, and not meddle in State affairs, and that her Majesty should be humbly desired to send a Declaration to the Parliament conformable to the Decree of the 9th. and of the 20th. of last February, as well against Forreigners, as against French Cardinals, that they might not be admitted into the King's Council; and Archbishop *Ambrune's* Remonstrance was much spoken against. But these discourses had no foundation, and were totally false; for who knew not, that France did never flourish more than when Governed by *Richelieu*, and *Mazarine*? These proposals were known to be mere invectives, and calumnies; so as though the Decree past, it was never executed; only a notable Decree succeeded thereupon (as you shall hear hereafter) against *Mazarine*, who by the delay of Passports which were expected from *Flanders*, was forced to tarry in France; so as the Queen was forced, by reason of the noise that was made in Parliament, to send *Billingham*, and *Ravigny* with new Letters to him to make hast out of the Kingdom.

The Cardinal's friends, and well-wishers were so incensed with this the Cardinals so unlooked for departure, and by his being so sorely persecuted, as many of them did readily offer him their best assistance to make head against his Enemies: amongst which Marishal *de Hochencourt*, Governour of *Peronn*; Count *Navailles*, Governour of *Beaupre*, and Count *Brogia*, Governour of *la Bassée*, did all of them offer him their strong holds and therewith their lives. And Monsieur *de Bar*, Governour of *Dorlans*, Monsieur *Mondedieu*, Governour of *Rue*, Monsieur *de Faber* Governour of *Sedam*,

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Sedam, Monsieur *de Montigue*, Governour of *Rocroy*; and Monsieur *Rale*, Governour of *Retel*; and others that were well affected to him, offered to raise 10000. fighting men, and by means of those chief Forts to defend him in despite of his Enemies; which might have been done, but not without much prejudice to all France, for all assistance might have been expected from Spain, as was already offered, the Spaniards profering the Cardinal 100000. Crowns a year, and to reimburse to him whatsoever he should lose in France in all his moveables, and Revenues: but the Cardinal did generously declare in publick, that he would rather be a wanderer in the world, than be at any time so much as in thought, occasion of any prejudice to that Crown to which he ought all his fortune; and knowing what danger their Majesties, and all his friends would run, if he tarried longer in France, he observed the orders exactly which he had received by these Gentlemen; and went presently from *Dorlans* to *Peronn*, and then went with his Nephews who were there, to *la Fera*, and from *la Fera*, to *Retel*; from whence he sent Count *Angusbiola* of *Parma*, to desire Major General *Rasse*, to come and conduct him on his way; but he excused it, and sent only 300. of his German Horse; from *Retel*, the Cardinal intended to go to *Bovillion*, a neighbouring place, out of France, in the Countrey of *Leige*, belonging to the Elector of *Collen*.

But the Governour was not able to receive him without orders from his Master, he therefore went to *Balduick*, intending to go for *Alsacia*; and as he was going to *Nancy*, a Messenger came to him from the Elector with ample offers not only of *Bovillion*, but of his whole State; wherefore he altered his mind, and went to *Cleremont*, attended, and desraid by the Marishal *Ferte Senetre*, who being his faithful friend, met him upon the way. When he was at *Cleremont*, two of the Prince of *Conde's* Gentlemen came with order from the King to the Marishal to deliver up that place to them, to which he answered, that he very well knew that those Commissions were extorted by violence from his Majesty; wherefore he would not surrender the Fort, unless he were commanded by the Cardinal, who had given it him in custody. The Cardinal, who was present, wisht him to obey the Kings commands; which he did. From *Cleremont* he went to *Sedam*, where he would have staid, had he not received orders again from the Queen to be gon speedily out of the Kingdom, which he at last did.

Many thought it was not politickly done to send so chief a Minister of State, who was so well inform'd of all the affairs and secret interests of the Kingdom, out of France, and that the Crown might receive much prejudice thereby. Wherefore the Queen indeavoured by the Princess *Palatines* means to acquaint the Princes with the importancy thereof; and that she would wish them to permit, that some safe place might be appointed to the Cardinal to live in, in some corner of the Kingdom, but they would not be perswaded thereunto.

The Cardinal being in *Bovillion*, and not able to pass any further without a Passport from the Spaniards, he would not demand one from the Archduke, without the Queens leave, who willingly granted it; he therefore sent Monsieur *Baiseman*, Lieutenant of his Guard, to desire Count *Fuensfeldaglia*, to procure him one from the Archduke, which being readily granted, and also another from the Duke of *Lorraine*; he was conducted by *Don Antonio Pimontell*, with a Regiment of *Croats*, from *Bovillion*, to *Rochfort*, a Castle held by the *Lorrainers*; from whence he went to *Huy* a City in *Leige*, and to *Leige* it self, where he was met by the Governour, and by all the Inhabitants in Arms, with the going off of Guns, and other

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Upon occasion of the Cardinals being accompanied in his journey by *Pimantell*, a very great confidant of Count *Fuensendaglia*, he thought good to enter into some project of a general peace with him, which *Pimantell* accepting of, as if God had been the Author of this holy work, a treaty was by his means introduced between the Cardinal, and Count *Fuensendaglia*, who received ample Authority from Spain to continue, and conclude the business; but a meeting being requisite to be had between them, for the agreeing of all things between the two Crowns, without other Mediators; The Prince of *Conde's* sending of Marquis *Sillerey* into *Flanders*, to establish an Union with that Crown, did discompose all things; for the Court of Spain, building great hopes upon the troubles of France, and upon the Reputation which *Conde* had won in Arms. *Fuensendaglia's* order was revoked, nay he was forbidden to hold any correspondence with the Cardinal, to avoid giving jealousy to *Conde's* party, which was well minded to joyn with the Spanish faction: but before the Cardinal went from *Dorlans*, after having received orders from the Queen by *Belingau*, and *Ravigny*, he writ a Letter to her Majesty of these contents.

Madame,

Having seen the Letter which your Majesty was pleased to honour me with all, and heard what Monsieur *Ravigny* delivered me from your Majesty by word of mouth, touching what concerns your Majesties service, to wit, that together with my departure from Court, I be speedily gone out of the Kingdom, I have willingly obey'd your pleasure, whose commands shall always be the only law and rule of my life. I have sent a Gentleman to find me out some Sanctuary, though I want all necessaries for a long journey; To morrow without all fail, I will go towards *Sedam*, and from thence to any place, I can get, for my abode. I am so much bound to observe your Majesties orders, as I will not give way to retard the willing obeying of them; yet Madame, there are many, who were they in my condition, and had they justice, and number of friends that I have, would find ways to defend themselves from the persecution which I undergo; and whereon I will not think, choosing rather to content mine Enemies, than do any thing that may prove prejudicial to the State, or displeasing to your Majesty; and though upon this occasion they have been able to keep his Royal

Highness,

1651. Highness, from seconding the motions of his innate goodness; they have notwithstanding witnessed unto him, (though contrary to their wills) the good opinion which he is forced to have of my intire obedience, as also of my zeal for the good of the State. For did they not know that I were not to be removed from this sense, they would not have been so unwise, as to reduce me to these extremes, without reflecting upon the knowledge that I have of the secret and most important affairs of the Kingdom, whereof I have by your Majesties favour, had the Government so long; and have served you faithfully, as is known to all the world. But Madame, I am too much obliged to your Majesties goodness, to dream of any thing contrary to your liking; and would the sacrificing of my life give you the least satisfaction, I would readily do it; and I do protest, that I am very well satisfied, when I shall know, that in this my misfortune your Majesty will be pleased to remember what service I have done the State, after the late King of glorious Memory, was pleased to honor me, and to trust me with directing all things, and did often before his death, desire your Majesty, to keep me in the same employment: with what integrity, zeal, and unconcernment to my self I have discharged it, your Majesty knows; and (if I may be permitted to say so) with what good success: for the wisest, and even the Spaniards themselves do confess, that they do less wonder at the conquests made by your Majesties Armies in the first five years of your Regency, than to see how you have been able for these three last years to manage affairs, and to save the Ship from Shipwrack, which hath been plaid upon from so many parts; and agitated by the storms of home divisions. I wish Madame, that I could conceal from strangers the ill dealing which I receive for fencing off the blame from a Nation, which I have always loved, and revered. But when they shall see me go to seek, whither I may retire to live in safety, with those that are nearest unto me, they will have too much reason to wonder to see a Cardinal so treated, who hath the honour to be the King's Godfather, and that two and twenty years of faithful service have not been able to procure a safe place to retire unto in this Kingdom, whose confines the world knows are much increased by his means. I beseech God, Madame, that as what hath befallen me, shall never alter the passion which I shall preserve till death for the Grandezza of your Majesty, and for the flourishing of your State; it may also make all disorders cease, making it appear that those who have declared against me, have done it only against my person.

Having written this Letter, and being come to *Bovillion*, where he received new orders to go further from the confines of the Kingdom, he thought fit to write another Letter to Count *Brien*, the first Secretary of State, wherein many things being touched upon, which may give more light to what is here treated on, I hope it will not prove tedious to relate them.

I send you an answer to the Letters written unto me by her Majesty; I should have been some days ago upon the Rhine, had I been the only guilty party: but my nearest Relations being likewise involved in my faults, and sentenced to be sent out of the Kingdom; I could not possibly be more diligent, since I was to carry them with me; and to cross an Enemies Country full of Armed men, without a Passport. I am very much perplexed in performing the orders which are sent me; since I cannot imagine, that their Majesties intend that I should expose myself to apparent danger of either being slain, or taken Prisoner, as I am told for certain, his intention is, who boasts amongst those of his party, to have framed the decrees against me, before they came into Parliament, and that he had sufficient means to make the Court acquiesce therein. For I may easily conceive

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ceive, what his intentions are touching the State and me, after his punctuality in seducing a Colleague of his to imbrangle the Parliament, Nobility, Clergy, and People, and to bring all to ruine, unless he were chosen Cardinal. And I very well see, how he labors incessantly to cause orders be given me, and at the same time to keep me from obeying them; that so he may have a pretence to raise a hubbub in Paris, and to compass his ends, by my utter ruine. If this could be any way advantageous or acceptable to the King or Queen, I would concur therein with all my heart: But I must then have known it, for being given to their Majesties, I cannot dispose of myself otherwise, than as they shall command me; it was their pleasure that I should go from Court, and out of the Kingdom, together with all my nearest Relations, and Domesticks, and that at the same time I should be brought to the common Goal at Paris. Now that I am out of France, they will have me go yet further, and at the same time they lay traps and ambushes to hinder me. I desired to be conducted to Charleville, and Messieres, but was denied. I must not go into the King of Spain's Dominions, and they have requested several Princes not to suffer me to come into their States. They leave nothing undone at Rome to incense the Pope against me. Seven of the Duke of Lorraine's Regiments are come within four leagues of this place, and lie upon the way that I am to go for Germany. Marshal Turen sent some Horse out against me, when I went from Retel; and two days after he sent 100. Horse to sack a village, but one league from hence: who after having taken all things from me, and evilly intreated the Master of the Place, they dispersed abroad great store of Tickets, wherein was contained, that if Cardinal Mazarine should be received into any Towns in the Country of Leige, those Towns should be plundered, as you may see by one of the Tickets, which I herewith send you. I do very much wonder that one whom I have served so much, and whom I have so tenderly loved, and so highly esteemed, should so much insult over me in my present condition. I must believe my persecutors think me some body, since they leave nothing undone to ruine me; whilst they are so much troubled about me; but I promise you, if they saw how I bear all this, it would lessen their delight in persecuting me: for having always served the King well, and faithfully, as all men know, I am at peace within, my conscience not upbraiding me with any thing that I have done amiss. And could my desire of the good and welfare of the State be greater than it is, it should be so much the greater by how much greater my troubles are: never was any man of my condition treated as I have been; But thereby they afford me matter of consolation, knowing that it is interest, and not justice that prevails with them: they have rob'd me of all, as well of what I had got in serving the late King, as of all the best and most curious things which I brought from Rome, which as all men know, I intended to bequeath to Paris, as I had bequeathed myself to France; Of all the favours I have received from his Majesty, they have left me nothing but the Cardinals Cap, which his Majesty procured me after twelve years service; wherein he hath experienced my Loyalty, and my zeal. I was the means of taking many places which are now under the Dominion of this Crown, and as the King hath said often, whilst he was alive; I contributed boldly to the glory won by his Armies in Italy, particularly at Casal, where without loss of one drop of blood they gave the Law; I ended the negotiation of Pinarolle; by my means, the Princes of Savoy, Mauritius, and Thomaso, did the second time forgo the Catholick King's party, whereby many Towns in Piemont were gotten from the Spaniards, at which being highly distastet, they did always afterwards oppose my promotion, which I had deserved as well as any other, for my service done to the Holy Church. I was the cause that Sedam, and many other Towns fell into the King of France his hand, as is well known to all the World.

I conjure you to desire their Majesties from me, that they will procure from Rome,

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Rome, that the Cardinals Cardinals Cap may be taken from me, and that it may be bestowed upon some more deserving person, who may serve them better; and I shall be very well pleased, when after being bereft of all, I shall in my heart bear more affection to their service than ever. I beg but one only favour of them, which is, that they will be just to me in the preservation of my honour: which they ought not suffer to be question'd by my Enemies, since it is apparent, that the preservation, and increase thereof hath been that which I have only aimed at during the course of my whole life. If any persecutors have reason to punish me, methinks they should do it by the usual course of Law, and not by unpractised violence: I hear of no accusers; and yet they have begun with me by a sentence; and have done by me as we hear in holy Scriptures, that God had wont to do (but with infallible wisdom) punish whole Families for the sins of their Forefathers. After they have punish'd me, no fault appearing: they have left nothing untried to make the meaner sort of people believe, there lives not a worse man than I; you know whether it was I that hindered the conclusion of the general peace; and with what sincerity the Duke of Longueville hath always spoken therein, though he was not then bound to defend me, and how often after his return from Munster, he hath said in Council, that he could never find what it was the Spaniards would be at.

You know also, that the Plenipotentiaries did not extend their power so far as they might, to make peace; and that in their Letters they alledged reasons which diverted them from doing otherwise; amongst which one was, that the result of making peace, would be to manifest their own weakness, without doing any good. The Spanish-agents being bent to spin on the business with France, that they might draw on the conclusion of peace with Holland; believing that being free from War on that side, they might the more easily turn all their forces against France.

You may remember that when it was known the Holland-Agents had power to make peace with Spain, without France, they used all possible diligence, that it might be joyntly done, and therefore resolved to sweeten all points that the Spaniards stuck upon. You may also remember that it was then held fit, to have extraordinary Councils, which were held in L' Hostelle de Orleans, and sometimes in my House by his Highness orders, wherein the dispatches of Munster were read, the points examined, and answers resolved upon, which being done, they were again read over in Council, to see whether there were any thing to be amended, added, or diminished: every one striving to do or say something which might contribute to the perfecting of so good a work: but all this diligence did nothing; and Rignoranda made known what his orders were: for when he had concluded with the Hollanders, he was never at quiet till he was retired from Munster, to avoid being prest by the Mediators, to accommodation with this Crown.

I had not only been perfidious, but out of my wits, if I had not done what in me lay to make peace; for the Kingdom being thus quieted, I should not only have shared of the good which this peace would have produced; but should have purchased much glory, and thanks. Those who to render me odious to the people, labour'd to make it seem that it was I who did impede peace, know the contrary; and there needs no more to make their malice notorious to the whole world, than the knowledg of all the dispatches sent to Munster, the particular Letters written to the Duke of Longueville, Monsieur de Avaux and to Count Servient, and what answers they received.

These bad minded Criticks were apt to backbite, and to puzzle all that could be done in the Assembly: and much more if peace had been concluded, as they were then affraid it would be; for I remember they began already to give out, that too much was yielded unto, and that the Queen who was Sister to the Catholick

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Nor will it be doubted but that their malice extended further, if reflection be had upon what they said against the peace of Germany, though the Spaniards made it sufficiently appear by their being displeased therewith, how much they were prejudiced thereby, and left no stone unturn'd, but used all their power and industry at Vienna, and elsewhere, to hinder the conclusion thereof.

They valued not the acquisition of so goodly, large and opulent a Country as Alsatia, and of two so important places upon the Rhine, as Brisack, and Philipsburg, nor the having re-united the three Bishopricks to the Crown, with all that belonged thereunto, which had been formerly the occasion of bloody Wars.

It may be seen by the instructions given to the Plenipotentiaries by Cardinal Richlieu, in the late King's time, whereof I have the original, if there were any pretention of getting any footing in Germany.

Finally, my Censurers, and those that do their worst, and make the greatest noise, have by their contentions diverted the Spaniards from applying themselves to peace, and they will notwithstanding have me to be the occasion thereof. Let me tell you, that to confirm this unto you, and to let you know, that these are the same tricks used to the same ends, with the same pretence that they practised not long since against me, and against the State, as they did three years since. Briefly I make it manifest unto you, that they had prepared all things necessary to make me sure and to break my neck, whatsoever had ensued on my last voyage to Champagnia, their design being to reduce me to nothing. After the Prince of Conde's imprisonment, it is evident what means they used to put that Prince into a place where they might dispose of him as they listed.

Then descending to the particulars of the relief of Guise, when besieged by the Spaniards, to the recovery of Retell, and to the winning of the Battle against Turenne, he ended his Letter, and dated it the 24th. of February, 1651.

When this Letter was read in the Privy Council, there were few who were not sensible of so manifest an injury done unto him, who had never offended any, and who was naturally given to be civil, and courteous; but they durst not shew it outwardly, it being too dangerous to appear a friend to him; so as his Enemies might without any opposition, reduce things to what pass they pleased. And as the Parliament was forced to proceed reservedly, and finally to moderate the addition of the decree made for excluding French Cardinals from the Privy Council, by reason of the exceptions taken thereunto by the Coadjutor, and the Clergy, and backt by the Duke of Orleans; so the Cardinal being destitute of all support, or assistance, and his friends turning with his fortune, remained a Butt to be shot at by all his enviers, and a new decree was made against him on the Eleventh of March, containing that the other decrees made against him on the seventh, ninth, and twentieth of February last, and of the second of this present March, should be punctually put in execution: that himself, Allies, and Domesticks, should be immediately proceeded against, as well for not having obey'd the aforesaid decrees, as for the reprisals, (which they said were made by his consent) of Forreign Vessels, the squandering away of the Finances, the conveying of moneys out of the Kingdom, the hindrance given to the conclusion of the general peace; and

and for having given bad Council to the King. That therefore, all his goods, as well moveable, as immoveable, should be confiscated, that process should be made against all those who had followed, assisted, or received him, or that had held correspondence with him by Letters, or otherwise after the time prefixed by the aforesaid decrees; and besides the two Deputies who were chosen to make inquiry into his ways; who were the Counsellors *Brussels*, and *Munieres*, the Counsellors *Birault*, and *Pithou*, were also charged to proceed to the drawing up of the said Information; and they were to go to *Dorlans*, or whithersoever else it was requisite to make process: it was also ordered that all the Commonalty, and Officers of the Kingdom, should bring him to justice either alive or dead; and that whosoever should know, where any part of his Estate should be concealed, they should make it known upon pain of grievous punishment and this severe and unaccustomed decree, was not only Printed, and posted up upon all publick places; but was not without much scandal, approved of by all the Church-men of *Paris*; who instead of opposing it, in defence of Ecclesiastical indemnity, against Decrees unjustly made by Lay-men against a Cardinal of the holy Church, did not only suffer so important a prejudice to have its course, but did lend their helping hand unto it, permitting that the Official of the Archbishop of *Paris* should give out a writ of Excommunication, against all such who knowing where any of the Cardinals Goods were, should not bring them in to the Parliament Commissioners: and because their conscience struck them for being Authors of so detestable an act, they durst not name him in their Writ, but past it in the name of *quidam homo*: a thing which certainly deserved to be severely censured, if somewhat were not to be permitted to the misfortune of those times, which wrought such strange emergencies in all places, and especially in *France*. But nothing was effected either by this process, or by any of these Decrees; for whatsoever diligence was made, nothing was found: so as that Ship cannot be said to be a tall Ship, which hath not indured some great storm; so could not the Cardinal have purchased full glory, but by the oppositions and persecutions of his Enemies; nor could it be better evidenced how great a friend the Heavens are to Innocency and Piety, than by the dangers which the Queen ran, which according to humane capacity, were unavoidable; whilst the Coadjutor laboring that the Regency might be taken away from her, (which peradventure might have been the best advice which could have been taken for the interest of that party) the Duke of *Orleans*, the Princes, and the Parliament, opposed it; not thinking of what might happen; but contenting themselves with the bare superficies of present affairs; lest if they should take the Government upon them, which could not be done without jealousies amongst themselves, and in the Parliament it self, which was desirous to enlarge its Authority, which being usurped, must needs have been to the prejudice of the Princes, whose Maxim it was to keep the Court weak, and flexible to their pretentions; but not to increase the power of Parliaments; which was the reason why they abstained from all violence, and meddled not with the Government: not forbearing notwithstanding to bereave the Queen, as much as in them lay, of her faithfullest servants, that they might place their friends and confidants about her; which though it were foreseen by her and her State-Officers, yet they suffered that cloud to discharge it self upon the Cardinal, and they instead of giving themselves over to the contrary party; did stoutly maintain Regal greatness, so to find out means how to bring the Cardinal back; so the remainder of that year past on, as shall be by degrees related.

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The *Spaniards* in *Flanders* were this mean while intent upon what the issues of the Novelties which were budding forth in *France* would be : upon which other considerable consequences for them did depend. They sent to the Dutchess of *Longueville*, and to Marishal *Turenne* in *Steney* to mind them of the agreement made between them, never to separate till the Princes were set at liberty, and the peace between the two Crowns were concluded. They answered, that they would go to *Paris*, to co-operate therein as much as they could; and that if the *Spaniards* should not be content, and that their Mediation should do no good, they would return again to *Steney*, and make good their promise, where with all were fully satisfied; whereupon the Dutchess went from *Steney*, and sent Monsieur *Sarasine* Secretary to the Prince of *County*, to *Brussels*, to thank the Arch-Duke and Count *Fuensaldaglia*, to assure them that when they should be at *Paris*, they would endeavour the perfecting of the treaty by which the Princes after their disimprisonment had obliged themselves to continue the War, till such time as peace were concluded between the two Crowns.

The Dutchess came to *Paris* on the 15th. of *March*, with great applause of the People, and was met without the City by the Princes her Brothers, by her Husband, and by a great many Lords and Ladies; and this rather, because her coming brought with it some appearance of a general peace, which the people did very much desire; so as if her departure from *Paris* were cause of great disorder, her return was no less noble and glorious.

The Gates of *Paris* were still guarded as before, with Armed Citizens; for they still suspected the Queen would carry away the King; and now the Court, nor *L'Hostelle de Orleans* were no more frequented with visits, but *Conde's* house, and *Longuevilles*, the famouslest Warriors flocking to the one, and all the Ladies to the other: the Prince of *Conde*, and his Sister *Longueville*, might have then become Arbitrators of the Kingdom, if actually keeping that inclination to peace, as they seemed by their words to do, they had made use of the favourable conjuncture of time; for they coveted nothing more than reality in proceeding of the Treaty of peace; nor was there any that doubted the truth of their desires, for the Dutchess of *Longueville* sent away Monsieur *Croisy* to *Steney* with power from the Court, to conclude peace, or a general Truce. This treaty was so carried on, as though neither the *Spaniards*, nor the Princes faction did really desire it, it afforded *Turenne* a fair pretence to withdraw from the *Spaniards* employment, so as that *Orleans* (as shall be hereafter related) being afterwards offended by the innovations of *Paris*, for the permission given by the Council to the Marquess of *Chasteauneuf*; the *Flanders* Agents thought it now a fit time to listen to the proposals of peace, made by *Croisy*. For the whole negotiation was reduced to a particular conference between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Archduke, without the intervening of Mediators; and it being believed that the Queen would not trust the Duke of *Orleans* with such a negotiation, the Archduke made his good intentions towards peace appear unto the people, which if refused, would increase the troubles in *France*, for all the stops that should be met with therein, would be imputed to the Court; but it proved otherwise, for the Duke of *Orleans* being in some sort reconciled to the Queen; the *Spanish* Agents, though they gloried in this their desire, by sending *Don Gabriel di Toledo* to *Paris*, and by assenting to the particular conference, which was agreed should be held between *Peroun* and *Cambrey* (*Croisy* having declared that the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the first President, and Count *Servient* would be there) their little desire thereunto appeared, when

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when they said that they must first expect orders from *Spain*, and that though they knew it was the Catholick King's intention, that this treaty should be commenced, they could proceed no further therein, till they had received Commission from the Catholick Court; which was by the going of Marquess *Sillerey* to *Brussels*, who by his proposal puzzled the whole business; wherefore *Turenne* knowing that he had fully satisfied his promise of procuring peace, took occasion to retire, and to fall totally off from the interest of *Spain*, and went likewise from *Steney* to *Paris*.

But *Conde* being intent upon making himself great, and professing much gratitude and affection to the Duke of *Orleans*, that he might come more vigorously with him, in withstanding the violences of the Court, and to bind themselves to a more faithful confederacy, concluded articles of marriage between the Princess of *Alanson*, and the Duke of *Anguienne*, *Conde's* eldest Son, which though peradventure it might not be pleasing at Court, by reason of the consequences which it drew after it; yet it behoved the Court to seem to like it for the prejudice which might have been otherwise received by the increase of popular tumults.

Conde's endeavour to break the Marriage between the Dutchess of *Cheverex*, and his Brother, was very prejudicial to him; for thereby he provoked a Ladies hatred who was apt to bring much trouble upon him; the success whereof by reason of what ensued thereupon, being worthy to be known, I will briefly acquaint you with it.

The Dutchess of *Cheverex* was always no less noble than generous in her proceedings; wherefore the first time that the Prince of *Conde* visited her, after he was at liberty, she delivered up unto him the promise which her friends had gotten in writing for the marriage between his Brother and her Daughter, saying, that she had not desired that writing to oblige him thereunto, otherwise than to assure him by such an earnest, of her endeavouring his liberty. This noble action was much talk of at Court; whereat the Queen was much troubled, as if she did triumph over her misfortunes; so as not only for the Queens dislike thereof, but in respect of the interest of the Crown, these ensuing marriages were held to be the forerunners of new troubles, for that the Alliance made between Subjects of so great birth, and spirit, might if they listed keep the Kingdom still in disorder, had not several interests interposed in breaking this Alliance; one whereof was the Dutchess of *Longuevil's* arrival at *Paris*, who as being a handsome young Lady, could not without envy tolerate this honour in Madamofelle *Cheverex*, who was not so old as she; who when she should be her Brothers wife, as Princess of the blood was to be her Superior, and because she could not brook coming beneath her; being infinitely beloved by her Brother the Prince of *County*, she endeavoured to divert him as much as she could from the Marriage; to this was added the opinion of the Prince of *Conde*, that his Brothers life might be shortened by this Marriage; he being in the opinion of Physicians, but of a weak complexion, but much more, that he might not be bound to renounce for ever the great possessions, which belong'd unto him by Church-livings and that he might also give too great countenance to the faction of the *Frondeurs*; nor was the Court wanting in having an influence upon this, whose Agents, and particularly Count *Serviente*, and Monsieur de *Lyons*, had a great hand in the Government thereof; who being still thought to be good friends and faithful servants to the Prince, did according to what suited best with his interests, infuse into him what they knew was good for the King's service. The Queen likewise had a part therein, who being desired by the Prince so to do, wist the Dutchess of *Cheverex* to proceed no further in this

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this Alliance, without the Courts consent; in short, the treaty vanish, the very Princes failing in their Devoirs; whereat the house of *Chevereux* was highly scandalized; in so much as the Dutchess, who was very sensible of injuries, and of a manlike spirit, resolved by the Coadjutor's means, who was her great friend, to be revenged. Whilst this treaty was breaking off, the Duke of *Rochfaucolt* to bring it on again, agreed with Madame *de Rhodes*, an intimate friend to the Dutchess, to her Daughter, and to the Coadjutor, that it behoved the Prince of *Conde* to have his Brothers Marriage take effect, and that it behoved the *Frondeurs* to make *Conde* Governour of *Guienne*; County Governour of *Provence*, and Lieutenant General of *Guienne*; and that this should be done at one and the same time on both sides. But the *Frondeurs* not being in a condition to make good what they offer'd unto the Prince, he thought himself also not bound to observe what he had promised concerning the Marriage. The Coadjutor, who was become an Enemy to the Dutchess of *Longueville*, and to *Rochfaucolt*, told the Prince that the Dutchess, and her friends were not troubled at his proceedings in this affair, but that the Dutchess of *Longueville* did for her particular concerns go about to break this match, yea without the Prince his knowledge, and that therefore he acquainted him therewith, that he might be aware thereof: the Prince finding out the design, was very angry; and told the Coadjutor in plain terms, that he was sure to expect little from him, and from the Dutchess of *Chevereux*, when the match should be concluded, since he sought to put division in his Family, and to put discord between him and his sister, allied unto him no less in love than in blood; and then he communicated the whole business to the Dutchess, and to the Duke of *Rochfaucolt*. The Prince by this visit found that his Brother was really in love with *Chevereux*, and that he had desired President *Viola* to draw up the Articles, that so all obstacles might be removed, and the business not retarded. That Monsieur *de Leghe*, a friend to *Chevereux* had discoursed long, and frequently with *County*; so as these things being added to the Advertisement of President *Mortaro*, who was a friend, and servant of *Conde's*, who told him that the Marriage was to be concluded secretly, without expecting dispensation, and without his participation; which made him resolve to take his Brother off from the thought thereof, awakening in him some jealousy which he had formerly conceived, adding that he thought he might do well to renounce that contract, wherein his Sister *Longueville* did also labour, so as they joyntly agreed how to silence it for ever; and afterwards they agreed with Count *serviente*, and with Monsieur *de Lyon*, that the Queen should forbid *Chevereux*, and *County* to proceed any further in these espousals, which was the cause of all the distasts, and disagreements which ensued afterwards, and which did facilitate the Cardinals return to Court. Thus *Conde* losing the Dutchess of *Chevereux*, lost also the Coadjutor, who became his bitter Enemy, as well for this, as for that he found he either could not, or would not help him to be Cardinal. The Duke of *Bullion* and Marshal *Turenne* flew also from him, for his coolness in maintaining their interests in the business of *Sedan*, he likewise lost *Grandpre*, for not restoring him to his Government of *Moson*, in the acquisition whereof, he had so great a share, and which was yet held by the *Spaniards*; he likewise lost the Marquess *savebeuf*, by reason of some certain pretensions which he had, and by his changeable nature: he lost the first President of Parliament *Mole* for having prefer'd President *Viola* to be Secretary of State, before *Champetreux*, who was his eldest Son; and with him he also lost many Counsellors of Parliament, he likewise lost the Princess Palatine, for not using his Authority in

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making Marquess *Vieville* Superintendent of the Finances; as also in consideration of her own interest, and that she having assisted *Conde* so much, she had not as yet got any good thereby; she knew that to quench her thirst, she must go to the Fountain's head, and that persons of her condition could receive favours only from the King; wherefore upon conference with the Dutchess of *Longueville*, they both agreed, that if they could get the Prince to give way that the Cardinal might return to Court, they might have what they would of the King; they communicated this their thought to him, who suspended his resolution therein, neither granting, nor denying it. Which they interpreting to the best sense, the Princess Palatine motioned it to the Queen, who listened attentively thereunto, and said she would procure excellent conditions for *Conde*, if he would do his duty: But he having divers respects, one contrary to another, was a while doubtful what answer he should make: but being told by his friends, that he could not handsomely treat thereof without the Duke of *Orleans's* consent who had dealt so cordially for him, and remembering with what applause he was received in *Paris*, when after his imprisonment he came thither, not so much in respect of himself, as for being held to be a bitter Enemy to the Cardinal, he resolved upon the denial: wherefore the Princess Palatine having discover'd her thought unto him under the Seal of secrecy, and he resolving not to consent thereunto, he presently acquainted *Orleans* with it; so as the Princess being sensible how her service was neglected, thought she was no longer bound to back him.

Those who were gratified by him, were Count *Marsine*, who after the Prince his return from *Havre de Grace* was made Governour of *Steney*, Marquess *Bouteville*, who was made Governour of *Belgarde*; Monsieur *Arnault*, made Governour of the Castle of *Dijon*: Marquess *Persan*, made Governour of *Montrond*: Count *Melle*, made Governour of *Clermont*: Count *Tavanes*, destined to command the Princes Troops, and Regiments in *Champagna*, and *Burgundy*; of all whose fidelities he did no ways doubt, beside some others to whom he gave several employments.

The Princes, together with their liberties, were restored by order from the Queen, to all their Governments; the Duke of *Longueville* was restored to his Government of *Normandy*: But he and his friends in that Province, and Count *de Alets*, with his adherents in *Provence*, severed their interests from those of the Prince, and left him to himself in affairs, which did occur: that which moved them chiefly thereunto, was, for that these Princes being of more mature years, and of a more settled nature, would not hazard themselves upon such misfortunes, and ruine, as wisely they foresaw: but as for the Duke of *Nemours*, and *Rochfaucolt*, though neither of them were fully pleased with the Prince, the first kept faithful to him by means of the Dutchess of *Chastillon*, and the other by the Dutchess of *Longueville*. His most considerable friends were the Duke of *Orleans*, by *Beaufort's* means, the Dutchess of *Monbason*, the *Frondeurs*, and part of the Parliament, who fearing the Queen and Cardinal, sided with him. The whole Clergy of *France* were already sufficiently wounded by the Decree of Parliament, and by the verification thereof, in excluding all Cardinals from the Kings Council; which made them by frequent meetings of Prelats seek remedies for this wound. Many Gentlemen also who were weary of the Wars, and grown poor, did frequently assemble, under pretence of proceeding to a Convocation of the States General, whereby to amend disorders of the Kingdom: many thought good to add the Clergies grievances to theirs, so to seek remedy for so many evils; wherefore some of the Nobles having had discourse with the Church-men, they all joyned,

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in endeavouring the Convocation of the States General; to this purpose was Count *Fiesco* chosen, who was President of the Assembly, and more imbibed than the rest. He, with the Secretary, and with twelve Gentlemen of the twelve Provinces of France, went on the seventh of February to the Covent of the *Augustine Fryers*; where *Fiesco* in a Hall where the Clergie was met, spoke as followeth:

Gentlemen! *The whole Nobility which is now in Paris, being brought together under the Protection of the Duke of Orleans, the King's Uncle, and the States Lieutenant General, the first thing resolved upon was to desire you to joyn with them, which desire being so just, and grounded upon so many examples, they cannot doubt but you will readily imbrace it; the rather for that this Assembly is no other than a continuation of that which was made the year 1649. by leave from the King, Queen Mother, and the Duke of Orleans, where you made the same Union with us which is now demanded. You may remember Gentlemen, that when we broke up, we were allowed to meet again, whensoever the things that were then promis'd us, were not observed, and when remedies should not be applyed to the violence used to Gentlemen contrary to the privileges, and immunities of their birth. We should go less in our condition, and in what our predecessors have won for us by their blood lost for the aggrandising of this Crown, if we should silently lose them, and not use all just and lawful means to preserve them; our design being so justifiable, we beg of you to joyn with us, and co-operate with us, adding your Suffrages to ours, and second the Duke of Orleans his generous resolution in obtaining the liberty of the Princes of the blood-Royal, and in assisting his Highness to break the Cords of these unfortunate Princes, who have been declared innocent by Parliament, their detention being so prejudicial to the King's service and to the common good: Behold here Gentlemen our Commission, which we beseech you to approve of, for which our Assembly doth by us promise you their respect and service.*

The Archbishop of Rheims first President of the Clergies Assembly; answered, That the Nobility had always been gracious to the Clergy, and that the Assembly acknowledged the obligation; & so with specious words dismiss the Nobilities Commissioners. They then presently fell to examine the Proposals which were made unto them, and resolved to represent to the Queen, and to the Duke of Orleans, that there had ever been an Union between these two bodies, insinuating their inclination to continue it. The chief thing desired by the Nobles, was the Princes their liberty, wherein the Assembly had formerly been supplicants to his Majesty, and would still continue to be so, and would desire the Duke of Orleans to use his power therein with the Queen: and because the Clergy had not as yet paid their respects to the King, and Queen, they sent to the Duke of Orleans to know, if he would be pleased that they should send Deputies to their Majesties, which he approving of, the Archbishop de Ambrune, with divers other principal Prelates went on the ninth of February for audience to the King, where they expres'd the reasons of their Assembling, alledging the example of the year 1649. and the Duke of Orleans Authority; and in fair words did supplicate their Majesties, for the Princes liberty. The Guard de Seaux answered them, That the Assembly of the Nobles was unlawful, that the Queen did disapprove thereof, and that she would not take it well, that they of the Clergy should joyn with them, that for what concerned the liberty of the Princes, it was that which her Majesty did desire, so as they that were of their party would lay down their Arms; and that she had sent Marishal Grammont to treat with them; then the same Deputies went to

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to the Duke of Orleans, and desired him to continue his noble inclinations, and put an end to a business of such importance for the publick peace. The Duke thanked them, praised their indeavours, and said that as for their joyning with the Nobility, they might do it; that by all means he would have the Princes out of Prison, and that they needed say no more unto him: wherefore the Bishop of Cominges was sent by the Clergy the next day to the Assembly of the Nobles, accompanied by divers other Bishops, and Abbots; and acquainting them with what he had to say from the Assembly, he assured them of a constant confederacy. To which the Marquess of *Lordis* answering with like civility, an Union was agreed upon; but that the Duke of Orleans's assent in writing must be seen for the meeting of the Nobles; which they obtained from him in these words; *We do consent, and approve that the Nobility do Assemble, to give in their grievances in writing, so as they put them into our hands, and that they comprehend not anything therein, which is not conformable to the orders, and decrees of the States General, and that when they shall have received satisfaction in their grievances, they dissolve when we shall bid them; Upon these conditions we promise them our protection.* This was written, and subscribed on the second of February, 1651. They then sent to the Prince of Conde, and to the other Princes to congratulate their liberty, and Marquess *Lordis*, President of the Nobility, made an Encomiastical Oration to the Prince, the act of Union was subscribed on the 21th. of February; as it had been drawn up seventeen days before by all the Nobility of the Assembly, except the elder Marquess *Vieville*, who was won over to the Court, upon hope of being made superintendant of the Finances. The Princes were well satisfied with the Assemblies complement; they then dispatched away Letters through all the Provinces to exhort all other Gentlemen to enter into their Union; and continued the Assembly that they might advance their designs. Count *Fiesco* did very much labour the Convocation of the States General, as the only means to come by the wish for general peace; & strove to keep the Clergy firm to their first intentions; and accordingly Archbishop *Ambrune*, and Bishop *Cominges* spoke boldly for this Convocation, using examples, and places of Scripture to draw all men to the same opinion.

In this interim, the Parliament, which did not like the Convocation of the States General, as well for fear lest their Authority might thereby be moderated, and that the Sale of places might peradventure be thereby suppressed and confer'd upon better deserving men; as also out of the innate jealousy which is commonly found between Parliaments and States; the latter pretending to be superior in Authority, and the other did maintaining that States can resolve nothing, unless it be by them verified, notwithstanding met. And here Monsieur de *Coqueley* brought a request, presented by the Procurator General, wherein he blamed the Assembly of the Nobility: for being met without the King's Authority, and insisted upon the inhibiting thereof: but whilst they were deliberating hereupon, and that the first President moved, that the first Authors thereof should be punished, reading the Letters sent by the Assembly to the several Provinces, wherein the Duke of Orleans was concerned, by whose permission the Assembly met; that Duke, and the Prince of Conde were intreated to come to the Parliament to deliberate upon this weighty affair; for the Assembly began to be in great vogue in the Provinces, and there was danger that by continuing the Assembly new disorders might arise. This mean while the Queen, by agreement with the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Conde, sent on the 16th. of March, to the Marishal de *L'Hospitalle* to in-

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from the aforesaid meeting, that it should break up, and that as for their desire of having the States General called, they should have it granted to meet on the first of October next at *Tours*. The same was confirmed by the Duke of Orleans, and the Captain of his Guard past his word, that what had been said by the Marſhal de L' *Hopitalle* in the name of the King, and Queen, should be punctually perform'd. The like did the *Cavaliers de Vieville*, by order from the Princes of *Conde*, and *County*; none of which were pleas'd with the calling of the States General, as things too prejudicial to Regal Authority, and to themselves in particular, and therefore they fought by force, excuses, and promises, to carry things on, to the end that all might afterwards dissolve into nothing.

The Duke of Orleans, instigated by the Coadjutor, who partook of all his secret Councils, became Protector of the Assembly of the Nobility; the major part whereof depended upon him, as being his intimate friends. And the Coadjutor being very much troubled that even French Cardinals were by Decree of Parliament debar'd being of the Privy Council, whereby he was deprived of his hope of becoming the chief Minister of State, and of being Cardinal, made the Duke of Orleans encourage the Clergy to joyn with the Nobility, and to complain unto the Queen of the unjust proceedings of Parliament, whereat the Court was not at all displeas'd, seeing her adversaries at variance within themselves.

This Assembly of the Nobility was introduced when the King's Authority began to totter by reason of the hatred conceived against the Cardinal, and it was begun by certain Bishops who were discontented at the Court proceedings, and by certain Nobles who were not therewith well pleas'd, only to make a noise, and to make themselves of some consideration; at first these Assemblies were held but by a few, and in private houses. The chief Authors of those of the Clergy were the Archbishop of Sens, Brother to Marquess *Termer*, the Bishops of Orleans, Hagben, and the old Bishop of Albi, who were all three of the house of Bene, and came to France from Florence, the Bishop of Cominges, and others, the Marquess of *Lourdis*, and of *Vieville*, the Counts of *Betumirs*, *Fiesco*, *Montresore*, *Urfe*, *Fonrilles*, *Montignack*, and others who were all without any charge, and but little considered at Court: they took their pretence from some ill usage of the Nobility in the Country of *Vexin*, by the King's Officers, about a suit touching some counterbar'd Salt brought in by the Soldiers, and hid amongst their baggage in the March, which the Army made, towards the Frontiers; some of them came to Paris to complain thereof, and finding men displeas'd at the imprisonment of the Princes, and laying hold of that pretence that *Mazarine* had told the Queen in full Council, that the Nobility of France hated the King, and that the Parliament would do as that of England had done, they bethought themselves of calling the Assemblies, by the Assent, and Authority of the Duke of Orleans, who was not altogether content with the Court. So as nothing but novelty was sought after, whereby to win credit, and get some Office, or place in the King's Council. The same whereof being spread over the whole Kingdom, so numerous was the concourse of Prelates, and of Cavaliers, as they became formidable, not only to the Court, and Parliament, but even to the Princes who had first protect'd the Assembly, for they thought that the States General would moderate their power, by taking away their Governments and places, and that peradventure they would take the boldness of England; for when the third Estate should concur, and the States General should be met, the Arbitrement of affairs would almost depend upon these.

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Afterwards private houses proving too little for these Assemblies, they were adjourn'd to the Convent of St. Francis, and St. Augustine, where in the great Halls thereof, affairs were dispos'd of in good order: But this being done without the King's permission, and State-affairs being therein treated of, the Queen forbade all that belonged to the King or Court to go thither; as did also the Duke of Orleans, and the Princes; but finally all ended in the aforesaid eager desire that the States General might be called, that by the Authority thereof the disorders of the Kingdom might be provided for, and it was prais'd that they might be held in Paris. But the Queen did withstand it as much as she could, and was seconded therein by the said Princes. After many contestations, not without heart-burnings on both sides, the said Convocation was by Letters from the King put off to be held on the first day of October at *Tours*, and was afterwards adjourn'd to the eight of the said month; on which day the King entering into his Majority, the Court and Princes hoped to disannul it; since it was introduced by the discontent and interest of particular men, and not for the publick good, as was pretended; France never having been in a more flourishing condition then it was then, had it not been for these intestine alterations.

The Assembly finding that the Queens design was to spin on time till the King was of years, that he, as his Mother hop'd, might make it vanish, those Gentlemen were much confus'd, and were in dispute whether they should obey the Kings orders or no; but the Parliament being met in the interim, to oppose these Assemblies, the Duke of Orleans declared that he had assented thereunto; First, to obtain the Princes liberty, Secondly, to Counterpoise the Cardinal, and to remove him from about the King; and lastly to preserve every mans interest; that notwithstanding that these three points were ended, the publick quiet could not be secured, whilst Count *Servient*, *Tillier*, *Lyon*, and Madame *Navailles* were about the Queen; all which being the Cardinals Creatures, he, although he were far off, did by their means govern the Court, disposing of all things as he had done formerly, and having dispos'd of three Abbies of late, of no small concernment, that he would therefore desire the Queen to remove these four from her, and would intreat the Execution of the Decrees. That he and the Prince of *Conde* had endeavour'd to separate the Nobility upon good pretence, and to that purpose the Queen had given way to the calling of the States General on the first of October next. But that the Nobility having represented that this promise might prove null, since her Regency would then be at an end, the Queen had promis'd what she was not able to perform, unless the King should consent thereunto: that as the Queen had been desired to put off the meeting till the first of September next, so he desired the Assembly to retard all resolutions till the next Monday, in which time he hop'd to end the business with satisfaction to all; that he was sufficiently inform'd that the Cardinal's friends had us'd all their endeavours that the Parliament might make a Decree against the said Assemblies, and that they had endeavour'd to divide the Prince of *Conde* from him, since the *Mazarinians* could not subsist but amidst divisions, and disorders. The Prince of *Conde* spoke to the same Tune, and added, that it was not long since they had gone about to pluck him from his Royal Highness, but that they had gain'd nothing therein, for that he was constant in the Union agreed upon, for the King's service, and preservation of Regal Dignity.

After this the first President spoke against this Assembly, terming it unlawful, & contrary to Regal Authority; that they ought to obey the orders brought them by the Marſhal de L' *Hopitalle*, & not joyn with the Clergy, which

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was yet more to contemn the King's Dignity, and therefore was not to be tolerated by Parliament; that the end thereof was to confound Government, and to introduce civil War; so as to oppose it, and destroy it, was to serve the publick good. That the Duke of Orleans had promised by the Marishal de L' Hospitalle, to cause it to dissolve on last Wednesday, and that notwithstanding it still continued, that the Parliament was grieved to see the fractures of the Royal family, which was fomented by some troublesome spirits, who abusing his Royal Highness's good nature, fed him with false representations, and adding one disorder to another did confound all: in so much as after the Cardinals expulsion, those who stood candidate for the same Dignity afforded matter of new Revolutions, the remedy whereof was no longer to be retarded. The Duke of Orleans answered, That he had not appointed Wednesday with the Marishal de L' Hospitalle; that he would resist, and not maintain any thing that was prejudicial to the King's service, and promised that on Monday next, the Assembly should be quietly dissolved. The first President replied, that he heard another Assembly was held in the *Convent* of the *Carmelites* at the Palace *Mobert*, which took upon it the quality of the third Estate, and which tended to new sedition; that therefore it was no longer time to neglect the King's service, and the States interest, the King's Authority being so far engaged, and that the business was to be taken into consideration, according to yesterdays Decree.

The Duke answered, he did not think the Company would deny him three days, at the end whereof he promised to be present in Parliament, and to give his consent to all Decrees, if the Assembly were not first dissolved. The President of *Mesmes* asked him, whether or no he would disapprove the said Assembly, if it did not dissolve before Monday. And Marishal *Grammont*, to ease the Duke of replying, propounded, that if the Assembly should not dissolve before Monday, his Highness should promise to disapprove it, and to oppose it with all his Power and Authority; upon which promise the Resolution was put off till Monday. President *Cognieux*, *Brussels*, *Thou*, and *Charton*, spoke in favour of the Assembly, and *Thou* said there was of the best blood of France therein, to which the first President answered, that there were men in France who were twenty times better than they, who had not subscribed it; whereof those of the Assembly being advertised, they presently publish'd a declaration of their pretensions, shewing that they were met only for the publick good, and this was accompanied by a Letter sent upon the occasion of the Assembly of the Nobility, which did contain a declaration against those who said their Assembling without the King's Authority was Criminal: they said that all that could be objected to it, was that it was done without the King's permission, for that the Laws forbid all publick meetings without his Majesties consent; that for any thing else what the Nobility did complain of, and whereof they could speak, was correlative to the Law, and what in justice could not be denied; that during the King's minority, his Authority was in the Regent, and in the Lieutenant General of the Crown, so as their Authority must be had to make a lawful Assembly: that the point lay in this, whether they were to have the Queens permission, or whether it was sufficient to have leave from the Lieutenant General; that the Nobility had Assembled for three reasons; for the liberty of the Princes, for driving out the Cardinal, and for the maintaining of the Nobilities priviledges, which were lost by the bad Government of State Ministers. That nobody could doubt but that the two first points were contrary to the Regents desire, since the Princes had been imprisoned by her; that

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that therefore it was unnecessary to ask leave for the Assembling of the Nobility, seeing it was contrary to her sense: wherefore not being able to address themselves to her Majesty, they had betaken themselves to the Lieutenant General; who having given them leave to meet the occasion of taxing them for having taken upon them an unjust power, ceased. That those who sided with the Cardinal, said, this was a Criminal fact, but that they could not shew any other way which was more innocent; that they were shut up between two great extremes, either to become guilty by complaining, or to be oppress'd by holding their peace, and to suffer, that without remedy, the honour of their Wives and Daughters, their Goods, their Houses, and all they had, should be exposed to the insolence and violation of Soldiers, Marishals, Task-masters, and to the avarice of Officers; and that their liberties and immunities should be oppress'd through the jealousy of those who had neither birth nor worth, that the Kingdom of France was a free Kingdom, and that the most noble and freest part thereof ought not to be forbidden lamenting, and demanding justice against such excesses; and their conclusion was, that any thing might be done which was just and reasonable, at last the Clergie, and after them the Nobility did acquiesce upon the reiterated desires and perswasions of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince of Conde; and much the rather, for that they had not met with such correspondences as they looked for from the meeting of the third order, without which, and contrary to the King's power, the Clergie, and Nobility could of themselves do nothing. So all was hush'd up upon hopes of the next Assembling of the States General, which Orleans and Conde did under their hand assure them of.

The Cardinal being gone from the confines of France, Paris grew weary of keeping continual Guards at the gate, for which the Soldiers had no pay, wherefore those Guards were taken away; so as the Court being at liberty to go into the City and Country, the Princes party was thereby not a little weakened, who confided much in Armed men.

Conde began to apprehend a second imprisonment, which he feared, as himself said, more than death; wherefore he grew more circumspect than usual. The Court began to take courage, and to think how to uphold the King's Authority; and because the Cardinal at his departure counselled the Queen to recall Count *Chavigny*, who was Conde's friend, to keep him from thinking to return by some other means, he was sent for back: and the seals were taken away by the Queens direction from the Marquess of *Chasteauneuf*, who was suspected to be become a friend to the contrary party; and were given to the first President *Mole*, which made it be believed that the Queen did all by intelligence with the Prince, who was a friend to *Chavigny*, and *Mole*, and an Enemy to *Chasteauneuf*, the next day he took the wonted Oath, and the Queen used him with honour and esteem, whereat the Duke of Orleans was much amazed; in whose House the Prince of Conde, Duke *Beaufort*, the Dutches of *Cheverex*, and of *Montbazon*, met together with the Coadjutor, and other conspicuous persons of that party; and they discoursed long upon the Queens taking too much upon her, contrary to their pretensions; speaking openly that if the Duke of Orleans would suffer such shame, he would encourage his Enemies, who would grow the more haughty.

But, because the Council differ'd in their opinions, it will not be amiss to lay open the affections of the one, and of the other; because private interest is more minded in France, than in any other Court, or Nation, and is prefer'd before any publick consideration. The Duke of Orleans, his Daughter *Madamofelle*, Duke *Beaufort*, and the Dutches of *Montbazon*, minded

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minded only their own greatness. The Prince of *Conde* and his adherents, cared not much for this mutation, as being adversaries to *Chasteauneuf*, and friends to the first President; the Dutchess of *Cheveraux*, and the Coadjutor, as friends to *Chasteauneuf*, were more incens'd against the Queen than all the rest; the rather for that they thought they had been upon good terms with her Majesty.

Orleans broke forth into fore complaints against the Queen for making such alterations without his knowledge, Duke *Beaufort* offer'd to make the people rise in his behalf when he should please. Count *Montresore*, a great friend to the Coadjutor, said, it was no longer time to dally; that the people must forthwith take up Arms; and force the first President to forgoe the Seals, and afterwards go with the like fury to the Queens Court, and do as occasion should serve; it was thought that this being a violent proposal, came from the Coadjutor, who was of the same opinion: but the Prince of *Conde*, who held private intelligence with the Court, declared he would not engage himself in a War in the Streets of *Paris*, as not being accustomed to fight with stones, and that therefore he would leave the care thereof to others. That he would be ready to obey the Duke of *Orleans*, if he should so command him, in going presently into *Burgundy* to raise men, and make War wheresoever he should please. Upon these speeches of so renown'd a man, the diversity of opinions ceased: and the Marishal de *Estampes*, one that loved not troubles, said, it was now late, and that the business might be defer'd till the next morning, which was done.

The Coadjutor finding *Conde* to declare thus much, intreated the Duke of *Orleans* to give him leave to withdraw himself from the intrigues of the Court, and follow his study; and seemed to continue a while thus resolved. The Queen was somewhat troubled at the taking the Seals from *Chasteauneuf*, and giving them to President *Mole*, by reason of *Orleans*'s so highly resenting it, which the *Frondeurs* also did; so as fearing some extravagancy, though the did much protect the first President, she was at last forc'd to forsake him, and to take the Seals away from him, and to deposite them in the Lord Chancellor's hands; with promise under hand to the said President by Marishal *Grammont*, that they should be restored unto him, when the King should be of years; yet was not he well pleased, since the Queen had made him accept that place against his will, not being able to protect him therein, but he was more offended with *Conde*, from whom for his past service he promis'd himself more fervent assistance; wherein the Prince failed him, to keep from breaking with the Duke of *Orleans*.

Before the Seals were taken away, upon fear that the Duke of *Orleans* might withdraw from Court, and seduce *Conde* along with him; the Queen being desirous to recompence the first President with as good a thing, or better, made many gracious offers to him: as to make a fifth Secretary of State; and give the place to his eldest Son, or to buy a Presidents place in Parliament for him, or to give him his own place after his life; but he not being content with any of these, she offered to make him Archbishop of *Toulouse*, and indow him with 6000 pound sterling a year. And it was further said, that she offered to make him a Cardinal, and his Son first President, so as he would willingly resign the Seals; all which he did scornfully refuse, and contrary to the wishes of all his friends, who told him that a Cardinal, and a first President were never known in *France* to be of one, and the same Family; which made it be believed, that either he thought very well of himself, or that he feared to be deluded, or that the place of Guard de *Seaux*, was to be prefer'd before all these.

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A treaty of peace with *Spain* was this mean while introduced by the Dutchess of *Longueville*'s, and Marishal *Turenne*'s return to *Paris*; but *Conde* foreseeing, that if this were effected, he should be ruined; he resolv'd to send Marquess *Sillery* about the end of April to *Flanders*, under pretence of the same treaty of peace, but in effect to negotiate his own contentments, and to renew the treaty which was held at *Steney* with the *Spaniards*; by Monsieur *Croisy*, and this was the first correspondence which the Prince had with the *Spaniards*, and which yet continues, and was the cause why the *Spanish* Agents did not agree with *Orleans*, touching the general peace.

The Duke of *Espernon* desired as much as the Court did, that he might be permitted to quit the Government of *Guien*; so to shun the disquiet which might insue by his remaining in a Province ill affected to his name; the only difficulty lay in finding out another Government equivalent to that of *Guienne*. It was reported that the Prince of *Conde*, not being well pleased with those of *Burgundy*, for not having appeared in his imprisonment, cool'd in the affection which he bore them before. *Espernon* thought therefore that *Conde* would be easily persuaded to change Governments with him; especially, being much obliged to the *Burgundians* for having made head against the King for his liberty, wherefore the Duke of *Candalle* sent *Guerin* to propose this unto the Prince; whom he found willing to accept thereof upon some conditions, which were, that he would have *Guienne* with all the Towns therein; and that he should reserve unto himself in *Burgundy* the Castle of *Dijon*, and the Town of *St. John de Aise*, no mention was made of *Belgard*, it being his own particular Patrimony; for that *Burgundy* yielded five or six thousand pounds sterling more than *Guienne*; but these things not being agreed upon, the business broke off. The Cardinal hearing of this negotiation, with'd the Queen not to permit this change for many reasons, which shall be hereafter mentioned. The Prince hearing this, began to desire that which formerly he had not cared for, saying, that he would have that change; with the aforesaid retentions, and that if the Court were against it, he would cause new troubles; this business was often debated in the Privy Council, *pro & contra*. Some said, that *Guienne* was well situated for receiving help from *Spain*, and *England*, in case of revolt. That the Prince of *Conde* held intelligence with *Spain* already, which was the only cause why he desired that Government; that *Guienne*, and *Poitou* joy'd one upon another, whereof the Duke of *Rochefaucault* was then Governour, who was *Conde*'s great friend; that the Duke of *Roan Chabot*, in *Anjou*, was of the same party; that *Brouages*, both of them places of importance; and the Islands of *Oleron* and *Ree* were in Count *Ognon*'s hand, who declared against the King, that *Normandy* was under the Duke of *Longueville*, Brother in law to *Conde*; and that *Britany* was in the Government of Marishal *Millerey*, who was about to ally himself to the said Prince, by marrying his Son to Madamofelle de *Tremaglia*. That by reason of so many Towns, Provinces and friends back'd by the *Spaniards*, and if need should be, by the *English*, *France* was expos'd to apparent danger; it was therefore concluded, that this evident danger was not to be permitted in so many important Provinces; the rather for that the Prince keeping *Belgard*, *St. John de Aise* and the Castle of *Dijon* in his hands, should be still as good as Master of *Burgundy*.

These reasons were of themselves sufficient not to permit that Province to the Prince of *Conde*, had not Count *Serviente*, one of long experience in Court affairs, with strong reasons maintained the contrary, he said, that

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in great storms experienced Mariners stood not upon casting part of their loading over-board to save the rest: that the King's Authority was in great danger; that it was therefore needful, not only to watch carefully, but even to spend whole nights in thinking how to fence it, if not in whole, yet in part from the assaults of ambitious people; that their Majesties were as Prisoners in their Palace; whilst the *Frondeurs* pretended to take the Regency from the Queen, and to take the Government of the whole Kingdom upon themselves. That the Assemblies of the Clergy, and of the Nobility prest the calling of the States General, pretending to keep off the King's majority till he were Eighteen years old, and in the mean time to chuse a Governour of the Kingdom. That that strong-wound-up Rope composed of the several threads of many friends, became strong, and not to be broken: that destruction was at hand, unless this knot were untied by the yielding of one, and abating of the other party; that he was of their opinion, who held that it was not good to grant *Guienne* to the Prince, so to make him greater; but that when he considered how great an acquisition it would be, to take off a Prince of such esteem from the *Frondeurs*, he was of another mind; for that the true means to break the knot of the Enemy, was to divide them, the Male-contents being then only to be pacified, when they see themselves abandoned by great ones; that it was true that *Guienne* was of importance for situation, and for the peoples condition: but that it was as true that it could not prove so prejudicial as was supposed. That it was well known that the greatest part of the *Gascons* were of the Prince his opinion, and that it was not to be doubted; but that they would second his designs, as well if he were far off, as if he were their Governour; so as by giving him that Government, that was only given him, which was already at his disposal; and that by gaining *Burgundy* made him lose what he had. That the one of these two Provinces lay towards *Spain*, and *England*, the other seated amidst the Richest, and most noble Provinces of *France*: confining upon *Flanders*, and not far from *Germany*; that it was not to be imagined the first should be able to subsist, by the backing of *Spain*, and *England*; because it was not to be believed that the Prince of *Conde*, who by blood was so interested in the Crown, would be so foolish as to dismember the Kingdom of so noble a Province, to throw it into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who were natural Enemies to *France*, or of the *English* who were proud foes: nor were things so easily done as designed; that it was not time for *Spain* to engage in new enterprizes; and that all the aid was in considerable which could come from *England*, which was not sure to establish her new state by her own Forces, much less to send them abroad to purchase new Enemies; that reason of State might require that the power of *France* might be divided, and weakned; but that the *English* could not desire, that by the lessning of this, the power of *Spain* should be increased, which as being apter to raise Naval Fleets, ought consequently to be by them more feared: that on the contrary *Burgundy*, the Prince of *Conde's* Government, confining upon *Germany*, and joyning upon *Flanders*, which is the Magazine of the Arms of the *Spanish* Monarchy, would be more apt to foment the Male-contents in *Paris*, when that City, as there was now great likelihood, should declare for their party. And that the Princes passing over the *Loire* to *Carita*, and joyning with *Berry*, the Government of the same Prince, and from thence with *Poitou*, *Limosin*, and *Anjou*, all which Provinces were held by his friends, and afterwards with *Guienne*, it was to be feared that the Kingdom being cut through the very midst by such a knot, the said Princes might not only be able to maintain themselves in *Guienne*, but

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but make good their party in *Paris*, by the assistance of Neighboring *Burgundy*, and by the Forces of *Flanders*, and *Spain* reduce the King's Dignity to an inevitable precipice, it being insidiated by so many seditious male-contents, who by such an opportunity, might compass their pernicious Machinations.

That therefore his opinion was, that this change might be permitted; and that to moderate the great opinion which the *Gascons* have of *Conde*, they should be suffered to see him; for that men are apt to worship a great Warrior, more when they hear of his prowess in War, than when betaking himself to his quiet, he falls into those licentious courses, as are usual to the military profession, and oftentimes those Flowers which are most pleasing to the eye, do most nauseate the Nose.

And the mean while the King's power breaking out in his Majority, would like the Sun dissipate those clouds which do darken the luster of this Kingdom; and obfuscate the splendor which other Planets exhal'd from thence, and the Crown will re-assume that happy motion which hath hitherto accompanied it.

Wrought upon by these reasons, all of them did unanimously concur to the permutation of these two Governments; the which being obtained by the Prince, made him also pretend to change *Champagna*; but the Government of *Guienne* not appearing so prejudicial for the aforesaid reasons, as that of *Provence*, it would not be listned to. The Cardinal (without whose allowance this change was made,) blamed the resolution, weighing that if it made not much for the Prince his interest, he would not have pursued it so hotly, writ that he thought it would prove too prejudicial, unless it were granted him for some more secret, and more important respects: and for what concern'd *Provence*, he exaggerated much against them, who would so much as hearken to it; and wish'd the Queen and Council to have a care of it, and not to place so much power in the Prince of *Conde*; for that the more power was given to him, the more was the King's Authority lessned.

It had been much better for the Prince to have taken upon him the supreme command of the Army, as well for the *Grandezza* of the Kingdom, as for his own glory and Reputation; but he did not value it, as well in respect of what hath already been touched upon, as that he did not too much trust the Queen, who was jealous of all his ways; and therefore considering that putting himself into an Army composed of *Veteran* Soldiers, who were all faithful to the King, who revered nothing but his Majesties orders, he imagined that he could have no other obedience from them, but what did merely concern the service of *France*; wherefore he refused that command which the Queen confer'd upon *Marshall de Annon*. This Army being provided of Officers, who did all of them depend upon the Court, was considerable both for number, and valour; but did not much that Summer for want of monies, which was occasioned by the Kingdoms disorders, lying only upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*, as shall be said hereafter. Whereat the Parliament being moved, whose designs were to win upon the peoples affection, seeming to be their defenders, decreed on the 19th. of *June*, that the order made before for remedying the unruliness of the Militia should be put in execution; and nominated some Commissioners to that purpose, who were to go whither they list'd; but all in vain, for they wanted power to make themselves be obeyd, the Soldiers making themselves merry with all their resolves, which was not unpleasing to the Court, whose concernments were Govern'd according to advice given ever and anon by the Cardinal, who though he were at

1651. *Brules* in Germany, was informed of all that was done at Court, according to which the Councils were there regulated, and the King did continually assure him by his Letters, that he would by all means have him near his person, though it should be with hazard of his Crown; yet great secrecy was used in this correspondence, the Court being at *Paris*, for fear of being again beset with the City Guards, if it should be known.

Amongst these irresolutions of the King's Council, the Cardinal's friends sought to win over the Prince of *Conde*, industriously employing those therein who were known able to promote so slippery a business. The Princess Palatine was desired to interpose her self in this accommodation; but she being unwilling to break her word given to the Dutchess *Chevereux* touching the Marriage, and to the Coadjutor touching his being Cardinal, declared that she would be ready to do any thing that would not clash upon these two points, by retracting from whence, she might be taxed with breach of promise; but the affairs in the treaty of *Guienne* altering upon the breach of Madamofelle *Chevereux* marriage, opinions also altered, and hence began all things to change.

The Princess Palatine did notwithstanding say, by consent of the Dutchess of *Longueville*, that if the Queen would be gracious to the Prince, she would quit the Union whereunto she was now annexed, and would cordially joyn with the King and her Majesties interest, and if occasion should require, declare her self against the *Frondeurs*. The Princesses entred into the treaty; the Queen seemed ready to give them all reasonable satisfaction, the Prince inclined to agreement, but some of his friends, and particularly *Chavignie* whispering in his ear, that he ought not to forego his old friends for new ones, that the Court was full of subtilty, whereby he might be sure at last to be deluded; and he listning more to bad, than to good Counsel; he would not be sed with bare hope, nor confide in the Court. So as not being able by these means to reduce him, they tackt about, and resolved totally to ruine him; for he being supprest, little care was to be had of the rest, and to effect their intent, they resolved to secure themselves of all the Provinces of the Kingdom. And the Duke of *Longueville*, who was Governour of *Normandy*, and Brother in Law to the Prince, was sought to be won over by a secret treaty, which was effected by friends on both sides: and whereunto *Longueville* listned, not for that he had any natural good inclinations, but because he was not well pleased with *Conde*, who dealt disdainfully with him, and fomented his Wife in Domestick differences that were between them; he engaged his word, that he never would recede from what was agreed on with the Court: no not for any, whatsoever offer might be made him of bettering his condition. All the Officers of the *Flanders* Army were also treated with, who took a new Oath to serve his Majesty against all his Enemies within or out of the Kingdom, and declared that they did depend only upon the King. They summon'd in all the Troops which served under the name of the Prince to appear at a general Muster; and that they might be disposed of in several parts, they thought either to detain their pay, or to give them inconvenient quarters, or if need were, to disarm them; but the Prince suspecting this, wrought so as that they drew up towards *Burgundy*, *Champagna*, and the Frontiers of *Picardy*; and that they should never come within three days march of the King's Army. They afterward in-deavoured to draw over from the faction of the *Frondeurs* as many of the Parliament, or of the chief Citizens as they could; among which President *Novion* was one, deceiv'd in his hopes of being the Director of the Duke of *Orlean*'s Council, Monsieur *le Fevre* Provost of the Merchants; and

and finally, all means were used to draw over the Princess Palatine, who afterwards grew a great confident of the Queen, and Cardinal, by reason of her being but badly requited by *Conde*'s Family, after her so much partiality and good service done to *Conde*; and they also won over the Dutchess of *Chevereux* and the Coadjutor, promising to call the Marquess of *Chasteauneuf* to the Privy Council again, and to nominate the Coadjutor to be Cardinal when the King should be of age; the joyning together of the two last was of great importance in this business, out of their desire to revenge themselves of the Prince, and as being partakers of the Duke of *Orleans* his most secret Council; all this was managed by the Court with their accustomed cunning; for the most wary were of opinion that the Queen could not confide neither in *Chevereux*, nor in the Coadjutor, in whom she was forc'd notwithstanding to seem to trust, and to believe things which were unlikely; and though it was thought that by *Chasteauneuf*'s return to Council, *Chevereux* might pretend to have a share in the Government of the Kingdom, and that the Coadjutor by being Cardinal, might one day prove Favourite; even they (allured by such hopes) labour'd to keep in favour with their Majesties, and to seem desirous of *Mazarine*'s return; wherein *Chasteauneuf* being of all others most vigilant, fearing *Conde*'s faction, and considering that the Cardinal would at last overcome all difficulties, since it was the King and Queens will; having with great wonder hard the question asked by *Priolo* in *Conde*'s name, whether or no, he would approve of the Cardinals return, he was desirous to sound the bottom of the business; wherefore he sent his confident *Berret* to *Brules*, with a Letter of credence, and with exhibition to employ all his power in helping his return; when the Cardinal saw the Letter, he very warily made *Berret* write down the articles of instruction at the foot of the Letter; and that he might the better discover truth, treat the more securely, and know the true meaning of the Queen, he sent Abbot *Undedey* to *Paris* incognito, in whom he trusted much; who coming thither with much danger of losing his life, he behaved himself so well, as he agreed with *Chasteauneuf*, that he should be made chief Minister of State when the King should be of years: he assured the first President that he should have the Seals restored to him, and Marquess *Vieville* that he should be made Superintendent of the Finances.

Undedey not having a Passport from the *Spaniards*, was in his journey to *Paris* stoppt by the Garrison of *Charlemont*, but was released at thirteen days end; for they considered that it made not for them, to detain one, who by his negotiation might renew jealousies, and afford new pretences to the Male-contents, he being employ'd to revive the Cardinals Party, whose subsistance was judged necessary by the *Spaniards*, thereby to make *Conde* joyn more firmly with them, and holding that this was the only means to widen the wounds of *France*. The Princes were advertised of his detention, and of his being set free; and they laid snares for him by the way, but he fearing it, turned about by *Mesferes*, and past in disguise through the Princes Troops, and got safe to *Paris*; whereat the Queen was very glad. *Undedey* staid Eleven days, not being discovered by whatsoever the Princes could do: he negotiated all the business that he was come about, which was all put off till the King should be of years; but fearing afterwards to be found, he went to *Peroun*, and staid there incognito till the King was of years, and till the Prince retired from Court, after which being recalled by the Queen, he returned to *Paris*, to finish what he had begun.

The Parliament knowing that it was an unjust and odious thing to make

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a man guilty without naming his fault; that they might the better justify their proceedings against the Cardinal, sent two Counsellors of the Chamber into *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, and to all places through which he past, to inform themselves diligently of all his comportments: in order whereunto *Cantarini*, an *Italian* Bancker, was imprisoned, and had all his Writings taken from him, hoping to find notes of the sums of Money which he was said to have conveyed into *Italy* and *Germany*; and *Bronfèll* was appointed to make this inquisition, who was his chiefest Enemy; but after having spent much time in making diligent search, he returned without any thing worthy the Assemblies knowledge. Nothing was found in *Cantarini's* writings which did aggravate him, and *Bronfèll* self said, that for all his diligent search, he had found nothing whereof to accuse him; but Counsellor *Longueville*, a man of a great reach, and very turbulent, said in the Assembly, that they were to make process against a man for particular affairs, but that other proceedings were to be had in management of the State, and that mere shadows were to be made use of, and that it made for the publick good to give sentence as *Caiphas* did; inferring thereby, that to cloke their private intentions, who were it right or wrong, would rid their hands of him, they must make him cause of all the blame, palliating the injustice with zeal to the common good.

The Prince all this while forbore not to bind himself faster to *Orleans*, *Beaufort*, the *Frondeurs* and Parliament, telling them that his ruine was not aimed at by the Court, without drawing theirs after it; that he had always served the King faithfully, and that those who sought to destroy him, made use of the fruits of his Victories. He afterwards forbade his Troops to joyn with those of the King, alledging the Authority, and consent of the Duke of *Orleans*, who being Lieutenant General of the Kingdom during the King's Minority, might command this, as he pretended; but whilst these affairs depended thus, his friends thought he did much amiss in not putting on a ready resolution to fall by degrees from the King's Army, and go to *Charite* a great Town upon the *Loire*, half way between *Paris*, and *Lyons*; where when he should be arrived, the Queen would never have left *Paris* and brought the King to wage War with him; but were it either for want of ready resolution, or that he would not be the first who should begin a breach, (which the Prince his Father left him for an unalterable Maxim,) or, as it is more likely, that he thought to send one of high esteem to command those Troops, he unfortunately let this opportunity slip. The Court beginning afterwards to take courage, fell at unawares upon these Forces, which they did not defeat, because they were not all got together; but they forced them to retreat in great disorder towards *Steney* upon the *Mosè*, and to go out of the Kingdom, with great loss of those that ran away; suspecting then some danger to his own person, he began to be very circumspectful of his ways in *Paris*, and quite forbore the Court; and as it was apparent that his actions did not answer to what the Queen might expect from him, nor to the good intentions he promised her Majesty when she granted him the Government of *Guienne*, but did rather daily covet more Offices, and Governments of Towns for his friends and those that did depend upon him; & that he took a course contrary to what was expected from his gratitude, the Queen to counterpoise his power, was forced to listen to what was propounded by the *Frondeurs*; which was, that they would serve her, with all their faction, in case she were not satisfied with him: so as though the Privy Council were unwilling to come to an open breach with *Conde*, thinking it better to keep him fastned to the Royal Family, and because till then he had always refused to

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mingle with the *Frondeurs*, with whom he was displeased for their having failed him in many things, and sought to make use of him rather for their own concerns, than for his sake; at last the Court, being forced by the Prince his too scornful comportments, and by his too high pretensions; Monsieur de *Lyon*, with whom the Coadjutor was desirous to speak, was permitted to see the Coadjutor in Count *Montresor's* house, as he did once or twice; the which being observed by one that dwelt over against *Montresor's* house, he by means of Count *Chavigny* acquainted the Prince therewith, who was afterward better advertised thereof by the Duke of *Orleans*, to whom the Coadjutor had intrusted the business, the Prince began to suspect that he was once more intrapped; so as to this terror infused into him by *Chavigny*, another accident being added of certain Soldiers who were upon the Guard in the *Fauburg* of *St. Germain*, to bring in some Wine which were *di contrabando*, without paying the impost; he thought verily that those were the Regiments of Guard which were to enter his house; as he was sadly informed by his Domesticks *Vieville*, and *Recnès*. Wherefore getting on Horseback by night, on the sixth of July he went out on the back side of *L'Hostelle de Orleans*, where his fear making him mistake certain Horses that were laden with Victuals, for Troops of Horse which might wait for him, he went with the Prince of *County* to his house at *St. Maure*, to shun what he had suspected; and thither came the Dukes of *Nemours*, *Rochefaucolt*, *Richelieu*, and *Bullion*, Marishal de la *Motte*, and other of his friends, with as much wonder to the Court, as it was till then far from any such thought.

At his going out of *Paris*, the Prince sent *Veneville* to acquaint the Dutches of *Longueville*, that she should also retire to *St. Maure*, lest she might be staid in the City, and so all his designs discovered; who though she were sick of a Fever, followed him. Her malady increased, and lasted above three weeks, which was the cause why the Princes her Brothers could not hold their Counsels, as they had wont to do, in her house, for fear of disturbing her who was troubled with increase of *Paroxysmes*; when her malady decreased, which was six weeks before the declaring of War, she resolved to go from her Brother, before it was resolved what he should do; for being upon treaty of either agreeing, or totally falling off from the Court, she would not have a hand in any thing which, come what would come, she disliked; she considered that though peace seemed good, it was not certain; and if War should be thought necessary, her Family would be thereby much endangered.

She therefore desired the Prince to let her depart, and that since the Princess his Wife would be better in *Montrond*, than in *St. Maure*, where she might be an inconviance upon any occasion that should happen, he would give her leave to wait upon her, the rather for that such a retirement would make the Court jealous, it not being ill to keep it in fear of War, till it should endeavour to hinder it.

Conde consented thereunto, and the Princesses went away, not having any hand in what was afterwards resolved.

It appeared better at first, that the Dutches of *Longueville* should go to *Normandy*, to her Husband, than to *Montrond*; lest by following her Brother who was for War, and abandoning her Husband who loved peace, it might be believed that she was of a troublesome spirit; but two reasons moved her to the contrary. The first, because the Duke of *Longueville* having after his liberty, desired to have nothing to do with what concern'd his Brother in Law, but to wind himself out of the party, if the Dutches who was much distrusted at Court, should go into *Normandy*, it would have

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When the Prince was come to *St. Maure*, he sent Duke *Rochefancolt* to desire the Duke of *Orleans* to assure the Queen from him, that he was not withdrawn out of any ill intention, but to free himself from danger which he apprehended; the Duke wondered at this his so sudden departure, and answered, that he would endeavour to put all things in good order, being sure that the Court had no ill opinion of him. The Queen sent Monsieur de *Cominges* to the Duke, to tell him, that she put the King's concerns into his hands, to the end that he might give sufficient caution to the Prince, whom she accused of being too apt to believe false and imaginary suggestions.

When *Orleans* spoke with her Majesty, they resolved to send Marishal *Grammont*, to discover the Prince his pleasure, and to offer him all security if he would return to Court. The Marishal acquainted the Prince with what the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* had given him in charge; the Prince grew to know his Error; but doubted least he might grow less in Reputation if he should so easily acknowledg, he had put on a resolution for which he had no ground; wherefore to maintain what he had done, and to make it appear that he had done it not out of any causeless fear, he dryly answered, there could be no safety for him whilst the Cardinals creatures kept about the Queen; whereupon the Marishal desired to speak with him in private, but he would not consent thereunto; saying, that he was not to treat with him of any thing which was not to be discovered to all his friends; so dismissing him with very small satisfaction, the Marishal returned to acquaint the Queen with what had past. The Princess Palatine went also to acquaint the Prince into what a precipice he was about to throw himself upon vain suspicions, suggested into him by such as desired Novelty, and desire the ruine of the Royal Family. She told him he needed not doubt the Queens word; and that she having interposed herself in the first agreement, and promised in his name what was agreed upon, these retractions seemed strange to her, which were grounded upon weak pretensions.

Marishal *Villeroy*, and Count *Chavigny* went to him also to the same end, but could do no good; the Prince said, he had been once deceived, and durst confide no longer, so long as Count *Servient*, *Tillier*, and *Lyon*, the Cardinals creatures kept in the posture they were in with the Queen. That the Cardinal would undoubtedly return; with whom continual commerce was held, notwithstanding the Parliaments prohibition; that private negotiations had been had in *Sedam*, and in *Brisack*, to bring the Cardinal into one of those strong holds; wherefore the Prince had thought fit to withdraw himself into a place of safety, and he sent afterwards a Letter by a Gentleman to the Parliament unto the same purpose.

The first President answered, that *Conde* had undertaken a dangerous Re-
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1651. Resolution, whilst not many days before, the Queen had assured him by the Duke of *Orleans*, that there was no imaginable evil conceived against him, that he might go to the Parliament, and freely propound his sense, that he should find there the same security that *County* had, the Assembly was adjourned till the next day, and *County* being this mean while returned from *St. Maure*, he acquainted his Brother with what had past; on Saturday he came to the Parliament, where those of the King's party appeared with a writing from his Majesty containing:

That the Queen did not believe the Prince of *Conde* would have continued his jealousies, so as to withdraw from the Court, after that she had sufficiently assured him that she had never any thought which might make him mistrustful; that the Duke of *Orleans* knew the sincerity of her actions, and that he had ascertained the Prince of the Truth of what her Majesty had said unto him; that it was far from her to act any thing contrary to the liberty of his person; that Marishal *Grammont* had assured as much to the Prince, who might inform the Assembly of what had past. That the King had empowered the Duke of *Orleans* to treat of an agreement, and that he would be very glad the Parliament would intercede therein, that if the Prince his jealousies consisted only in his own safety, and in the Cardinals return, her Majesty declared from the very first her intentions of not recalling him. That she had past her word thereupon unto the Parliament, which she would religiously preserve, and that for what concern'd the negotiations of *Sedam*, and *Brisack*, she might justly think herself injur'd that the Lieutenant of that Government had without his Majesties order thrust the King's Governour out: that forasmuch as concern'd those who were of the Privy Council, that they being the Queens Domestick servants, which she might at her pleasure chuse; it was answered that the first had served the late King with such fidelity, as the Prince had no reason to distrust them, that her Majesty could assure them that she had never had any occasion to suspect they had any intentions contrary to his Majesties service, and that none of them was engaged in the Cardinals return. That if the Prince did not admit of what was offer'd him, but should still keep far from the King, it was to be suspected that there was somewhat else which kept him from waiting personally upon the King, which the Queen was infinitely troubled at, who desired nothing more than to see a perfect Union of the Royal Family, which was so requisite for the good of the State.

This writing being read, the first President began to discourse thereupon; and turning to the Duke of *Orleans*, said, that it belonged unto him to undertake a business of such importance; since the Queen putting most confidence in him, and that the Prince was more joy'd in interest with him than with any other, he might easily do good. He therefore desired him to use his wisdom to grub out those Roots which might bud forth into the inevitable ruine of *France*, wherein civil War would without speedy remedy be kindled. The Prince of *County* thinking that the first President's words aimed at the taking the cognition of these affairs from the Parliament, stopt him at the word of Civil War, saying, he wondered that he should speak of Civil War, where the Prince his Brother meant nothing but safety to his own person; He wish'd him therefore to give over these speeches, which tended only to make the Prince his actions appear contumacious, and blameable, which were of themselves just, tending to the publick good, and to the keeping up of the Grandezza of *France*, which consisted in being govern'd by those of her own Nation, and not by Forrainers, who mind only the undoing of others, to enrich themselves. The first President repli'd, he wonder'd no less to be interrupted, it being

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a thing not permitted to any one, and that in that place he was to speak any thing which tended to the King's service, and to the common good. *County* answer'd, that he had the honour to be a Prince of the blood, and that when he heard his Brother ill spoken of, he was bound to defend him, and that he thought it improper to speak of civil War, when a Prince was spoken of who had done so much for the service of the King and State. The first President replied, that the Princes of the blood were in that place but mere Counsellors, that no notice was taken there of any Prince but the King, and that such speeches as these had been heard upon the like occasions in other times; but the contention was interrupted by the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Parliament was adjourned till the next day.

Affairs were kept this mean while on foot at Court; and touching giving satisfaction to the Prince, it was wholly put over to the Duke of *Orleans*, who holding good intelligence with the Prince, it was hoped that by his means some good agreement might be come unto; or if that he should further his designs, the Court might have just reason to make good her resolutions to the world of humbling the Family of *Conde*, which was grown too great for the King's Authority.

Orders were sent to all the Governours of Provinces, and Towns to stand upon their Guard, nor to own any commandment but from their Majesties: *Marshall Grammont* was sent to his Government of *Berne*, a Province bordering upon *Spain* to watch over whatsoever might be contrived on that side against the King's service; to which purpose the Queen used all means to bring the Cardinal back, who as a forreiner, and not depending upon any faction, was known to be requisite for the good of the Government, and for the defence of his Master's Dignity: and because she found there were few of his friends who spoke freely for him, since the very imagination of not being against him was able to make any honest man hated, she caused the Abbate of *Ondedey* to return to *Paris*, who kept *incognito* as hath been said, at *Peronne*, to the end that by his dexterous fidelity he might bring the wisht for indeavours to a good end.

The Parliament meeting again on *Monday*, another Gentleman appeared from *Conde* with a Letter, wherein he discovered himself more fully touching his suspicions, and pretences: complaining that the Kingdom was governed by those that adhered to the Cardinal; saying, that *Tillier* was made Secretary of State merely by the Cardinals favour; that *Monsieur de Lyon* had the honour to be the Queens Secretary, only for having been in the same employment formerly, for the Cardinals service: and that Count *Serviente* had added nothing to what had made him deserve being deprived of the Office wherewith he was honoured by the late King, more than hindering the conclusion of the general Peace; that if these three were removed from the Court, he would forthwith return unto the King.

These Letters were perused, and presently sent by the King's party to the Queen; by whom the Duke of *Orleans* was again desired to interpose in appealing the Prince, and to free him of his conceived jealousies; to which purpose the Duke went to *Rambulliere*, not far from *St. Antoine*, where he spoke with the Prince, but to as little purpose as formerly; for he persisted that he would see the aforementioned three persons removed, whom he held to be his chiefest euemies; to this he was egg'd on by the Counsellors *Croissy*, *St. Germain*, Count *Fiesco*, with the privacy of *Chasteauneuf*, and the Coadjutor, who contributed to the business, though underhand, to avoid the making *Conde* more jealous; who held no good correspondence with them.

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About the midst of *July* the Duke of *Orleans* spoke again with *Conde* at *Rene*, two leagues from *Paris*; which though it appeared to be for this agreement, yet the truth was, that instead of reducing the Treaty to some fair issue, and reciprocal satisfaction, as was thought might be done, if *Orleans* had dealt really, they agreed to expell the three forenamed Men, to the end that the Queen being deprived of their assistance, and others who depended upon them being put into their places, they might predominate in the Council, and obtain their desires. They therefore prest the Parliament as much as possibly they could to interest them against the aforesaid three, to which the Parliament would not consent, *Monsieur Tillier* the mean while, knowing that the whole *Caball* was against him alone; (for as for *Serviente* and *Lyon* he did not think them to be so far out with the Prince, as that he should seek their ruine;) he told the Queen; that though his being Secretary of State might dispense with him for not condescending to the Prince his demands, and for keeping the Parliament from interesting themselves therein, that notwithstanding, having no other end but the King's service, and the quiet of the State, he would willingly yield, so to put an end to all pretensions, and to obviate new disturbances. The other two followed his example, so they all got leave to retire from the Court, and went to their Country houses: wherefore the Prince adding still to his pretences, and growing still more haughty, came to *Paris* on the 21. of *July*, accompanied by Duke *Rocheaucourt*, *Marshall de la Motte*, and other friends of his; and going to Parliament with the Duke of *Orleans*, he thanked them for their protection, and went from thence to visit the King and Queen: and because he seemed still to doubt new Imprisonment, many men were placed about the Palace Royal. And the Duke of *Orleans*, who upon his word had brought him to the Court, shew'd him a Dagger as he went out of the house, which hung by his side, saying, that he would with that kill the first man that should offer to stop him. The King was willing to see him; but the Queen appeared somewhat cool, and avoiding any discourse of interest, talked only of what did presently occur, whereat the Prince was not much satisfied; and as it is usual for men that are apprehensive to interpret all things to the worst, he declared his distaste, by saying, he would return no more thither.

But keeping his negotiations on foot, as well in *Flanders*, as in *France*, to the end that he might effect his designs abroad, if he should not effect them at home, he with large offers, and fair allegations invited the Duke of *Longueville* to enter into his party. But *Longueville*, who was wise, and loved his quiet, though he seemed to joyn in his interest, yet keeping his agreement made with the Queen, did not accept the invitation, saying, that though the beginnings of all civil Wars seem specious, yet their middle and their end prove fatal to those who undertook them, and that therefore as a true friend and allye, he exhorted him to agree, and peacefully to enjoy his Governments, well foreseeing what the contrary might produce, as being fomented by ambitious people, and who for their particular concernment desire to put the Kingdom into troubles.

Yet these the Princes ways tended not to the precipice of War, though they seemed to do so; for by what happened afterwards, it was known he pretended rather to make an advantageous agreement, than to enter into an uncertain and dangerous War. At this time the Prince received a Letter from *Marques de Bouteville*, Governour of *Belgarde*, wherein he advertised him, that *Monsieur de Isle* was come thither, sent by the Emperour, who desired to speak with him, and to let him know that if he would de-

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clare himself, he would invest him in *Brissack*, and would cause all the rights of the house of *Austria* therein to be given unto him; That moreover he would give him 4000 Soldiers, which he would add to the Garrison of *Franchendelle*, which the *Spaniards* should abandon; so as together with his own Soldiers, which at that time were 5000, he might make an Army of Ten or Twelve thousand men.

The *French Army* lay this mean while, about the River *Liss*, but was not able to make any considerable assault upon that Frontier, for want of Corn and Artillery, and much more for want of Money, the rather for that the Enemies Towns were all well fortified; whereat the Queen was not displeased in these present disorders, that so she might have her Forces disengaged, and free to fend against the Prince upon any emergency. Notwithstanding *Marishall de Aumont* incamp't at *Arleaux*, not far from *Doway* with 10000 foot, and 6000 horse, and sent Duke *Channes* to fall upon two redoubts which were sheltered by the River *Scarpe*, making 600 Musketeers ford over the River at the same time, conducted by the Count *de Espagne*, and Chevaliere *Channes*; so as the *Spaniards* having had two Squadrons of Croats routed, forsook the redoubts; by the taking whereof whilst it was thought the *French* would approach *Doway*, they went away without doing any thing else; and went to *Inchy*, a Town three leagues off, and quarter'd in the Abbey of *Vauxelles*.

On the other side *Marishall Fertefenetre*, Governour of *Lorain*, went with some Troops gathered up in the Neighbouring Provinces, to take *Charte* upon the *Mosell*, the Castle whereof though it were but small, was well fortified, and of no little consideration, in respect of the Neighborhood of *Lorraine*; and he took it, though it were by the Garrison stoutly defended, to the great advantage of the King's Forces, who were thereby likewise unincumber'd on that side.

Whilst things were in this condition, Duke *Mercure*, who staid in *Paris* after the Cardinal was gone, met every night with the Queen, when all others were withdrawn, maturing such expedients as stuck most with them; and seeing himself much prest in his own particular affairs, for the ill satisfaction which was conceived against his Family, by reason of his interest with the Cardinal, he beg'd the Government of *Auvergne*. Her Majesty before she would gratifie him therein, ask'd the opinion of one of her confidants; who told her that if the Duke should get what he desired, he might find some means to avoid marrying *Madamofelle Mancini*; and that therefore he thought fit to defer it, and make advantage of time; which advice being approved of by the Queen, made *Mercure* (who was aware of the cunning delay) to protest seriously that he intended the marriage, and that there was not the least reason to doubt his word, shewing all possible readiness to accomplish what was agreed upon: notice was given of this to the Cardinal, who though he went not from what was agreed, yet knowing that this alliance would afford matter to his Enemies to make the troubles greater, would howsoever prefer the King's service before his own concerns. He therefore answered Advocate *Buet*, that he did not approve the Duke should go from *Paris*, as well for his shunning the bad accidents which might befall him by such a voyage, through the alterations which upon this pretence might arise in *Paris*, as for that there was none with the Queen but himself, and *Marishall Plessis Pralin*, with

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with whom her Majesty might freely discourse, and trust without suspicion.

But the Duke not admitting of this denial, held himself bound in honour, and thought that the exposing of himself in so turbulent times, and in the greatest heat of persecution to a dangerous voyage, would give the clearer testimony of his faith, and the more oblige the Cardinal to assist him in his marriage. So as having often acquainted her Majesty with his firm resolution he brought her at last to give way thereunto, and she gave him moreover 1000 pounds for his journey; this being therefore resolved with all secrecy, to shun the treachery which might be laid for him in his journey, he sent his Gentlemen into the *Vandomaise*, seeming as if he would take that journey, and he feigning himself to be servant to *Monfieur de Siron*, one of the Cardinals Domesticks, went from the Queens Cabinet on the beginning of *July*, and went post with the same *Siron* to *Peronne*, and from thence to *Brules*, where on the twelfth of the same month the marriage was solemnized by the Archbishop of *Colen*, which being done, he returned with like speed to *Paris*.

At this news great rumors were had in *Paris*, arguing thereby, that assuredly the Cardinals return was indeavoured; but because by their Majesties Declaration, and by the Decrees of Parliament, not only the Cardinal, but all his kindred were sentenced, they were of opinion that the marriage must prove null; since (as they said) a Prince of *France* was not to marry without the King's leave, and much less with one that was banish'd, and an enemy to the State. Being come in great pomp to the Parliament at *Paris*, sent for as Duke and Peer, he was much prest to declare the truth of the business. He answered, that he was not bound to say any thing, save only that he had done nothing contrary to their Decrees; and did publicly affirm, that the Duke of *Orleans* and *Conde* had engaged him in the said marriage; that if afterwards they had for their own concerns alter'd their opinion, he knew what belonged to a Gentleman that was born a Prince, touching the keeping of his word; notwithstanding all this, his father the Duke of *Vandomme* was sent for to appear in Parliament, and being asked whether or no he had given his consent, he could not deny it, saying, that he had been therein assisted by the Duke of *Orleans* in the beginning, but that after the Cardinal was gone, he spoke no more to him therein, there being no occasion for it; so as the business remained thus without more ado.

Paris being in great commotions by reason of these Controversies, all mens eyes were upon the proceedings of the Court, and Princes: and the curiosity of inquiring into these affairs grew to such a degree, as when the Parliament met to treat of publick affairs, and of the Cardinal, many of the Commonalty, and of the Nobles, ran armed to the Palace, some to assist the one, some the other party; wherefore the danger growing daily greater, by reason of the several interests, the Parliament made a Decree, that all men should withdraw upon pain of life; and the King's Officers were charged to see the decree executed.

The Duke of *Orleans* was desired to interpose in making the agreement: but the greatest part were for *Conde's* party, whereof *Orleans* was one; wherefore the Prince, encouraged by so great a party in *Paris*, resolv'd to tarry in his Palace, which was well guarded by those who lay therein, and in the neighbouring houses; nor went he ever to the Court, alledging that it was only out of fear of his life, or liberty: but he forbore not to pass freely through the Streets of *Paris*; and being once in a fair Coach in the Course, together with the Prince of *County*, and the Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Rocheaucourt*, he unexpectedly met with the King, as he came

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This mean while the Queen having sent a Letter to the Parliament, to send Commissioners to her, which were soon sent, she told them that the Declaration against the Cardinal was not yet issued forth, because those Commissioners who were to agree thereupon with the Chancellor, had not as yet appeared; that howsoever her Majesty would not teach them what to do, knowing the zeal and fidelity which they bore to his Majesties service. The Chancellor made a long speech afterwards, in praise of the Prince; extolling his deserts, in regard whereof, as also to satisfy his Highness, the Queen had turn'd away three Officers, who had served her well; whom she had not only no mind to recall, but did declare that they should return no more to Court, which she was content might be Registered in Parliament; that howsoever she could not forbear saying, that the Prince was ill advised, since he had no way to excuse his now proceedings, being bound to keep about the King whom he was to serve with all due respect and obsequiousness, he added that nothing but seditious and scandalous Papers were thrown about the City, of which he desired them to inform themselves, and to punish the Authors; though some were not pleased that the mouth of the common People should be stopt, for to take notice of what they say, was to make what they said better reputed, and was an occasion to make them renew their railing with more petulance, the chat of the rabble rout, being like a fire of straw, which the more you strive to quench, the more it smokes.

The Queen did at this time desire the Duke of *Orleans*, That he would joyn with her in choosing a Council to assist the King: who answered, that he would speak therein with the Prince of *Conde*. The Queen reply'd, that was not to be done, for that he had declared himself to be an enemy of hers, and blamed the Prince for endeavouring to incite tumults amongst the people in his own behalf; and that as the King went over the new bridge to the *Jesuits*, the people being set on by him, cry'd out, *may the King live, may the Princes live, and away with Mazarine*.

The next day the Parliament met, and fell to discourse of Duke *Mercur's* Marriage, who was charged that within three days he should deliver up unto the Secretary of the Parliament the circumstances of his marriage, that all might be made known to his Father the Duke of *Vandome*; it was also ordered that all the Decrees against the Cardinal, his Domesticks, and Kindred should be renewed; and particularly against *Madomofelle Mauzenie*, whom they did by name forbid coming into *France*, and commanded that if she should come, she should go from thence within Eight days. The Declaration which the King was to make against the Cardinal was also read, and *Orleans* caused the damage to be added thereunto, which had ensued by his hindring the general peace; as also by his undertaking the War of *Burdeaux* without his consent: and *Conde* caused it also to be inserted, that his imprisonment was occasioned only for his not consenting to the marriage of the Cardinals two Nephews with the Dukes of *Mercur*, and *Candalle*.

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1651. The Queen who had still an eye to *Conde's* actions, being told that his Troops would not only not come to the King's Army, but march towards *Champaigna*, and being also advertised that the Prince caused divers Towns to be fortified, she made the Duke of *Orleans* tell him, that he should give her a precise account of those his actions, and that chiefly he should command all his Troops to joyn with the King's Army: and that otherwise she would give order to have him treated as an Enemy, and to be imprisoned. But *Conde* attributing the reasons thereof to his aforesaid jealousies, which made him provide for his safety, left the Court in the same perplexity. Who thinking they had good reason to proceed against him as guilty, sent a Letter to the Parliament who were meeting to treat of the aforesaid marriage, charging them to come to the Palace Royal, and did the same to the Sovereign Companies of the Chambers of account, aids, and to the Magistrate of the Commonalty of *Paris*, who going all thither, they were brought before their Majesties, in the presence of the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *County*, and of many other Dukes, Peers, and Marshalls of *France*, and of other chief Officers of the Crown. The King told them by his own mouth, that he had sent for them to acquaint them with his intentions for the publick good, as also to let them know the proceedings of the Prince of *Conde*, with which he hoped to take good order speedily; referring himself for what was more to *Count Brienne*, the first Secretary of State; who presently read a writing, dated the 17th. of August, containing

That his Majesty with much sorrow found, that after so many Declarations made formerly against the Cardinal, the Enemies of the publick good did still make use of the same pretence, to foment the dissensions which were already kindled in the State: which had made his Majesty to send for them to him, to declare again that he intended to exclude the Cardinal for ever, not only out of his Council, but out of his Kingdom, inhibiting all his Subjects to hold any correspondence with him, and declaring that whosoever should countervene this his Royal will, should incur the penalties specified in the antient orders of his Predecessors, and by the late decrees of his Sovereign Courts, to which purpose he commanded that all necessary courses should be taken.

*That after having given this assurance to all his Subjects, his Majesty could no longer conceal without prejudice to his Authority, what was done. Here he mentioned all the favours and graces which the house of *Conde*, and this Prince in particular had received from the late King, and the now Regent; that his Majesty after having consented at the intreaties of the Queen his Mother, and of his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*, and of the Parliament, to grant him his liberty, he had restored him to the same place as formerly in his Councils: had returned unto him the Government of the so many Provinces and Towns, which he and his adherents held in the Kingdom; so as it was easie to be believed that he rather chose to be feared than loved. That after having confirm'd the Forces raised by him, which were sufficient to make an Army, that after having given way to the change of his Government of *Burgundy* for that of *Guienne*, he had moreover permitted him to keep the Towns which he held in *Provence*: whereby he had granted him more than had ever been granted to any. That he had caused the immense sums to be paid unto him, which he said was due to him for arrears of Pensions, for the pay of his Soldiers and Garri- sons, which were such, as to content him, he was forced to alter the monies which were design'd for the maintaining of his Majesties household; and of his Fleets; and that finally, he had left nothing undone which might give him intire satisfaction, and make him employ those good qualities wherewith God had indued him, as he had done formerly to his Majesties service; that his Majesty*
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having expected this, found much to his dislike (by the actions so contrary to the solemn protestations made unto him by the Parliament) that he was much deceived; for that as soon as he was free from imprisonment, his solicitations had induced his Majesty, to make the alteration which they all saw in his Council, and that having thrived in this his first attempt, he grew so bold as to complain of the conduct of the three Officers, and of the Queen his Mother, who commanded them to withdraw not only from the Court, but from Paris; so to take all pretence of complaint from the Prince, and to appease the revolts which he was about to raise. That when by all these graces it was hoped he would comply with his Majesty in some things, or at least forbear his evil courses, he then did the clean contrary, to what his Majesty's goodness towards him had strove to withdraw him. That after the Duke of Orleans, had past his word to him in his Majesty's name, and had offer'd unto him all he desired, and pretended unto. He kept many days from resolving to see his Majesty; notwithstanding, that he met him once in passing by: that at last being desired by the said Duke, and by the Parliament to pay his Majesty his due respects, he saw his Majesty but once, and was then received by both their Majesties with all demonstration of love, sufficient to wean him from all sinister opinion; that his Majesty was obliged to declare what was come to his knowledge as well within as out of the Kingdom. And that to begin with publick affairs, that after two months he had absented himself from the Council, speaking ill of the Parliament, and saying, that he could not trust his Majesty nor those that were about him. The Prince had written to the Parliament, and to many chief Cities, to imprint sinister opinions in them of his Majesty: engaging many in every Province, to take up arms when they should be desired to do so by him, and by the City of Paris, which gives motion to all other places. That he had given out an ill report of his Majesty's good intentions; that he had re-inforced the places intrusted to his Government; that he had fortified them with all things necessary, and done this then without any order from the King; employing his Majesty's Subjects therein, and making them forego gathering in their Harvest. That he had taken his Wife and Sister into the strong hold of Montroude. That he had got together a considerable sum of Money; that he had practised all things which might make it be believed that he held intelligence with the Enemies of the Crown, particularly at Brussels, with the Archduke, and Count of Fuenfeldaglia, causing their Messengers to be guided to Cambrey, by Horse drawn out of his Troops; that the Prince had done these things without his Majesty's knowledge or leave, that therefore his correspondence was not to be doubted with those with whom the King had declared War. That he would not make the Spaniards go out of Stenay, as he was obliged to do; which was the only condition that was required from him when he had his liberty given him. That he had afforded means to Don Stephano di Gamara to come with his Army to the Moselle, that he had munition'd Moson, and kept the passage of Dun, whereby part of Champagne was put to contribution, thereby to make the Spaniards more able to undertake things against the Kingdom, and to divert the proceedings of the King's Forces, which being greater than theirs, might be made greater in the low Countreys by an enterprise never known in France. That notwithstanding all express orders given, those that commanded his Forces, would never obey the orders given them, to joyn with the body of the King's Army; which occasioned the confounding of all designs, as well in respect of the differences which the King had had with the Prince, as for having given time to the Enemy to know themselves, and to put themselves in a condition to oppose his Majesty's Forces; moreover that he had made them more resolute by the hopes, or rather assurance given them of some commotion in the Kingdom. That he must not forbear to mind them of the dissolutions committed by the Soldiers under Conde's

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Conde's command in Champaigna, and Picardy, which ended in the ruine of those Provinces, instead of carrying the War into the Enemies Country. That the liberty taken by those Forces, to plunder his Majesty's Subjects, had caused many Soldiers to go from his Majesty's Camp, and to go into the other which did what they would; that he had thought fit to acquaint them with all these things (though the most of them were already sufficiently known) believing that these publick proceedings of the Prince, would prove that his secret designs could be no less dangerous, nor could be no longer dissembled without abandoning the rudder of the State, which God had put into his Majesty's hands; and which he was constantly resolved to maintain. That without speedy remedying disorders, the Enemies of France would never apply themselves to the so much desired general peace, nor reform the abuses of the Kingdom without stopping the course thereof, which his Majesty was resolved to do.

This writing being read, the Prince of County, who was present, told the Queen that the Prince his Brother had done nothing but what he was able to justify, and that these were the impostures of his Enemies, whilst things continued in this disorder, Conde continued to visit the Counsellors, to assure himself of their favours, and endeavour'd to keep his friends well dispos'd to him in all parts, and upon all occurrences. The Queen on the contrary, advising continually with her friends, and making particularly use of Abbate Undedei, who did all he could for the service of the Queen, and Cardinal, found it was necessary to chuse new Counsellors to supply the places of those that were put out. And the Duke of Orleans being of the same mind, who was therein advised by the Dutcheffs of Cheveraux, and the Coadjutor; it was resolved that as soon as the King should be of years the Marquess of Chasteauneuf should be made chief Minister of State; that Marquess Vieville should be made superintendent of the Finances, and that the first President should be confirmed *Garde de Sceaux*; the first, because he promised to use all his power in getting the Cardinal recalled, though he failed therein afterwards, as shall be said. Vieville, because President *Maison*, who was superintendent of the Finances, was thought to be too much concern'd in Conde; but the Prince declaring that all this was prejudicial to the decrees of Parliament, and to the King, and destructive to the Princes of the Realm; promised he would never consent to Chasteauneuf's return, who would prove worse than the Cardinal: saying, that those that favor'd him, were his implacable Enemies. That the Dutcheffs of Cheveraux, and the Coadjutor were the chief Plotters; saying, that they and the three *Barboni*, were Authors of the writing which was pretended against him; he therefore desired his Royal Highness to maintain his interests, as he would do his till death. For what remain'd, he absolutely declared that rather than to see the King put into the hands of his Enemies, he would throw himself into the hands of the Spaniards; and after so much freedom of words, he bewail'd the unhappiness which threaten'd France, and all good men; wherefore the Coadjutor thinking that the Prince his words might work something with the Duke of Orleans, he strove to keep the Duke in his former opinion.

A treaty was this mean while begun between Chasteauneuf, Villeroy, and Chavigny, by the means of Counsellor Croisy, and Monsieur de St. Romain, whereby they had almost brought the Prince to consent to the establishment of the aforesaid Council, provided that the Queen would speak to him therein. But these Lords not daring to move the Queen to do so, least she might suspect they held some intelligence with the Prince; the Dutcheffs of Aiguillons, and Count Brien, were employ'd to desire the Queen, that she would suspend the business for a few days; but she fearing that

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that this was a new trick of *Conde's*, to keep her from performing her word, proceeded in the establishment, which afforded afterward cause of new complaints.

This writing was followed by divers other pressings, that the Prince his actions might be known to be such as did not become his duty, and which were condemned for such, when the Parliament met, the Prince appeared, waited upon by some of his followers; but *Orleans* came not thither that day; wherefore *Conde* intreated the Assembly to adjourn the handling of what was communicated to them at the Palace Royal, as also the reading of the King's writing; to the end that the Duke might be present at the reading of them; pretending to justify his actions, wherein the Parliament was pleased to gratifie him, and sent to invite *Orleans* to come thither, but it was thought he would not come, having heard that what was done against the Prince at Court, was thought to have been done by his knowledge, for that it was imagined the Queen would not have attempted it without holding intelligence with him: but foreseeing that unless he were protected by *Orleans*, his adversaries might undo him by what was alledged in that writing, he again desired his presence in Parliament, that he might not want such a prop in a business of such importance. The Duke having excused himself for several reasons the second time, the Prince desired him that at least he would give him a Declaration of what had past between his Highness and him: the Duke could not withstand the violence of these pressures, which were seconded by President *Viola*, but yielded thereunto, rather enforced than willingly. So as sending immediately for the Secretary, without giving the Duke leave to repent, he caused it to be written the 18th. of August, the contents thereof being as followeth:

His Royal Highness declared, that till after seven a clock at night on Wednesday last, Count Brien had not acquainted him, with the Queens resolution, of calling the Sovereign Assemblies together, and those of the City, to tell them that her Majesty had no intention to recall the Cardinal, and that she would issue out all necessary Declarations to that effect, and that she might say, that the Prince had not been at the Palace Royal, since he the Duke had brought him thither. That the next day the Queen made him come into her Oratory, and caused the aforesaid writing to be read unto him, whereof he had had no knowledge; wherein there were many things which might be gain-said, and particularly touching his intelligence with Spain, which he judged not fit to be read; but that the Queen would absolutely have it done; saying, that it was necessary for her discharge, the King being to be of years within Twenty days. He moreover declared that the Prince had propounded unto the Queen and Council, after Marquis Silleray was sent to Brussels, that there were two ways whereby to make the Spaniards go out of Stenay: the one by a treaty, the Spanish Agents having offered the said Silleray, so as a suspension of Arms might be had between them, and the Towns of Luxemburg, during that Campaign; the which being by the Queen denied, the Prince had told the Queen that he could not drive 300 Soldiers who were in the Town, out with 200 in the Citadel, those of the Town being at all times to be re-inforced by the Enemy; wherefore if her Majesty would send him 2000 men, he would do his utmost to expell them; he moreover witnessed that he did not think it fit that the Princes, or Dukes Forces which were design'd for the Army of Picardy, should be commanded by the Marshal Ferte Senetre, who being too true to the Cardinal, had guided him in his journey, and received him into his Towns after the Decrees of Parliament made against him; that moreover he had desired
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him as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, to send some that depended upon him, to command them, promising that he would willingly obey him; and that to that purpose he had named Monsieur de Vallon for that employment, who being ready to go, he received orders to the contrary, whereby the said Forces were willed to tarry there, and expect Monsieur de Vallon, who was to command them. He declared also, that the jealousies which were taken were not causeless, as he had formerly declared in Parliament; knowing that something had been done to his prejudice; and that after having brought him to the Palace where he was not too well received, he had not desired him to return any more thither, he also affirmed that otherwise he did not believe that the Prince had at any time had any ill intention against the King's service, or the good of the Commonwealth.

The Prince having obtained this writing, thought he had gotten all he could desire from the Duke of *Orleans*, and doubtless this Declaration, though a weak one, made for him; but the Duke being troubled that he had so easily granted this writing, acquainted the Queen therewith, saying, that he had protested to *Conde*, that he would please him only that one time: and that for the future he would never do so again, nor that he did any ways intend to nourish civil dissentions, to the King's prejudice; yet this was ill taken at Court, though covertly, not to increase ill will.

The Parliament meeting afterwards, and the King's Declaration being read, the aforesaid Declaration was read by a Secretary of the said Dukes, containing *Conde's* justification; which being read the Prince added many other things tending to his own discharge, and added that all proceeded from the actions of his Enemies, whose designs were known to be pernicious to the State, alledging for example the violent proposal made by the Coadjutor the preceeding winter in *L'Hostelled' Orleans*, to go and take the Seal by force from the first President, and go from thence to the Court.

The Coadjutor rising up at these words, said boldly, that what he had said was altered; that he could justify all his actions, and Counsels, and that he would never cry *peccavi* for any thing he had ever spoken. High and bitter speeches past on both sides. The Counsellors began to speak their opinions not being displeas'd with the present differences, whereby they became Arbitrators, and almost judges of the Royal Family, many things were said: many would have the Queen produce proofs for what she had said against the Prince, others that the Duke of *Orleans* should be intreated to intercede in a business of such importance, and to beseech the Queen that she would out of her goodness extinguish this fire in its beginning. In fine that all things should be refer'd to her Majesty, to whom they sent the writing which was given in by his Highness, in excuse of the Prince, that she might order all things by her supream Authority, as she should think would stand best with justice, but the time being short nothing was concluded, and the Assembly was adjourned till Monday. The Prince went forth, followed by many of the meaner sort; the Coadjutor did the like, being also well accompanied. The Sabbath day being spent on both sides in getting Votes; the Duke of *Orleans* had private conference the same day with the Queen; but what it was, is not known. On Monday the Parliament met, where the Prince appeared, attended by many; the Coadjutor did the like, accompanied amongst others, by the Duke of *Brisack*, by Monsieur *Montrefoire*, and other Courtiers, and with many Citizens who were of his party, Armed with Swords, and Pistols. And the yard & great Hall which are by the Parliament house, were filled

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with

1651. with people of both factions. The house being set, and *Conde* being told how the Coadjutor had been attended thither, he said he thought it strange, there should be any in that Assembly who should vye with him for Magnificency, and as it were contend in the Streets with a Prince of the Blood, and that he believed the Parliament would take order with such audaciousness. The Coadjutor finding himself concern'd herein, said that he wondred much at such complaints, all men knowing what respect and value was to be put upon a Prince of his condition and merit; and that if he were aimed at therein, he profest all honour and respect unto him. But that obedience was due to none but the King; who left the way open for all men. To this the Prince answered with some Acrimony; and as the Coadjutor was ready to reply, a murmuring arose in the house, which silenced them both. Many Counsellors said, this was not a way of Parliamentary proceeding; the rather for that the Palace yard was full of armed men, who were assembled there, little to the safety of the Counsellors, and less to the freedom of their suffrages. The first President seconding this, said unto the Prince, that he being the most eminent person, was to give the first example, wherefore he desired him to dismiss his retinue, and then turning to the Coadjutor, said as much, alledging what inconvenience might else insue.

The Prince gave order to the Duke of *Rochefaucolt*, to dismiss those who were come along with him; the Coadjutor said he would go do the like, but in a bold, and scornful manner, in so much as walking faster then *Rochefaucolt*, he got thither before him, and as he walked *Per la Perquet*, or in the ante-Chamber, he came into the Hall, at whose appearance all his party drew their Swords, and those belonging to the Prince did the like. The Duke thinking that the Coadjutor, who was in the midst of the Prince his people, would hardly escape, thought how to make use of the present opportunity: but the Coadjutor being aware of the danger, return'd presently to the *Parquet*, or Ante-Chamber. *Rochefaucolt*, who stood at the gate and saw him coming, shut his head between the two leaves of the gate door, where he held him fast, affording time to those of the Princes party to have kild him if they had would; for *Rochefaucolt* would not kill him himself, least *Montresore*, and others of the Coadjutors party might have drawn their Swords, wherefore he left it to the Prince his followers, amongst which were the Count of *Duraz*, and *Signan*, Marquess *Rogesser*, Monsieur *de Picaces*, and others; whilst the Coadjutor was in this condition, likelier to dye than live, Monsieur *Champeltrux*, Son to the first President, came to the door, endeavouring to open it, which *Rochefaucolt* seeing, he left the door to him, and returned to his place in Parliament. Not long after the Coadjutor came thither also, complaining of the violence which was used to him, and that *Rochefaucolt* had shut the door upon him, that he might be slain. *Rochefaucolt* answered, that he shut the gate to keep the Coadjutors followers from falling upon the Prince, who was to be preserved against the bad intentions of all wicked men. The Coadjutor not at all disturb'd with the danger he had past, said boldly *Cavaliere la Franchezza*. *Rochefaucolt* told him, he was a wicked man, that if he had been served rightly his head should have been broken. Here Duke *Brisack* took the Coadjutors part, and they fell to foul words, but the Duke of *Orleans* quieted them.

The Prince going out of the Assembly, next to the President as he was wont to do, when he came into the Hall, wondered that he saw none of his followers, who when they heard him speak, strove to get in; but he went into the yard, where meeting with his friends, he got into his Coach, and

1651. and returned to his house attended by many. The Coadjutor came also to the same yard, attended by those of his party, and many of the Nobles; and getting into his Coach was followed to his house by all the aforesaid Gentlemen on foot, with their Swords drawn; and it is to be noted that the hundred men who came last into the Hall, were Soldiers of the Kings Guard, conducted by a wife and valiant Officer. This business being divulg'd through the City, all men thought that somewhat of ill would happen the next day, unless some remedy were taken: the Duke of *Orleans* sent therefore to the Prince, desiring him to avoid the danger of such disorder, and that he would come to Parliament only with his usual attendance, and that the Coadjutor would do the like; the Prince answered, he cared not for what the Coadjutor would do, but that he knew what respect was due to his Highness, and that he would obey him. The Duke did the like to the Coadjutor, assuring him that the Prince would come attended only by his own Servants; he answered, he had no mind to concur with *Conde*, and that it was not in his power to keep his friends from favouring him; but that rather than displease him, he would forbear coming to Parliament, and acknowledging that he ought his life to Monsieur *Champeltrux*, he went to pay his thanks to his Father, the first President; whereupon their former distasts were reconciled. Madame *de Chevereux*, and others of the Coadjutors party, went likewise to complement the first President, and it was thought that this made them all joyn in concurring against the Prince his interest.

The distasts between the Coadjutor and the first President, arose from the Presidents disliking the Coadjutors demeanures, who would have his hand in all things. And next from a difference between the Bishop of *Bayeux*, Son to the first President, (who was provided with the Treasury of *St. Chappels*) and the Coadjutor; for *Bayeux* having means thereby to appear in *Paris* in a Pontifical habit, and to give benediction to the People; the Coadjutor was not pleased therewith, but complained thereof to his Father the first President; who said, if my Son have not power to do it, he would be the first who should forbid it him; but that if it were a privileged grounded upon the Pope's Bull upon the King's beneficency, and upon antient custome, he would never tolerate that those privileges should grow less in his Sons hands; and again because the Coadjutor was thought to have a hand in the Treachery which was plotted against this first President, and the Princes, the 11th. of November, 1649. which appearing upon deposition of witnesses, the first President was refused to be judg'd by Duke *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, and by *Brussels*, who made him descend from the Tribunal.

The Parliament sate again on Tuesday, whither the Prince came, accompanied by the Lords of his party, and with many others, who did not enter into the Palace, the gates whereof were shut and guarded; the Coadjutor was not there, being in a procession which went to *Nostre Dame*, and was to pass by the Palace, where he appeared in a Pontifical manner; with his Miter and Crosiers Staff.

Much was said in Parliament upon the present occurrences, and they resolved to carry the Prince his justification to their Majesties, together with the Duke of *Orleans* his writing, and humbly to desire them, that they might proceed therein according to their wonted justice. The Duke of *Orleans* was also desired to interpose with their Majesties, to adjust a business of so great weight, whilst the Parliament sate. All the Prince his followers, who were kept out of the Palace, staid without in the Streets, where thousands of People being gathered together it was maliciously

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ously noised abroad, that the Prince was imprisoned there within, which caused great commotion in those that were without; who when the Palace gate was opened, with their weapons in their hands withstood all those that came forth, not suffering any one to come out, till they might see the Prince; who accompanied by above 2000 persons, went towards his house in the *Fauburg* of *St. Germans*, the new bridge, *Palace Dauphine*, and other Streets which led to his house were so full of People, as his Coach could not pass without hurting some body, he then drove along the River towards *St. Antoine*, where meeting with divers companies of the Guards, the People would have fallen upon them, but the Prince hindered them; passing on with the like concourse of people through two Streets more, he met the Coadjutor as he was going in Procession, the Prince caused his Coach to stay; the Coadjutor seeing him and the Duke of *Rocheaucourt* bow'd low unto him, and blessed him, and continued on his way, which the people observing called him *Mazarine*, and gave him other injurious speeches; in so much as the Prince was forc'd to make those who were in his Coach go out and hinder the people from falling upon him, and cutting him in pieces, which might have happened, had it not been for the respect they bore to his Pontifical Habit, and to the hindrance made by the Prince.

After Dinner the Assembly met in *Madame de Orléans's* house; whither the Marshals de *L'Hospitale*, and *Scomberg* came for the Courts party, Duke *Rocheaucourt*, and President *Viola* for the Prince, and other indifferent Counsellors and Gentlemen; where discourse being had of the present occurrences, nothing was concluded, but all was put off till two days after, wherein also nothing was done.

The Prince being much troubled hereat, and being resolved howsoever to make his cause good, he presented a writing in form of a Declaration to the Parliament; wherein after the Preamble, he answered all the imputations that were laid unto him, and for what was objected, that he made use of the Cardinals name to foment the divisions of the State, he said he had nothing to do in any thing that had been said or done against him, before his imprisonment, and that if he had afterwards joy'd with the sense of all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, and with the Votes of all the people, it was only to maintain the quiet which might be disturb'd by his return; and that if the Kings Council had been so diligent as they ought to have been in taking away the jealousies occasioned by so many sendings to *Colen*, the Parliament should not have needed to be troubled at his return, nor to desire a Declaration in confirmation of the Decrees which had been made, which it seems was endeavour'd to be deluded by that writing, which wanting the usual form, ought to be of no consideration.

That though this were enough to say, That he had no need to answer, that notwithstanding, since it had been said in the presence of that Assembly, and in the rest of the body of the City, and which had moreover been Printed; he thought it fit to convince all men of the calumnies which were laid upon him; for what concern'd the favours conferred upon his Family by the King, he said he had deserved them by the service he had done the Crown. That *Stenay* and *Claremont* had been given him in recompence for the place of Admeralty, and for the settlement of his Brother in Law, the late Duke of *Bresse*, which by his death was lost. That the Governments had been justly confirm'd upon him, having been held by the Prince his Father; that he held his liberty from the favour of their Majesties at the desire of the Duke of *Orléans*, and Parliament, that he thought

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thought he should be faulty in gratitude, if he should partly alledge justice for this obligation, and that the Declaration made by her Majesty of his innocency, was a sufficient proof of the violence which he had suffered under; that he thought it strange, that after Thirteen months imprisonment, without any known cause, his liberty must be acknowledged as an act of Grace; and that he did no less wonder, that it should be said he was restored to the Kings Council, since that place having been given to the Prince his Father by the late King, and since the time of Regency, he could not attribute that to favour, which did of right belong unto him, as Prince of the blood; and whereof he could be no more be justly deprived without apparent injustice, than of his Towns and Governments. That it was ridiculous that the Cardinals new confidants, (who as it was likely had dictated that writing) should give out that he strove rather to make himself be feared than loved by reason of the number of Towns which he past, (though he had no more besides *Stenay*, and *Claremont*, than those that had formerly been in his Family) no complaint having ever been made of any violence by those that commanded; and that he was not troubled to defend himself against any thing that was upbraided unto him, had he not in some sort sacrificed his interest, and glory, to the obedience which he ought unto the King: whereof his Enemies made use of now, to discredit him, and that he refer'd himself to the judgment of the Parliament, whether or no these intrigues of the Cardinal were enough to upbraid him with the number of his Governments; since the Cardinal and his Domesticks, posselt *Pinarole* in *Italy*; *Salse*, *Perpignone*, and *Roses* in *Rosglion*; *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Bergue*, *Dorlans*, *Bapumes*, *la Bassée*, *Tyre*, *Cotra* in *Flanders*; besides *Portalongone* and *Piombino*, which he had suffer'd to be lost: not reckoning an infinity of other places, the Governours whereof did wholly depend upon him; which was sufficient to denote, that more than words were requisite to secure the Kingdom of the absence of one, who had so many gates to enter by; and when it was experimentally known too fatal to *France*, that his policy was always to make himself formidable to all men. That for what was said that the Fortes which the King had given him might make a whole Army, it was well known to all *France*, that the advantages which his Majesty had gotten over his Enemies, were partly got by them, that his having changed the Government of *Burgundy*, for *Guienne*, was occasioned by the Queens desire, merely for the peace of that Province which could no longer tolerate the Duke of *Espernoth*; that he had preserved the Towns which he held in *Burgundy*, because none were given him in *Guienne*; and that having bought them, it was not just they should be taken from him, without having some others given him in charge, or at least without having the monies repaid that his Father had given the Duke of *Bellegarde*. That he had not received above 5000 pounds for all that had been assigned to him, as well for maintaining the Kings Kitchen, as for the maintenance of his Troops; and all this because the monies were otherwise diverted by the Cardinal and his friends, as he could prove unto the Parliament; that his having solicited the sending of Count *Serrient*, *Spont*, and *Tilber* from the Court, could not be termed an undertaking against the Regal Authority, since the Parliament justified him therein, by their Demonstrances; and for that he had seen their Majesties but once, it was by reason of their new ordering the Council, putting in persons newly engaged in the Cardinals interest, without his knowledge, or consent; it being most certain that none were admitted into the Council; but such as did depend upon; and were partial to *Mazarine*; wherefore he could not hazard himself any more

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more in their hands, who were swayed by ambition, and who consequently had given him just occasion to apprehend their Counsels; and to declare that whilst they were without his advice of the Council, he could have no safety there. That for these reasons he had forborn coming to Council, not having any other considerations than those which he had declared to the Duke of Orleans in his last Declaration. That his having written to the Parliaments of the Kingdom, and to several Cities, was done to give them an account of his actions, and to make them lose the opinion which was given out, that he would introduce civil wars into France, in consequence of the Letters which the King writ to all the Provinces after his retreat to St. Maure, with the faults therein imputed unto him; it being false that he had written to raise any men more than usual; as also that he had re-inforced the Garrisons in his Governments, and fortified them of late, forcing the people of the neighbouring Towns to work, which had he done ought rather to be commended in him than blamed; and that it were to be wish'd that all Governours of Frontier Towns would do the like. That the retreating of his Wife, and of his Sister the Dutchess of Longueville, was upon the consideration, that they were to preserve his Family, which after so many jealousies were not in wisdom to be trusted in any one place; that none but those that desired his ruine, could be offended thereat, and that if these had been less circumstantial and better advised, since they knew that his Sister was in the Monastery of Carmelites at Burges, and his wife assign'd to a house of his, in the time of his imprisonment, they would not have raised jealousies of a thing which was not only permitted, but also very indifferent, nor yet badly interpret the exhibition made by him of his Revenues, for the payment of his Debts, and keeping of his House in the time of his imprisonment.

That no condition was drawn from him, touching *Stenay*, wherein it was easie to judge, he could not oblige himself in any thing, since it was not in his power, the Duke of Orleans having made it sufficiently known that he had not failed in any thing, that became his duty to, the King, nor to his Birth; since conformable to what was witnessed by his Royal Highness, after the return made by Marquis *Sillery*, who went to *Brussels* by order from the King, he had offer'd to make the *Spaniards* go out by way of treaty, so as promise might be given that no Hostility might pass between the Towns of *Stenay* and *Luxemburg*; or that if they would give him 2000 men, he would force them to withdraw from thence, which not being granted him by the Queen, he was not to be blamed, that the Garrison which consisted not of above 200 men, did not drive out the Town Garrison wherein were 500, and which might at all times be recruited by the Archduke; for what concern'd the pass of *Dun*, it was so inconsiderable as 300 men might have driven out the Enemy, which was unable to preserve it, that concerning his Forces abiding upon the Frontiers, he could not be therein better justified than by the Duke of Orleans; who declared that he had done nothing therein but by his direction, and to hinder the dissipation of the Forces, which might be very serviceable to the King, and wherein their ruine, and that of the whole Army would have been unfallible, which was commanded by Generals and Officers totally depending upon the Cardinal; it being well known that the rumour spread abroad, that the Forces abiding in France was but a trick to exclaim against him; since nothing was said of the Forces of *Turenne* & *Vandermue*, who were quartered in the neighbouring Towns of *Schale*, and *Neten-court*, and which were never drawn out into the Field, that the licentiousness imputed to his men, was an epidemical, and no particular malady, against the

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the which the Parliament having provided, he had already declared, and would still protest, that he would take order that those who should have failed therein in his Troops should be punished according to Law. To what was said that he held intelligence with the *Spaniards*, he with much vehemence protested it was totally false, and merely the Calumnies of his Enemies; for which he required reparation from the Parliament, as of the greatest outrage which could be committed against one of his quality, and to the dignity of a Prince of the blood, and he desired the Assembly to interpose their Authority, in desiring their Majesties to nominate the Authors of those Calumnies, and to demand memorials, and advertisements of the said imputed intelligence; wherein he would submit himself to their judgments, if they should find that he had done any thing contrary to the duty of his birth.

By the news which was had of this writing, and by the indeavours hotly pursued by *Conde*, and his friends, the Queen, after many passages in Parliament, was at last enforced by the same necessity, which made her do many things in that present conjuncture of times, even contrary to her will, to make the King publish another writing, clean contrary to the former, in discharging the Prince of the former accusations, which she sent to the Parliament, which argued great weakness in the Court, and gave occasion of blaming the first indeavour as a thing unusual.

The Parliament did this mean while declare, That all this was done to render him universally odious, and to make him despair, that according to the Courts designs, he might be the first that should take up Arms; and from the 22th. of August, till the 7th. of September, it was much debated by those of the faction of the Princes, whether or no *Conde* could with safety be present at the Ceremony of the King's Majority, but fearing, or seeming to be afraid, he went two days before from *Paris*, pretending to visit the Duke of *Longueville* at *Trie* in *Normandy*, and writ a Letter to the King before he went, which was given his Majesty by the Prince of *County* the same morning that his Majesty made his entry on Horseback, and went afterwards he and the Duke *Rocheaucourt* waiting for him in their place in Parliament, to assist at the Celebration of his Majesty's Majority; This Letter said, that not for want of good will, but merely out of fear of danger to his own person, he forbore being present at the Ceremony.

The Prince being gone, accompanied by the Marquis of *Jersey*, and Monsieur de *Monpasson* of the house of *Gondrine*, went by *Pointois*, to *Trie*, at the same time that *Longueville* came thither, with whom he complained much against the Court proceedings; and particularly that *Servient*, *Tillier*, and *Lyon*, being banish'd from the Court; *Chasteauneuf*, *Mole*, and *Vieville* were put into their places. The first, chief of the Council, the second, keeper of the Seals, and the third, superintendent of the *Finances*; all which he thought were worse than the former three, he then desired him to declare for him, and to follow his fortune, assuring him of assistance from the *Spaniards*, both in men, and money; but the Duke keeping firm to the Court, would not put himself into these troubles, upon uncertain hopes, and so giving him fair words, kept firm to what he thought was best for his own interest.

After this meeting, the Duke return'd to *Normandy*, and the Prince having heard that the Dutchess of *Aiguillon* had offer'd the Queen by Count *Harcourt*, that she would bring him to her either dead or alive, with bare 200 men, which the King had given her, (the which was absolutely denied by his Majesty) instead of returning to *Pontoise*, went to *Chantelly*, where the

1651. the Dukes of Nemours, and Rochefaucolt went to meet him, to know what resolution they were to take.

But to return to the affairs of *Catalonia*, the *Spaniards* after the taking of *Tortoise*, kept quiet there in their winter quarters; providing for War, that they might carry on their Forces in due time to such enterprizes, as the time should invite them; whereof the Catholick Court making use by reason of the civil discords of *France*, which happened so opportunely for *Spain*, the *Spaniards* failed not to weigh wisely what might make most for their advantage: but their chief hopes were to take *Barcelona* by the re-inforcements which they expected from *Italy*, *England*, and *Germany*; being thereunto invited not only by the weakness of *France*, but also by the miserable condition of that City, which was grievously visited with the Plague, which after having destroy'd 35000 persons, had left the rest in so miserable a condition as there were scarce 400 Citizens who were fit to manage Arms, to which was added, that the people were wearied by the violence, and extortions of the *French*. And were inclined to submit themselves under their first masters; remembering that in time of peace they were better dealt with, than what they now experimented under the Government of the *French*, being too late aware that the change of masters happens seldom without the ruine of the Country. This resolution being put on then in the Council of *Spain*, fitting orders were sent to the Governour of *Millian*, to the *Viceroy*s of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and to all other parts, from whence Men, Victuals, or money might be expected; and from *Naples*, besides Forces, Count *Ognate* sent three Vessels loaded with Corn thitherward, whereof there was then great scarcity in *Spain*, to maintain the Army, which had much ado to subsist in a Country totally impoverished, and desolate. But these three Ships were taken by *Cavaliere Polk*, who roved upon those Seas, which retarded the design for three months. Finally, all things necessary being prepared, and about 6000 foot, and 2500 horse being raised in the parts about *Lerida* by *Marquess Mortara* who was General, together with *Baron Sabac*, Captain Camp-master General, Count *de Aro*, Son to the Constable of *Castile*, General of the horse, *Fra. Giovanni de Marchesi Pallevicini*, a noble *Genuese* General of the Artillery, *Baron de Bontiere* a *Burgundian* Commissary General, and other valiant and experienced Captains and Officers, they went with sixteen field pieces, and four pieces of Battery taken out of *Lerida*, towards *Cervera* on the 8th. of *July*, and feigning as if they would fall upon *Bellaguer*, they tarried two days before that Town, wherein was much Victuals, Ammunition of War, and fifteen pieces of Artillery, which served the Prince of *Conde* at the Siege of *Lerida*, but the *Queens*, & *Anjou's* Brigades being brought thither by *Marquess Marcelly*, they rose from thence on the 10th. of *July* (for that was not their design) and went to *Vaglies*.

But because after Duke *Mercur*'s departure, *Catalognia* was without a *Viceroy*, and for that by reason of the *Spaniards* preparations it behoved them to have another speedily, it was much press'd for to the Court of *France*. So as in *April* *Marishal de Oquin-court* had that employment given him, and was sent for from his Government of *Peronne* to *Paris*; where whilst it was discult how they might send him well provided of men and monies to keep the field in that Province, *Conde* being bent upon other designs, used means to keep him from going upon that employment, who was faithful to the King, and a friend to the Cardinal. Indeaouring that in his stead Count *Marsine* should be sent thither, who was his inward friend, that (as it was noised) he might by holding intelligence with him,

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dispose of that Principality as he should please. So as Count *de Iglesias*, *Don Giuseppe Fontenella*, and *Don Giuseppe de Pinosa*, all of them prime *Catalonians*, being then at *Paris*, *Conde* treated with them, and wrought so with them, as they managed the business at Court; and got *Marsine* to be chosen Captain General of those Forces; with order to be speedily gone, for that the *Spaniards* were already ready to march into the field, and to enter *Caterlonia*, many *Catalonians* having turn'd over to their party; but *Conde's* intention being to win upon *Marsine's* affection, who was a wife and valiant Warriour, he procured *Madamofelle de Cleremont* to him, for his Wife, with whom he had some little relation in blood: wherefore instead of making hast to his charge, he kept a month longer about the Court, upon pretence of that Marriage, and fifteen days longer at *Fontenbleau*, where the opinion of the Court was, that he treated with an Envoy from *Don Gabriel de Tolledo*, who was then at *Paris*, about a General peace, and that they had already agreed privately how to plot all the Prince his designs, who was already confederated with the *Spaniards*. And *Conde* as also the three aforesaid *Catalonians*, & desiring that *Marsine* might have the Title of *Viceroy*, they used means by counterfeit Letters (as was discovered) from *Giuseppe Payssa*, fifth Counsellor of *Barcelona*, a great friend of the said *Fontenella*, which were written to the King, wherein the King was perswaded to grant that Deputation, whereunto the King gave way, giving him hopes to make him *Marishal of France* upon the first occasion, it was notwithstanding thought preposterous by many, to send *Marsine* back again to that employment, from whence he had been wrongfully removed, as well not to afford him means how to revenge himself, as also to shun the dislikes which might arise between the said *Marsine*, and those that had arrested him, it being probable that there might be jealousies all ways between them: but the unhappy conjunctures of that Court, made those resolves unfortunate.

Marsine being at last come upon the 14th. of *July* to *Rastello* in *Barcelona* he spoke therewith *Don Giuseppe Margherite*, with the Consuls of *Barcelona*, and with the Deputies of *Catalonia*; and having discoursed with them upon the affairs of the War, and upon the designs of the Enemies, he went to find out the Forces, and tarried at *Piera*, where he ordered *Don Giuseppe de Ardena*, who was returned a little before from *France* to *Catalonia*, with title of Lieutenant General, to return with his men to where they had been a little before; and were staid until the *Spaniards*, after having received a recruit of three Brigades of *Italian* foot, and four of the *Irish*, should march without Artillery, which they sent by the way of *Villafranca* to *Taragona*, towards *Barcelona*, wherein there being but few men, and less Victuals, *Don Giuseppe Margherite*, and the Consuls, were very diligent in causing those who were return'd into the City, from the neighbouring Villages which were visited with the Plague, to bring in Corn, and other Victuals; in so much as for eight days, so many Carts and Mules were seen to enter by the three only gates which were left open, as enabled the Town to hold out fifteen months longer.

It being in this interim known that the *Spaniards* marched from *Vaglies* towards the hill *Sodoner*, *Marsine* retreated to *St. Andrea* upon *Lobegrade*, where he halted till the *Spaniards* began to descend the hill *Lodonner*, he neither withstood their march, which he might easily have done, they being to pass down the steep hill for the space of a *Catalonian* league, nor did he oppose their coming into the plain of *Lobegrade*, though he knew that the Van began to fall down on the last of *July*, the Rear was not yet come thither, the *French* Army being then above 1700 horse, and 6000

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1651. foot. But retreating from St. *Andria*, left only *Ardena* with his *Catalonian* Regiment, and some other Commanders to Skirmish a while till all his other men got to *L' Hospedetto*, one league distant from *Barcellona*, where on the 4th. of *August* he retreated to the *Covent of Valdonfella*, not far from the Walls, and incamped his men about the Ditches of *Barcellona*, making two quarters, one in the same place, the other in the *Covent* of the *Angeli Venki*.

The *Spaniards* being this mean while fallen down without any opposition, from the hill into the plain of *Lobegrate* within sight of the City, they incamped themselves along the River, and having taken a Tower upon the head of the same River on the 8th. of *August*, they landed their Artillery which came from *Taragona*, and 2500 *Germans*, and on the 12th. day assaulted the City, incamping from *Sans* to *Saria*, and the next day they enlarged themselves towards St. *Martino*, a mile distant on the East from *Barcellona*; with the aforesaid six Ships, and with three others afterwards, and six Gallies, they came within sight of the City, and here the *French* committed a second error, in suffering the *Spaniards* to march from *Maria* to St. *Martine* without assaulting them, as they might have done, which infused such jealousies into the *Catalonians*, as made them march out after three in the afternoon to fall upon them with all their Foot, and part of their Horse; but the Rear which was already come up to the body of the Battle, finding the design failed; so as *Marsine* finding his design discovered, return'd to his quarters, from whence he was not advanced as far as a Musquet might shoot.

On the 15th. day the *Spaniards* began to make their Trenches on St. *Martine's* quarters, and advanced with them towards *Masguinaldo*, and at the same time made three little Forts upon the tops of those Mountains seated between the said *Masguinaldo*, and the *Covent* of *Madonna delle Gratie*, where not long after they made another quarter, in which things they spent many days without any considerable success, for though the *French* sallied out with 300 Horse, and fell upon some of the *Spanish* Forces who went for forage, no great harm was done, the *Spaniards* being succor'd by a great body of Horse, which drove the *French* back into their quarters; and thus went affairs without any great novelty till the 20th. of *September*. Where after *Marsine* by the means of *Marques Monpullion* who went, as the *Catalonians* said, to treat with the *Spaniards*, where Letters past between him and *Conde*, the business being agreed upon, *Marsine* went presently away, pretending to go upon some enterprise towards *Taragona*, and then turning his march towards *Ponts*, and *Urgil* went into *Gnienne* to the Prince of *Conde*, he was accompanied by *Marques Monpullion*, by *Monsieur Luzzan* Marshal of the Battle, by *Espencee* who commanded his Regiment, and with about 400 Horse, and some carriages of Baggage and Munition. He would have carried more people away with him, but was hindered by *Don Giuseppe Marguerite*, and *Marques Marcelly*, who discoursed of the vvay of stopping him, (for they had apprehensions of him) vvhereunto *Barcellona* vvould easily have agreed, for that City mistrusted him: all the *Catalonians* vvho sided vvith him, vvere much suspected by those vvho vvore more faithful, and began to observe either vvays, vvich vvvas alvvays aftervvards prejudicial to *France*.

A great sense vvvas had in *Barcellona* of this flight of a General vvho could not know well how to better his condition. *Don Giuseppe Marguerite*, by consent of all the Citizens and Council of *Barcellona*, took the Government of all things upon him, and sent *Monsieur de Roy* who commanded the *Queens* Regiment to the Court, to acquaint their Majesties with

1651. with all that was past, and to sollicite them to send another Viceroy speedily; *Don Giuseppe de Ardena*, and Count *de Aleis*, who were at this time gone out with about 800 Horse were sent for back into *Barcellona*, they being in the parts of *Gravoile*, as also the Deputies of *Catalonia*, who were at *Mandrié* ten Leagues from *Barcellona*, making new levies of men, and providing things fitting to relieve the City, fearing least after *Marsine's* flight the *Spaniard* would have stormed the City.

For defence of this Town, there were before *Marsine* went away 3000 *French* foot, 1200 *Switzers*, 1700 *French* Horse; besides these that received pay, there were 3000 Armed Citizens, and 85 pieces of Artillery.

For what concerns the Province of *Catalonia*, the best, and strongest Towns were in the *Spaniard's* hands as *Taragona*, *Lerida*, *Flix*, *Mirevet*, *Tortosa*, *Fraga* *Monson*, and others; and none held for the *Catalonians* but *Barcellona*, *Bellaguer* upon the River *Sagra*, *Arbecca*, *Cervera*, *Camerasa*, *Urgell*, *Trem*, the Castle of *Valenza*, *Sauroca*, *Alose*, *Roses*, and *Palamose*.

The Baron *della Fera*, a *French* man commanded in *Bellaguer*, with 400 foot; in *Arbecca* *Monsieur Marie*, with 40 or 50 men, in *Arger*, *Cavaliere Ausirea* with 200 foot; in *Camer assaan* Officer of the Garrison of *Bellaguer* with 30 Soldiers; in *Trem*, *Don Giame Dearill*, a *Catalonian* with 200 foot; in *Sauroca* *Monsieur Durnareda* with 40 Soldiers; in *Alose* *Sieur Rochfertier*, with 300 men: in *Roses* the *Marques Della Fara*, elder Brother to the Baron, with 300 Soldiers; in *Palamose* *Sieur de Chassenure* with 50 men: all which places were capable of greater Garrisons: but were guarded by so few for want of men; for most of the Governours were so avaricious, caring little for any thing but how to fill their own purses, made false musters, that they might pocket up dead pays, to the ruine of the publick and of their own private honours.

The affairs of *Catalonia* going thus, and the Siege of *Barcellona*, before which the *Spaniards* fortified themselves still more, and ingrossed their Army with divers Troops which came from several places, they hoped to put a good end to that War. *Marques Mortara* who apply'd himself wholly to this end, failed not to provide what was necessary, and knowing that it was fit to make a line of Circumvallation before the *French* could be able to bring succor, after he had minded the perfecting of the head quarter at St. *Martino* from the 13th. of *August* to the 3d. of *October*, *Marques Palanefine* who came that very day, went to *Sans* with part of his men, to make another quarter there, forcing some *Catalonians* who were fortified in the Church-yard to yield; and then they fell upon the Tower of *Lofiere*, guarded by Captain *Brodas* with 40 foot, about which the *Catalonians* came, where about 100 of them were slain, and taken Prisoners, which *Moflares* brought to relieve it: and the same time they took the Monastery of St. *Matrona* by night, seated in the midst of *Mongenick*, which commanding the whole City, they placed 7 pieces of Canon upon it, and began to play upon the Houses, but did not much harm. During these prosperous successes, *Don John* of *Austria* appears, the 19th. of *October*, with Nine Gallies, and one Ship on the Strand over against the said quarters of St. *Martine*, where casting anchor he landed about 700 foot; so as the Fleet which consisted only of eight Ships, and fourteen Gallies, was hereby increased, as it was afterwards by the remainder of the Gallies, brought by Duke *de Alburcheque* who landed some foot, wherewith the *Castillian* Camp was ever and anon furnish'd, as well by Sea as Land, some 2500 Soldiers, what foot, what horse being arrived at once, and two pieces of Canon, conducted by *Don Pietro Vancella*, on the last of *December*

1651. Governour of that Town to the great joy of all the Army; so as being assured to be assaulted, the besieged battered their Guards, and began chiefly to have an eye to those who were held to adhere to *Marsine*, and *Spain*; wherefore *Don Giuseppe de Ardena*, who as hath been said, was sent for back to *Barcellona*, march'd down the Mountain with 350 foot on the side of *Valuedriera*, and by the Covent of *Madonna delle Gratie*, and entered the Town on the 25th. of November. The *Spaniards* this mean while ascoted the City with their Gallies, and Ships, and October and November were spent in making little Forts upon the neighbouring Mountains, which were the Fort *Masguinaldo* upon the hill *Portello del Pino*, and another near the Covent of *Madonna delle Gratie*; whereof nothing succeeded of note but a deluge of Rain which drowned divers Soldiers. Wherefore failing of Victuals which were daily brought from *Taragona*, the Army was well nigh forced to rise, there being no Corn, nor any thing whereupon to sustain themselves in those desolate parts, yet that Nation injoying the great prerogative of sobriety, and sufferance, they at last won the day.

The Court of France, though involved in intestine troubles, was not wanting in doing what the bad conjuncture of time would suffer them to do: and now that the season would not permit the use of Arms in *Piemont*, the King writ in November to *Marquess St. Andrea Monbrun*, to make halt back over the Mountains, leaving only *Scoope's* Regiment of foot to guard the Towns upon the Frontiers; that most of the foot, together with *Camilla's*, and *Terme's* Regiments of Horse, the *Gen's de armes*, *Prince Thomas's* Guard, and *le Compagnie Franche* of *Villa, Monte, and Vaosi*, should go into *Burgundy*, and that the rest of the Horse, together with the Foot Regiments of *Normandy* and *Britanny* should march into *Guienne*; which *Andrea* doing, not without some delay, by reason of the opposition made by the Dutchess of *Savoy*, who was loath to be abandoned by those Forces; but the Horse not being able to pass over the Bridge St. *Esprite*, by reason of the abundance of Rain that fell, which caused *Rhodanus* to swell, they were forced de *ingolfare le truppe* in *Dolphery*, and to enlarge them in the Towns of that Province, and the Forces consisting of 37 Companies of Horse, and 60 Foot Companies, did much oppress that Country; Wherefore the Nobles sent Commissioners to complain thereof to the *Marquess*; who willing to content them, could take no other expedient than to make his men march over the Bridge of *Avignon* which was not usual, and which was not to be done without the Pope's permission, who is Lord of that place: yet the Vice Legate *Seignior Corci* gave him leave, for which the King himself did afterwards vwrite thanks unto him. But because there was greater need of help in *Catalonia*, than in *Guienne*, he was no sooner come to *Nimes*, but that he received Letters sent from *Marishal della Motta*, who was declared Viceroy of *Catalonia* by the King; wherein he was ordered to go and relieve *Barcellona*, telling him that the only fight of his men would suffice to free the City, and promising him that he should return within one month after he had entred that Province; in Conformity whereunto the Marishal wrote unto him likewise from the Court, that those Forces not being to stay above a month in *Catalonia*, *Sopra di cio dovea prender le sue misure*, he was accordingly to take his measures. The *Marquess* who found his men wearied with their long march, writ to *la Motta*, that he might have leave to refresh his men one month in *Languedock*; which *la Motta* refusing, wish'd him to go into *Catalonia* and raise men, saying, he must not look to hear any more from him, upon consideration that the journey was short, and that he needed not

not carry along any Baggage for the more halt, to the end that relief might come before any succor could come from *Spain*.

This years Campaign ended in *Piemonte*, without any affair of Consequence; for though the *Spaniards* advanced as far as *Montcalliere*, not far from *Turenne*, seeming to have some design upon *Pivaralle*; their end was only to ease the State of *Millan*, and to refresh their Army with plundering *Piemonte*, which was already wasted very much; whereby the *Spaniards* hoped to bring the Dutchess of *Savoy*, (since she had but little hopes of succor from France, by reason of the intestine troubles) to some reasonable agreement. But *Marquess St. Andrea Monbrun* mustering the French Forces, traced the Enemy so luckily; as by frequent Allarms, and Skirmishes he made them forego part of their booty, and at last overtaking them in a Village called *Boutelliere*, two of their Squadrons of Horse, were stoutly driven back by the French to the body of their Foot, which guarded the Baricado at the entrance into the same Village; which gave so hot an Alarm to the Enemy, as *Marquess Caracena* halting to take Horse put his foot out of joint. The next morning, knowing that *St. Andrea* was a narrow passage between two mountains, where he might fight them upon advantage, he ordered *Pardaglian* to fall upon the Spanish Army on the Rear, with three Regiments of Horse, with *Oxelles* his Brigade of Foot, and with 900 Foot of the Country Militia, whilst he should assault them on the Front. Affairs being thus ordered, *Pardaglian* march'd speedily after the *Spaniards*, and after three hours march upon the going down of the Sun he overtook them in the Vally of *Montison*; but not having order to fall upon them, till after *St. Andrea* had begun on his part, whereof he heard no noise, he halted upon the banks of a little River within sight of the Enemy, with whom he skirmish'd all the night with his Horse. But *Caracena* being removed at Sun-rising, *Pardaglian* did the like, taking to the left hand; and being come to the Castle of *Courten-dome*, a mile distant from the Enemies Army, he there heard that *St. Andrea* could not assault them according to agreement; for that the *Spaniards* were gotten by intelligence into the aforesaid Castle; yet that he might not return without doing any thing, he came once more up to the Spanish Rear, and finding that the Enemy withdrew their Foot, leaving three Squadrons of Horse to guard them, he presently charged them with his forwardest Horse, hoping to ingage the Foot; but the Horse betaking themselves to their heels, he in the head of his Troops chased them even to the grosse of their Rear, ordering the rest to halt at the Village above the aforesaid Castle, that he might make use of them, if he should be forced to retreat. The Spanish Captains coming in as their Soldiers ran away, rallied them so, as the French were forced to retreat to their reserve, where the Foot behaved themselves so well, as having disordered the Spanish Horse by a furious volley of Musquet shot, *Pardaglian* had opportunity to fall upon them with his reserve, and to discompose them, killing many, and taking many Prisoners; The rest of the day was spent in desails and slight Skirmishes on both sides, and they lay that night in the fields, which retarded the march of the Spanish Army one day, and made the *Spaniards* hazard the loss of their Rear, if *Pardaglian* had had more men, or had the *Piemontese* Militia done as they ought to have done. Thus without making any more attempts, they all retreated to their former quarters, and where they staid till they were forced to remove by mere accidents as, it all be said in the ensuing books. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next were spent in treaties between the Governour of *Millan*, and the Dutchess of *Savoy*, to whom the *Spaniards* made great offers, persuading

1651. perswading her to make use of the present conjunctures of time, when little assistance being to be expected from *France*, by all reason she ought to agree with *Spain*, and shun the ruine which *Piemonte* was likely to run into, for want of necessary defence; but the Dutchess, though she seemed not to be distasted with such a treaty, yet entred she therein only to feed the *Spaniards* with hopes, till times might prove better.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The SEVENTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The King's Majority, after which divers expeditions are made. Marquess Chasteauneuf is sent for back into the Court, and made Minister of State. The seals are given again to the first President Mole. The Coadjutor Gondi, is named by the King, to be Cardinal. The Prince of Conde retires to Berry, and from thence to Burdeaux. The King goes with his Court to Berry, and from thence towards Guienne. Divers accidents of War happen. Cardinal Mazarine is sent for back by the King; who raiseth men to enter France. War begins again in Guienne, with several successes which are advantageous for the King. Count Marfinc abandons the King's service, and goes from Catalonia to France, to Conde's party. The Duke of Nemeurs raiseth men in Flanders, and falls in with the party of the Malecontents. The Cardinal parts from Sedam, and comes with about 6000 Soldiers to Poictiers, to serve the King, the Duke of Bullion, and General Turenne are received in favour to the Court. Turenne is declared General of the King's Army. Angiers is taken. The King marcheth to Blois. Nemeurs enters France with the Army which he raised in Flanders. Differences arise between him and Duke Beaufort, who differ in managing the War. Count Paluan besiegeth Montrond. Madamofelle comes to Orleans, and keeps that City from declaring for the King. The King's Army advanceth to Guienne. Conde comes incognito from Guienne to Nemeurs and Beaufort's Army. Several accidents of War happen. The Spaniards continue the siege of Barcellona.

ON the 7th. of September, the day destined for the Ceremony of the King's Majority, all things were prepared which were fitting to Celebrate such an action, the King, Queen, Princes, and great ones of the Court, go to the Hall of Parliament; where the King being seated in his Chair of Justice, the Queen sate on his right hand, together with the Dukes of *Anjou*, and *Orleans*, Prince of *County*; the Dukes and Peers of *France* who were there, viz. the Dukes of *Uffes*, *Mercur*, *Beaufort*, *Luines*, *Brisack*, *Rochesaucolt*, and *Candalle*; who were followed by the Marshals of *France*, viz. *D'Estree*, *de L'Hospitale*, *Villeroi*, *Oquin-court*, *la Motta*, *Plessis Pralin*, *de Estampes*, the Son of *Millerey*, great

great Master of the Artillery; and on the left hand sat the Lord de *Aumale*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, *Cohorse* Bishop of *Beauvois*, *Vialarde* Bishop of *Chalons*, *Barada* Bishop of *Noyonne*, the four Ecclesiastical Dukes and Peers, all these sat on high: and lower on the right hand sat the Archbishop of *Paris*, the Bishops of *Saulis*, and *Tarbes*; at the Kings foot sat Duke *Chamberlain Joyeuse*, the chief Provost of *Paris*, the Counts *Charost*, *Trames*, *Gesure*, and *Villaquiere*, who were Captains of the King's Guard. Count *Brienne*, *Messieurs della Orliere*, *Plesses Guinagaude*, and *Tillier*, who were four Secretaries of State upon a Bench over against the King's feet. At the Queens feet sat Monsieur *Guitand*, Captain of her Guard, *Coninges* her Lieutenant, Count *Harcourt* with the Crowns Sword in a violet velvet sheath studded with Golden *Flower-de-luces*. The Chancellor in his usual place in a velvet Gown; upon another seat behind the Counsellors of State, sat the six Masters of Requests, and President *Montaro*; upon another Bench sat the Princess of *Carrignano*, and her Daughter Princess *Luise*, and then the Queens maids with their Mother, in the high Lantern sat the Queen of *England*, the Dutchess of *Orleans*, Dutchess of *Espernon*, the Marquess of *Gesures*, and *Cominges*; in the Lantern on the side of *Nodari*, the Pope's Nuntio, the Embassadors of *Venice*, and *Holland*; in the Tribunal upon their knees, four Heralds at Arms, two before, and two behind, one bearing the hand of Justice, another the Scepter, and the other two Truncheon of violet Velvet, studded with small Golden *Flower-de-luces*, the Dukes of *Crequi*, and *Mortman* chief Gentlemen of the Kings Bed-Chamber, and Marquess *Sourches* grand Provost of *France*, and on seats below, all the Counsellors, Officers, and others of the Court and Parliament.

Being thus stately enthroned, the King spoke thus; *I am come to the Parliament, to tell you, that according to the Laws of the Kingdom I intend to take upon my self the Government of the State, and hope through God's goodness to do it with piety, and justice. The Chancellor will tell you the rest; who standing up and bowing low unto the King, made a neat discourse upon that action; which when he had done he return'd to his place.*

Then the Queen rising a little from her seat spoke thus unto the King. *Sir, this is the 9th. year, that by the will of the late King, my ever honour'd Lord and Husband, I have taken upon me the care of your Education, and the Government of the State. God of his goodness hath blessed my indeavours, and preserved your person, which is so dear to me, and pretious to your Subjects, Now that the laws of your Kingdom call you to take upon you the Government of this Monarchy, I with much satisfaction surrender the Authority that was given me of Governing it; hoping that God will assist you with his spirit of strength and wisdom, whereby to make your Kingdom fortunate.* Then the King turning towards her with a cheerful countenance, said, *He thanked her for the care she had taken of his Education, and of the Government of the Kingdom; that he desired her to continue counselling him, and that she would be his chief adviser.* The Queen bowed, and in sign of Homage would have kiss'd his hand, but the King embraced her and kiss'd her with much tender affection.

The Duke of *Anjou* being next him, kneel'd at his Majesties feet, and kiss'd his feet, swearing fealty unto him. The King with a smiling countenance embraced him. The Duke of *Orleans*, and *County* did the like; the Dukes, and Peers, and Marshalls of *France*, stir'd not from their places.

Then the first President, as chief of the Parliament, making a low Reverence, said, that in a day of so August memory, and of the applause of all the orders of the Kingdom, he could not forbare telling his Majesty what

what obligations they all had to that great Queen, the second Deity on earth, by whose wife Counsels her Regency had so happily terminated, and with such like eloquent expressions concluded those affectionate fidelities which are due from Subjects to their Sovereign.

This being ended, the King, Queen, all the Dukes, Peers, and Marshalls of *France*, humbly bowing themselves in order, and the whole Parliament standing up, his Majesty descended from his Throne, and went to the Chappel of the Palace, where after having powred forth some prayers to God, went down, and returned in his Coach to the Palace-Royal, attended by the Princes, Nobles, and Lords on Horseback, and as he pass'd over the *Pont Neuf*, was cryed up with that infinite affection which the *French* bear their King.

This Ceremony being over, Marquess *Chasteauneuf* was sent for back to the Privy Council, and the Seals were again taken from the Chancellor, and given to the first President, as the Queen had promised him. This Establishment of the first President, as also of *Chasteauneuf*, and *Vieville*, who were called the three *Barboni*, or great Beards, was suddenly done, without any delay, because *Chasteauneuf* being in his heart an Enemy to the house of *Conde*, and the first President, and Marquess *Vieville* not very acceptable to the *Frondeurs*, it was not thought fit to defer it any longer, lest they might meet with such hinderances which might be interposed by factious people.

After *Chasteauneuf* had been banish'd, and had had the Seals taken from him, he did all he could to reunite himself to the Cardinal, for that on the one side he was an Enemy to the Prince, and on the other side, found that he had not the credit with the Duke of *Orleans* which formerly he had, because it was counterpoised by the Coadjutor, whom he knew to be of a turbulent spirit, and who rather would have suffered *Mazarine* in the administration of State, than him. Moreover he perswaded himself that in time he might regain the credit which he formerly had had with the Queen, for which he had been persecuted by *Richelieu*. *Mazarine* was well contented with his re-establishment in affairs, for he thought him true to the King's service, and for that he was not only well thought of, but was allied to the chief Families: But when these three Lords were settled in their places, they did not very well agree together; for *Chasteauneuf* did not much esteem *Vieville*, though he had formerly been his friend: He was likewise jealous of the guard *de Seaux*, finding that the Queen placed all her confidence in him, the guard *de Seaux* despised both of them, saying, that all affairs depended upon him, though *Chasteauneuf* was therein better experienced than he; so as upon these differences divers accidents happened, which caused *Chasteauneuf* at last to withdraw himself.

For all this the Chancellor was not displeased with the Queen; for he knew that those blows proceeded not from any demerits of his; but from the mere necessity of the present conjunctures, which forced the Queen to do things which were far from her desire, to evade a greater mischief, he went no more notwithstanding to Council, but did withdraw himself of his own accord. And Monsieur *Guinegaude*, when he took the Seals from him, told him that their Majesties were very well pleased with his service: and the Queen made him be told by another, that in case any other change should at any time be made, she would prefer him before all others, and would assist him and his Family by her protection upon all occurrences. *Chasteauneuf* also in the beginning of these troubles when the Seals were the second time taken from him, offer'd him to keep them for him, and to restore them unto him, if he would yield up the first place in Council

Council to him, as was done to the Cardinals, who were first Ministers; whereunto the Chancellor answered, that his private interest should never derogate from the Dignity of his place; for he was a private man, and the Cardinals were Princes of the holy Church.

Affairs beginning now to be treated of, bare faced in Court, Marshal de Aumont's Forces were sent against those of Conde, which were within three days journey of the King's Army; but they fled, and dispersed themselves without any fighting, and some of them got safe to Stenay, some to other Towns belonging to the Prince, who returned no more to Paris, but went to Enfone, and from thence to Argeville, a house of President Perault, where he tarried one day, expecting to hear from the Duke of Orleans, whether the Court did not remit somewhat of their austerity, in the treaty of agreement which was again re-assumed by the same Orleans, when the indeavours of the Princes Palatine proved vain, whereby the Prince would have easily condescended to the Cardinals return; for he could not well tolerate that Chasteauneuf should have that charge. But Count Chavigny, who would very unwillingly have seen the Cardinal return, cunningly perverted the Prince his good disposition, frightening him with a new imprisonment, and minding him that if he should condescend to anything which might contradict what he had formerly promised the Duke of Orleans, and the Frondeurs, he would totally lose their adherence, and deprive himself of all other refuge, and give himself over to the pleasure of the Court, which he was always to suspect, having had too great proofs thereof, to which was added the Coadjutor's secret dealings, and the like of some others, to break this agreement, as shall be said afterwards. Orleans being willing to endeavour the Prince his satisfaction, and to quiet all private discords, chose Croisy as a friend to the Prince and Chasteauneuf to go unto him; and to wish him from the Duke, to be at Enfonne between Argeville and Sissonne, whither Orleans was gone; but a whole day being spent in making these expeditions, the Duke sent one of his Gentlemen to intreat the Prince to tarry for Croisy at Argeville. The Gentleman mistaking the place whither he was to go, (were it either by misfortune or fate) instead of going whither he was sent, went to another place which was also called Argeville in Beaux, far from the other Argeville. So as the Prince having attended one day with impatience, and interpreting delay, to be disrespect; parted the next morning discontentedly towards Burges a chief City in Berry, which had declared for the Prince; here Croisy met him, and proposed unto him a meeting with Orleans, which Conde refusing, he offer'd that if he would keep quietly in his own Governments till the calling of the States General, he should have good quarters assigned him for his Forces, to the end that during the Assembly of the said States he might be in a condition of being considered; and he further promised him in the name of the Duke, and of Chasteauneuf, that the States should be kept in an unsuspected place, and that if they could get the Queens good will, they should be kept in St. Denise, where by the neighbourhood of Paris he might have intire liberty. The Prince considered the advantage of these propositions, whereby he might preserve his Troops, and fortifie them during the winter, an unfit reason for War, foreseeing that he should hardly withstand the King's Forces, with his new men; and he knew that if the Cardinal should be re-called whilst he was in his Government, that finding him Armed, and stuck unto by so many friends, all that he could desire either for himself or his friends must necessarily be granted him; and that if the Cardinal should return without his consent, all the Provinces, and Parliaments that were the Cardinals

Enemies,

Enemies, would declare for him. And that if the Cardinal should keep away (which he could hardly believe) all France would acknowledg this satisfaction from him, and would be obliged to him for it. When he had well weighed these proposals, and was willing to accept them, he called the Prince of County unto him, and the Dukes of Nemours and Rochefaucolt, and acquainted them therewith; but these believing that when Arms should be taken up, the Court would grant all that he could pretend unto, told him that these were but tricks to weaken him, and his faction. They wish'd him to consider that Burdeaux was ready to declare, and that Spain did with impatience expect this resolution; that if he should lose this occasion, he should lose all the succour and assistance that he could expect from thence, and that he would lose all his chief friends; in this diversity of opinion, the Prince would put on no resolution, till he went to Montronde, to debate every particular with his Sister Longueville; and willed Croisy to follow him. He held divers consultations in Montronde, and freely made it known, that he was inclin'd to an agreement: but being contradicted by all the rest, it may be said he was forced to a resolution contrary to his will; and as he was walking in his Park, he said aloud, that since they were absolutely for his taking up Arms, not to oppose them, he agreed thereunto: but bad them remember that he was the last who as enforced thereunto took his Sword in hand, but that he would be the last who should sheath it; soon after he called for Croisy, and charged him to present his respects to the Duke of Orleans, and to desire him not to slacken his indeavours, and authority in finding out some way of accomodation, for he would be ready to accept of peace, when he knew he might safely do it. But his friends and kindred were so desirous of a breach, as lest he might agree, whereunto they found him willing enough; the Prince of County, Dutches of Longueville, Dukes of Nemours, and Rochefaucolt, President Viola, and divers others agreed privately amongst themselves, promising never to separate, but to joyn even against the Prince himself, if he should agree with the Court, without obtaining such satisfaction for them as they pretended to; and this they did to make themselves considerable, and not totally dependant upon the Prince. So as first Chavigny, and then the rest, were the impulsive reasons of the Prince his precipice, and of all the troubles that befell France afterwards; for all things would have been sweetned, and the Prince re-assuming the Military employments of the Crown, would have triumphed over his Enemies, he not being really corrupted in his will, but by the inticement of others; so as it may be said that from hence arose the civil dissensions.

The Prince leaving his Wife and Son in the Castle at Montronde, together with the Duke of Nemours who followed him, and Prince County, and Dutches Longueville, staying in Burges: went on the 16th. of September towards Vertuile, where he found many of Rochefaucolt's friends, whose house that was, to whom he gave Monies and Commissions to raise men; he from thence continued his journey without any interruption, and arrived at Burdeaux, where he was received with extraordinary applause, and upon his coming thither made the first President be told that he should not come before him, and that as being partial to the Queen, he should go out of the City; whereunto he was incited by the Frondeurs, and by Blanck, the second President; but the Prince assured him of his friendship, if during these commotions he would keep neuter in his Castle at Rilandrant.

When Conde came to Burdeaux, he sent his trusty servant Lenet into Spain, to treat with Spain, which treaties were concluded as soon as be-

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gun, for the *Spaniards* thought it was not now time to slight a Prince of *France* furnish'd with friends, and one so famous in War; the treaty was agreed upon between his Catholick Majesty, and him, and his adherents, with these expressions. First, that the treaty of *Stenay*, between the Archduke, the Dutchess of *Longueville*, and General *Turenne*, should be confirm'd in all parts. That the Prince should be bound never to treat of peace without the King of *Spain*'s consent, who also promised never to make peace with *France*, without comprehending the Prince, upon such terms as should satisfy him. His Catholick Majesty obliged himself to pay 500000 Crowns to raise men, and to keep a fleet in the River of *Burdeaux*, which might be able to secure that City, and to keep commerce open with *Biscay*. That he should absolutely command all the Armies of *Spain*, and that all the Towns which should be taken in *France*, should remain in his hands, save one Haven, which should be allowed the King of *Spain* for the security of his Fleets at Sea, and of the Towns which had been taken from the *Spaniards* in the present War. That the King of *Spain* should send about 8000 to the Prince his Soldiers who were in *Campaigna*, which should be independantly under the sole command of the Prince, or of him that he should send. The King promised to pay yearly 600000 Crowns, for maintenance of the Forces; and the Prince having given hopes, upon such ends as hath been formerly touched upon, that the Duke of *Longueville* should enter into the same concernment, the King promised that in such a case he would assist him with Arms, Money, Men, and Shipping, that he might wage War in *Normandy*.

In prosecution of which treaty *Conde* did what he could to make *Marshall Turenne* take upon him the command of his Army in *Campaigna*; and he was so confident of his valour, and so doubtful to meet with hardship if he should oppose him, as he offer'd to give him *Stenay*; and to that purpose gave order to Monsieur *Chammegli* who commanded there, to receive his Troops, and totally to obey him, in which hopes the Prince continued for above four moneths, not sending any other to command there which was the chief occasion of the dissipation of those Troops. But *Turenne* did generously refuse all his offers, and those that came to him as well from *Flanders*, as *Spain*, joyning on the contrary with the King his Master, as shall be said. Whilst the Prince staid in *Burdeaux* he gave out Monies, and Commissions to as many as would serve him; and thinking it fitting to secure himself of the upper *Gnienne*, and of *Perigieux*, he made a journey accompanied by few, more than Prince *Marfiliack*, Son to Duke *Rocheaucourt*.

But to return to what the Coadjutor did, when he knew that the Prince's Palatine indeavoured to reconcile the Prince to the Court, he to disturb it, sent one to the Cardinal, to offer him his service, and to go out of the Kingdom upon any Embassy, or imployment, to avoid all jealousies; and promised him that he would make the King go to *Rheims*, and would reconcile him with the Duke of *Orleans*; and that resuming his posture with satisfaction to his Royal Highness he should return to *Germany* to end the treaty of the general peace, which was commenced by the said Cardinal, as shall be said. Moreover *Marquess Noirmont*, who was firm to the Coadjutors concernment, not only out of friendship, but because he was allied to the Dutchess *Cheveraux*, and that he hoped to be made Duke and Peer, and to get some Government, offer'd a confident of the Cardinals to deposite into his hands the Brief for nomination of a Cardinal, and Warrant for a Duke and Peer of *France*, till such time as they should bring

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bring him back to the administration of Government, and that then, and not till then they would receive the said Brief and Warrant.

But the Prince's Palatine, having brought *Bertet*, who was the man that came too and fro from the Cardinal, to the Coadjutor, who was willing to go himself to *Brulles*, was obliged by strong arguments to persuade the Cardinal that the Coadjutor was generously minded, that it behoved him to prevent him by being beneficial to him; and that his thoughts being generous and full of gratitude, he would use more hearty indeavours upon these motives than any other.

This being a proposal of reciprocal advantage, it was to be believed that it was sincerely meant. He therefore accepted the offer, and gave the business in charge to Abbate *Undedei*, who at last brought the Queen against her will, to give way to the naming of the Coadjutor to be Cardinal, at the next Election. The Coadjutor seemed to be very well content, and acknowledged himself highly obliged; but not being able to use deceit without too much ingratitude, he went very warily about to take it out of his hands; for considering that his name was not acceptable to the Pope, it might so fall out that it would not so satisfy him who was the promoter of this favour, and so that he might refuse it, at least make it more difficult, as had befallen Abbate *Riviere*. The Cardinal to oblige him the more, refer'd the said nomination to the Queen, who out of the same respects having assigned it over to the Duke of *Orleans*, the Coadjutor began to study how he might obtain his ends, and delude the Cardinal in what he had promised him; wherefore finding that treaties with *Conde* grew desperate, and his desire being to see both *Conde* and the Cardinal ruined, so as he might have the absolute Government of affairs, he withdrew himself dextrously from what he had promised upon frivolous excuses, and sought by monies, and the means of his Kinsman *Cavaliere Gondi*, who was a chief Officer of the great Dukes to make sure the Court of *Rome*, whither he sent his confident Abbate *Charie*, with much expence and presents, whereof he was not sparing; to sollicite his so much desired promotion, and to get it effected before more novelties should arise in *France*, which might revoke the said nomination, fearing least the Cardinal might do as he had done by Abbate *Riviere*, whom he had undone by delays. This touched the Cardinal to the quick, for he was acquainted with the Coadjutors designs: so as fitter medicines being applyed to a known malady, he knew so well how to apply such Antidotes, as at last (as shall be seen in the progress of this History) he saved all wounds miraculously, and triumphed more than ever over his Enemies, and over persecution and envy.

But as report doth usually aggrandize things, which not being visible men do with curiosity desire to know: the Prince's provisions being given out at *Paris*, to be greater than they were, the rumor grew so great, as people grew to be severally minded; some thought that the Prince made War merely out of ambition to aggrandize himself; others that he intended to raise himself to what was equal to his prepotency, and experience in managing Arms; and the Court was not only full of these conceptions, but even many good Citizens of *Paris*, who being stir'd up as well by fear of a civil war, as hoodwinck'd by ignorance of the *Arcana*, fancied that the Cardinal being out of the Kingdom, it was not known what the Prince did drive at, for the first overture of breach was groundd upon his desire of having the Cardinal banish'd, which when it should be obtained the cause being removed, the effect would cease: by these whisperings the Prince fell somewhat from that general affection which he had gotten amongst

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But the Court nourishing the opinion, that they were the effects of insatiable ambition; that they might have a lawful pretence to apply powerful remedies to the evils that threatened the State, gave out that upon the present occurrences it was requisite that the King should go in person to *Berry* to withstand the first commotions, but two more important and concealed reasons moved thereunto. The first, to secure it self by going out of *Paris* from the people, and *Frondeurs* who so insolently had block'd them up in the Palace, which they might do again upon any new rumour that might arise. The second, out of a desire that the Cardinal might return which could not be done if the Court should tarry in *Paris*, by reason of the Predominion of the *Frondeurs*, and seditious Male-contents, *Chasteauneuf* adhered to the first reason as well to shew himself willing to please their Majesties, as out of a belief, that if the Court should be further off the Cardinal would find more difficulty to return, being to make a long and dangerous journey, of which opinion were many others. On the contrary the first President, *Plessis Pralin*, and *Vieville* said, that it was fear, and not ambition which made the Prince do as he did; that it was best to leave him quiet in his Governments, and not put him into despair, forcing him to take up Arms in his own defence. That if *Conde* should begin the War, that then the Court, and King's Army might go thither, whereby he might be overthrown; but this opinion differing from their private intentions, who could not advantage themselves but by War, was laid aside, and under pretence that no parties should be tolerated in the Kingdom, save such as were obedient to the King. Their Majesties and the Duke of *Anjou* went on the 24th. of September from *Paris*, to *Fontenbleau*, together with the rest of the Court; which stands upon the way to *Charite*, whither some of the Princes Forces were come, to guard that important pass over the *Loire*, which enters into *Berry*, where was Prince *County*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, encouraging the Inhabitants of *Burges*, by the great Towers which serve there for a Castle, and which was garrison'd by their men, to joyn with them, whereby they intended to make head against the King, in case he should assault them; but *Conde* staid too long in *Bordeaux*, whose own person was requisite for such a design.

This departure of the Kings from *Paris*, caused much murmuring amongst the seditious people, who said, that the Queen and Council meant not to return to the City without the Cardinal, who by his directions did in his absence govern all things; and the hearts of most men were so poisoned by the pravity of some seditious people, as all things seemed to tend to open War; wherefore the *Spaniards*, who wearily observed the conjunctures, and indeavoured to counterprize the ballance justly, to the end that the pretensions on both sides keeping upon a streight beam, that discord might be kept alive in *France*, which was most adequate for their affairs. And least the too much fomenting the Princes faction might necessitate the King to give way to their pretensions, and agree with them; or that by the *Spaniards* great preparations they might make the *French* aware of the danger which over-hung them, and to make them lay aside all spleen, and joyn together in the common defence; they fed the Princes more with hopes than effects, and went so reservedly in their proceedings with them, as that in due time they might reap the fruit of their colligation. They therefore contented themselves with taking some of those places

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Signior *de Estrades*, then Governour of *Dunkirk*, a valiant and well experienced Gentleman, had from the beginning of July soeisen the *Spaniards* design upon *Fournes*, and had desired 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horse from the Court, wherewith he promised not only to preserve those Towns, but to fight the Enemy, who could not hold communication between one quarter, and another: but the King having need of men against the Prince of *Conde*, and not being able in this confusion to raise other Forces, the *Spaniards* without any disturbance might obtain their intent. *Estrades* forbore not notwithstanding to provide for *Burgues*, *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike*, which were under his Government; he sent divers Barques to be loaded with Corn, Arms, and Ammunition in some neighbouring Towns wherein he had so good luck, as they were no sooner entred *Dunkirk*, but the *Spanish* Fleet appeared, and cast Anchor in the mouth thereof, and block'd it up whilst the *Spaniards* had fallen upon *Fournes*, and placed a great quarter of Horse within a league of *Dunkirk*, the Governour put 500 Foot into *Burgues*, whereby it was defended longer than *Fournes*. During these Sieges the Garrison of *Dunkirk* scowred the Countrey, broke divers of the Enemies Convoys, and took many Prisoners.

Linch, *Hanvin*, and *Burbury*, were taken after *Burgues*, and *Fournes*, so as *Dunkirk* was soon besieged by Sea, and Land, being bereft of receiving any commodities from those parts. And that they might block it up the straiter, they built three Forts, at the entrance of three Rivers which come to the Town, one at *Hanscote*, the other two at *Slen*, and *Miltrech*; whereby *Estrades* not being able to send parties further into the Countrey, he caused 12 flat bottom'd Boats to be built, every one of which carried two small Guns in their prow; and imbarquing 300 Foot in them, he on the 10th. of December assaulted the Fort of *Hanscote*, and took it, as he did also the other two, which were immediatly demolish'd, and burnt; wherefore he made several inrodes that winter, took many Prisoners, and a great many Cattle, which being powdred, were of good use to the Garrison of that Town.

Whilst the Court of *France* was at *Fontenbleau*, well pleased with being out of *Paris*, where the seditious Male-contents predominating, the King's

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Authority was highly prejudiced, the Prince of *Conde's* business was warily disputed, but not without great jealousies; and it was given out that *County*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, fortified themselves with friends in *Berry*: a Province which at that time was of great importance, defending the way to *Guienne*, and keeping the neighbouring Towns favourable to the Princes; whereat the Court was much troubled. None durst propound going further than *Fountainbleau*: for the King not having men enough for the enterprise of *Burges*, it was not thought fit to fall upon it, unless they might hope to take it, least it might more lessen the King's parties Reputation, and increase that of the contumacious, as would have happened if they should have been unfortunate at the first. Yet the *French* being extraordinarily devoted to their King, the Inhabitants of *Burges* by the means of *Chasteauneuf*, who was much beloved in that Province, wherein much of his estate lay, sent a Citizen of theirs speedily away to *Fountainbleau*, to invite the King to their City, where he should be lovingly received, and faithfully served. Divers discourses were had hereupon before their Majesties. *Chasteauneuf* was for their going thither out of three reasons, wherein his own interest was concern'd the first, for that being no friend to the Prince, he sought to bring him lower; the second, because by such advancement he got esteem amongst the people, and thereby made himself necessary for the administration of Government. The third, for that the further the Court should go from *Paris*, he thought the Cardinals return would be the more difficult as well by the Parliaments animosity, as by the bad season, wherein he was to pass over fourteen Rivers; and by keeping him away, he put the Duke of *Orleans* in Authority, which was his chief end: the Guard *de Seaux* oppos'd this, saying, that it behoved not to hazard the King's Authority, by undertaking what was not sure to succeed well, and that the foundation was to be grounded upon his own strength, not upon the uncertainty of the people's favour which was always wavering.

This design of *Chasteauneuf's* being seen into by the Cardinals confidants, whereof there were but few in the Council, though they all appeared to be much his friends, they concluded there was no better expedient for the service of their Majesties and of the Cardinal, than to make use of their own Forces, and to get that thereby, which they could not do by reason, nor fair means; wherefore by orders from the King, who by reiterated Letters had sent for the Cardinal back, Abbate *Undedey* went to *Brules*, to acquaint him with the necessity of this expedient, and to acquaint him truly with all that had pass'd; assuring him of their Majesties excellent intention towards him. For whose service it was requisite that he should return, and take upon him the Government of affairs, they being now sensible that none could do it better, nor with better affection. The Cardinal listened diligently to the Abbate, as confiding much in him, yet was he doubtful what to resolve upon, but at last the reasons alledged by *Undedey* prevailing, he resolv'd to raise with his own monies an Army of about 5000 fighting men, whom he committed to the charge of the Marshalls of *Oquin-court*, and of *Ferte Senetre*, the Count *Navailles*, and *Erogli*, who took upon them the employment, and diligently apply'd themselves thereunto. This being thus resolv'd, The Cardinal desired a passport from the *Spaniards* to return to *Bullion*, which they procrastinated, foreseeing how prejudicial his return to Court might prove; wherefore he went unexpectedly from *Brules*, and instead of going to *Juliers*, went towards *Duren*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Nemburg*, and from thence to *Aquisgrave*, *Siege*, *Hay*, and then to *Dinan*, whither the aforesaid Counts

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of *Novailles*, and *Brogli* came to agree about their leavies, for which they there received monies, and in forty days which they staid in that Town, they raised their men.

But because the Male-contents might not in the King's absence, plot things prejudicial to the Court, the Guard *Seaux*, *Guinegaude* Secretary of State, Marishal *Vieville*, and the Marishal *de L'Hospitalle* were left there, to whom jointly the King gave all Authority, being assisted by the Duke of *Orleans*, who remained there as Viceroy; which was because the Guard *Seaux* being the first President in Parliament, might prevail much by his Authority; that *Guinegaude* might make the dispatches of State, *Vieville* who was the master of the *Finances*, might find monies, and the Marishal *de L'Hospitalle*, as being Governour of *Paris*, and much esteem'd in the City by those who loved the Court. But the Duke of *Orleans*, who was not well pleas'd with the Kings going against the Prince, as well for the union between them, as for fear the Cardinal should return, comply'd artificially, and palliated his affection as well as he could with the Duke of *Arville*, and with others who were sent unto him by the King to be assistant to him. Yet the Dutchess of *Chevereux*, and the Coadjutor, who desired the downfall both of the Prince and Cardinal, watched the Duke of *Orleans* narrowly, and making use of the credit they had with him, indeavoured to stave him off from them both, and would have wrought their ends upon him, had not Count *Chawigny*, and Monsieur *Gaucourt*, who were the Prince his friends, counterpois'd their designs, being fomented by *Beaufort*, and the *Frondeurs*, who desired to uphold the Prince, that they might keep the Cardinal from Court. But *Beaufort* on the other side considering what need there was of a Commander of the Forces in *Guienne*, who might vie for valour with the Prince, wrought it so as the King gave that employment to Count *Harcourt*, a Prince full of courage, and of great esteem in Arms, and who was well dispos'd to the Kings service, and a sincere friend to the Cardinal; whereupon, he went to *Fountainbleau* (after he had received the Patent in *Paris*, the same day that the King went from thence) to kiss their Majesties hands, and so to go towards his charge.

The King had with him 4000 of his *French* Guard, and *Switzers*, and for their General the Marishal *de Estré*, whose Lieutenant General was Count *Palnau*, both of them particular friends to the Cardinal, and 4000 more were taken out of the Army of *Picardy*, under the Marquis of *Castelnean*, who was also Lieutenant General, together with other Troops, which were raised in other parts. Marquis *St. Luke*, Lieutenant General of *Guienne*, was ordered to take what care he could of that Province, and that he should keep in *Cobors*, and *Montauban*, to keep those Towns in the King's obedience, which he did.

This going of the King to *Berry* did infuse much fear into all the Prince his friends, in so much as they sever'd themselves, and withdrew some to *Montrond*, some elsewhere; the Prince of *County*, and Dutchess of *Longueville* forsook even *Burges* in great confusion, when they knew the agreement made between the Inhabitants of that place, and the Court; but the Dutchess of *Nemeurs*, as not accustomed to the rumor of War, went to *Vandosme*, that she might keep quiet there.

The Court being gone from *Paris*, the tumults which were almost ceased in *Paris*, grew greater than ever, as well amongst the people, as in the Parliament, to impede the Kings journey; and keep the Cardinal from returning. Wherefore the Dukes of *Orleans*, and *Beaufort*, the *Frondeurs*, Parliament, and part of the people, return'd to their former commotions,

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not with Arms, but by decrees of Parliament, and Remonstrances to the Court; but *Chasteauneuf*, who still indeavoured to keep the Cardinal away, and to make the Court prevent the resolutions of Parliament, used this precaution, as when he found that any decrees were to issue out from thence, contrary to the private ends of the King's Council, he anticipated them by Letters from the King, commanding the same things which he thought the Parliament would ordain; and did studiously apply himself thereunto upon these emergencies, with intention to save thereby the King's reputation, seeming as if he were the Authour of those decrees, changing the aspects of those decrees, which tended much to the prejudice of his supream Authority, but the Parliament finding out these artifices, made no more account of the King's Letters, thinking that the Court did not therein desire what it seemed to do, and that all was but tricks to make vain their designs. And the Queen suspecting not without reason before the Prince departed, that *Marsine*, General of the *Catalonian* Forces was turn'd to be of his party, as being much affected to him, and that by his concurring with *Conde* he might much prejudice the King's service, she thought she might make him lay aside all sinister opinions by putting some esteem, and honour upon him, and to keep him loyal out of mere gratitude; as he had been till then, much to his glory; and this was by sending him Letters Patents to be Viceroy of *Catalonia*; but the Messenger who carried them, came too late, for he had already abandoned the King's service, and betook himself to serve the Prince, as hath been said, and shall be said hereafter.

Count *de Ales* was at this time in *Paris*, his Father the Duke of *Angolessme* being dead, who was Governour of the Province, where those that sided with him, *Maugre Vandosme* kept the City of *Tolon*, a famous haven in that Province, where he was particular Governour; and having out of a desire of returning thither, consented that *Conde's* friends should attempt some novelty there; The Baron of *St. Marke*, a Gentleman of *Aix*, and friend to the Prince, was sent thither, with others that related to him, intending to raise a party for *Angolessme*, and to interest the Prince therein, but after some rather *Chimera*, than undertakings, it turn'd all to nothing, by the vigilancy of the King's Commanders, who diverted all their plots, and the City remained as before in obedience to the King: wherefore the divisions failing in that Province, whereby the Prince had thought to bring Forces into several parts of the Kingdom, and to divert the punishment wherewith *Guienne* was threatned, the Male-contentments were mightily affrighted, and confused. The Prince of *County*, Dutcheff of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and others who were in the Castle of *Montrond*, fearing lest they might be therein shut up, went out by night with 200 Horse, leaving Marquess *Persan* there with a good Garrison of Foot, and Horse; afterwards the Town was besieged by Count *Paluan* with about 3000 men at a distance, commanded by *Cavaliere Barada* and others, the besieged were constant in the defence thereof, as well against Famine, as against the assailants. *County*, with his Sister *Longueville*, and Duke *Nemours* went to *Burdeaux*, losing some of their baggage, for the Marquess of *Sauntbeuf* with many Gentlemen of those Provinces was continually upon their backs. The King came to *Burges*, to the great content of those people, whom he permitted to demolish the Tower, which belonging to *Conde's* Government, was interpreted the beginning of a breach, and it was known that they were to think of War, rather than of Peace; which being resolved upon, they were treated with to raise men: the Towns of *Dordognia* were secured by *Conde*, & he put Garisons into *Bergerack*, *St. Foy*, *Libourn*

Libourn and *Perigren*, good Towns which commanded a great tract of Country. All the Towns upon the *Garonne* till you come to *Agen* were secured by *Conde*; who treated with Count *de Ognone*, Governour of *Rochel*, *Brouages*, and the Isles of *Oleron* and *Ree*; and with much ado having drawn the Count over to his party, he provided diligently for all emergencies. *Ognone* joynd with the Prince, hoping to be made Duke and Peer of *France*, by the Prince his means, which he had indeavoured to do by the Court, but could not: at this novelty, not only the Kings party was much troubled, but all others who wished well to the State. It was therefore resolved that the King should go into *Poitou*, to secure that important Province, which is esteemed one of the best of all *France*; and to provide against the eminent dangers of *Rochel*; Count *de Ognone* was second Brother to Marquess *St. Germain Beaupre*, and as one who had been Page to Cardinal *Richelieu*, had contracted a particular friendship with Marishal *de Bresse*, chief of the Navigation; he was employ'd in the Fleet, and after made Lieutenant in the Government of *Brouage*, which belonged to the said *Bresse*; and in *Rochel*, *Oleron*, and the Isle of *Ree* which belonged to the Queen, after the said *Bresses* death it was not hard for him to get to be wholly master thereof, though he were not well beloved by the people. He entred into *Conde's* party by the Princess her mediation, who was Sister to the said *Bresse*. The King wrote to the Duke of *Orleans* before he went from *Burges*, that out of the great desire he had of his Subjects quiet, he did again refer *Conde's* business totally to him, and desired him to speak with him, and to know the reason of his discontent, wishing him, to take along with him, the Marishal *de L' Hospitale*, *Messieurs de Alegre*, *Marguiri*, *Mesmes*, *Menardeau*, *Champre* and *Chaumont*, assuring him that he would do what he could to serve him. In pursuit hereof the Duke sent Monsieur *de Serre*, Son to Marishal *de Aubetiere* to desire the Prince, that he would give him a meeting in *Richelieu*; *Conde* sent *la Serre* back with answer, that he should hear from him in this particular within three days.

Soon after the Prince was come to *Burdeaux*, *Gurville* went thither, and told him from the Duke of *Bullion*, that if he would listen to reason the Duke would mediate for him, and indeavour his satisfaction; and how the Cardinal did much fear, that if civil Wars should arise in *France*, they would not be well able to maintain War abroad; wherefore he studied how to divert it; and that he had declared, that he would procure the Government of *Blay* for him, and all fitting satisfaction for his Friends. *Gourville* made this proposal to him; but the Prince having then sent to treat with *Bullion*, and Marquess *Turenne*, would not listen to the proposition; but said, That if he would put the treaty in hand, he must first declare in his behalf, and that his Brother *Turenne* must go to head his Forces which were gone into *Flanders*, and that when this should be done, he would give ear to what had been proposed. The Prince spoke high, because he thought that *Turenne* would not refuse the command of his Army; and that when he should have so famous a Commander on his side, whom he only feared, it would make much for him in treaties of peace, or in making War. And being that very day assured of Count *de Ognons* joyning with him, as also of the *Messieurs della Forza*, except the Marquess who was in *Normandy*, and intended to do as *Bullion* and *Turenne* should do; he sent *Gurville* back to *Paris* the same night, that together with *Gaucourt*, who attended the Duke of *Orleans* on his behalf, they might tell *Orleans*, that he could not upon any terms accept of the conference desired in *Richelieu*. For that having disbursed much money in raising men, and be-

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The next day the Coadjutor was not very well, and kept his house. But *Gurville* being told that he was the next day in a house at *Marets*, where he used to entertain himself at night, he diligently assembled his men, but not so many as were sufficient to have all things in readiness before he came out. So as *Gurville* failed in his design; *Gurville* had always a Coach with him, to put the Coadjutor into. The design was to carry him to *Danvilliers* with 15 or 20 Horse, which was not hard to do; but the Heavenly influences having power over mortals actions, we must believe that they seconded not these designs; for though the Coadjutor suspected not these plots, yet being wish'd by his friends to be circumspect, he withdrew himself to his house early, and went not out by night, not so much out of any apprehension of the Prince, as of the Cardinal, least he should have indeavoured his death, and lay the fault upon the Prince, who was his more discovered Enemy. So as *Gurville* perceiving that in many days the Coadjutor returned home late but once, and then well accompanied,

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Count *Tavanes*, who (as hath been said) was gotten to *Stenay*, and to the neighbouring places, with the Prince his Troops; knowing that he could not subsist in those parts, sought how to get with his men into *Guienne*, where the Prince wanted old Soldiers. But finding the chief passes possessed by the King's Soldiers, he sent to *Flanders* to negotiate with the *Spaniards*, and being promised to be received by them, he past with his Troops over the *Meuse*, and retreated towards *Charlemont*: where being eyed by the King's Forces under the Command of Marshal *Ferte Senestre*, he with much danger past over part of *Luxemburg*, and going over the River *Semois* near *Sedam*, and then by *Liège*, he repast over the *Meuse* at the Bridge of *Givet*, and entered safely into *Hannant*; and so having with these few Forces escaped the King's Soldiers, they were received, and quartered in the *Spanish* Towns, whereby *France* was freed of their continual inroads. And the *Spaniards* intentions being to let all other things alone, and foment civil war in *France*, they furnished the said *Tavanes* with monies, as well to satisfy his Soldiers, who for want thereof lessened daily, some running away, some dying for want, as to make them fit to go through with their design; in pursuit whereof the *Spaniards* failed not to increase the jealousies, and distasts, which the Parliament of *England* pretended to have received from *France*, as well for the welcome which the King of great *Britain* and his followers received there, and for their inciting the *Scots* to go against this new Commonwealth; as for Piracies committed by the *French* upon divers of their Merchants Ships, in the Mediterranean Sea, and out of the natural emulation between those two Nations, for it was easie for them to get a great many *Irish* Foot from the *English* for their King's service in *Spain*, which were willingly granted them, as well to weaken that Island by taking away many of their Soldiers which were almost all Catholics: as also thereby to ballance the power of *France*, whereof *England* was very jealous. And to back the Prince of *Conde* in *Guienne*; after they had confederated with him, they sent Baron *Batteville* with 13 Frigats, and 6 fire Ships, from *St. Sebastian* to *Burdeaux*, carrying with them 1500 Foot, monies, and other warlike provisions; who coming upon the Coast of *St. Onge*, was there complemented in the Prince his name by Marquis *Lusignan*, and on the 25th. of October, a *Spanish* Brigantine entred *Burdeaux* with some men, and monies, who in the name of the King of *Spain* negotiated a good intelligence with the *Burdellois*, to make them keep firm to *Conde*. The *Spaniards* were first received into *Talmont*, a Town upon *Garonne*, and then into *Bury*, to the number of 1200 com-

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manded by *Jussepe Oxorio*, who was made Governour, and fortified the Towns; this was given as a cautionary Town to the Spaniards. The King of Spain did also command Archduke *Leopald* in Flanders, to foment the Princes in France as much as he could, and to give over all other proceedings, rather than to let slip so fair an opportunity of nourishing civil War in these two chief parts of France, to wit, *Guienne* and *Champagna*. The Queen was much troubled at these preparations, knowing how prejudicial it would be to the Crown, if the Spaniards and Rebell French should make a nest there, whereby revolts might daily be made in the Kingdom; she therefore wisely applyed all means to destroy it: and since all the rest of the Kingdom was quiet, and that only *Burdeaux* and some other few Towns in that Province stood for *Conde*, without Veteran Soldiers, with but little monies and provisions; she was resolved to vanquish him before he should have fortified himself better, and before the Spaniards should give him any more assistance. She brought the Council to resolve, that the King should advance with his Army into *Poitiers*, as was done; but before they marched from *Burges* the King writ a Letter to *Mazarine*, dated the 26th. of October, the words whereof were these:

Cousin, I have reason to believe, that according to orders which were sent you, you have raised the Troops which you were commanded to do, and that they are already ready to march to my relief. My desire is, that it be suddenly done, and that you come along with them; to which purpose I have also written to Marishal de Oquin-court to advance with the Forces he hath raised in Picardy, and Champagna, and by an order sent unto him, have commanded all the Cities and Towns within my Kingdom to give them quarter, and to all my Officers, and Subjects to be assistant to them in their march, I am confident out of the affection, and loyalty which you have always born to my service, that you will do this, it being my will, and so, Cousin, God have you in his protection.

He also writ to Marishal de Oquin-court to raise as many men as he could in Picardy, and Champagna, to joyn with the Cardinal, and that they should come joyntly in to his succor.

Things being thus ordered, the King, Queen, Duke of Anjou, and all the Court went with their Forces on the 25th. of October towards *Poitiers*; the greatest Town in France next *Paris*, but not much peopled: it is the Metropolis of *Poitou*, seated in the heart of France, very strongly, partly on a plain, partly on a hill, watered by the River *Cleive*, and inclosed within Ponds and Marishes, which render it almost inaccessible, it is not far from *Rochel*; and because Marishal de *Estres* had not the Command of this Army, who being Lieutenant General of *Vallois*, and *Laonois*, was gone thither to keep them in obedience during the King's absence, Count *Paluan* was last Commander in chief in *St. Amand*, near *Montrond*, to continue the Siege slowly, the Court being unprovided of men and monies for so many enterprises at one and the same time.

Count *Harcourt* being design'd General of the Army, and Governour of *Guienne*, followed the Court to *Poitiers*, from whence the King writ to the Duke of *Orleans*, complaining grievously of the Prince his proceedings, saying, that by his procurement the Spanish Fleet was in the mouth of the *Garonne*, and that many of his Subjects forewent their obedience, that it being therefore necessary for his Majesty to go into those parts, he gave him notice of it, to the end that he might know he was resolved to keep his Subjects from being injured by the Prince; who having forgotten his word solemnly given, and confirm'd by oath, that he would never have any

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any dependance upon the Crowns Enemies, nor receive any assistance from them, could not but expect punishment from God, for failing in his duty and allegiance to his King.

The Prince having this mean while secured *Agen*, the second City of *Gascony*; and Marquess *St. Luke* having fortified *Montauban*, and *Cobors* with men, and monies, he left *Marsine* to command the Forces in those parts; and he himself accompanied by Duke *Rocheaucourt*, and Prince *Taranto*, resolved to go to *Xantes*, where staying upon *Charente* he pretended to keep the War from *Burdeaux*, whose Inhabitants dreaded the King's neighborhood very much, reflecting upon what had been done before: but it being hard to maintain an Army without the conveniency of a City, or some great Towns, from whence Bread, Munition, and other provisions may be had; before he went from *Burdeaux*, he sent Prince *Taranto*, Duke *Richelieu*, and Count *de Ognon*, with such as they had raised to take *Xantes* the Metropolis of *St. Onge*. Monsieur *Bassompier*, Son to the Marishal of that name, who was Bishop of that place, strove to make the Inhabitants defend the Town; but they considering the weakness of their old walls, and the want of many other necessaries, instead of taking up Arms, accepted of an honourable composition offer'd by the Princes, and received them into the Town, where they made their head quarter, and grounded their greatest security. After the taking of *Xantes*, the like of the Castle of *Taleburg* followed upon the same *Charente*: wherefore the Prince bethought himself of taking *Angalesme*, which hath a considerable Castle; but not being sufficiently provided for such an enterprise, he turn'd upon *Cognack*, begirt with old weak walls, but guarded with a great Garrison by Marquess *Gionsack*, Governour thereof: by which *Conde* would have secured that tract of Country which extends it self to the Rivers of *Dordone* and *Garonne*, and would have kept the King's Forces from entering into *Guienne*, and might have quartered in that rich and plentiful Country. He left the taking thereof, which he thought would not prove difficult, to the Duke of *Rocheaucourt*, and Prince *Taranto*, and went himself to *Burdeaux* to be assistant in the affairs which were in treaty there; particularly with the Spanish Agents, as also to consult with Count *Ognone*, touching the managing of the begun War, whom he persuaded it was necessary to put 4000 Soldiers into *Rochel*, and to make use of that situation which lay convenient to receive relief from Spain, and England, and to secure all the Islands, and Towns taken by *Ognone*. The Prince his intention herein was, how to puzzle the Court most, and how to lay a solid foundation for the subsistence of his party; by making a firm place of retreat and easie to be preserved; without being necessitated to rely upon the unstable people, or confused Parliament of *Burdeaux*; and might have kept on the Wars; but particular interests having always been the ruine of better Resolutions, *Ognone* would not agree thereto; least if the Prince should become master of that place, he should not be so considerable to him, as now he was: wherefore his answer was that he promised, and was confident to preserve it, and that no fear was to be had thereof; whereby the Prince found that the Count dreaded the Kings small Forces more than he did confide in his own.

When the King was got to *Poitiers*, he halted there, not thinking it fit to advance further, there being no other Cities capable of his Court in those parts, save *Xantes* which was already in the Prince his possession, and *Angalesme*, and *Rochel*, which were somewhat far off; and having exactly ponderated in his Counsel what was best to be done, it was found necessary to secure *Rochel*, and to keep the Male-contents from making far-

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Rochel being thus secured for the King, *Harcourt* went immediately from *Surgeres*, with the rest of the Forces which he had, and came the same day to *St. John de Angeli*, being resolved to relieve *Cognack*; the good success whereof depending upon making haste, he marched all night, leading the Horse along with him, and as many Foot as he could, intending to assault the Suburbs by break of day, which was intrench'd by the Prince his men, and guarded by above 800 Commanded Foot; with whom the Army incamped beyond the River did communicate, by means of a Bridge upon Boats which was made to that end: but the night being so dark, and rainy, as the Soldiers not being able to march apace, the Sun was risen before they had gotten half way, the Count was forced to return to *St. John de Angeli*; but this sinister incounter may be said to have the prelude of fortunate success; for if they had fallen upon it that day, they would not peradventure have had that good success which they had afterwards. For *Harcourt* thinking how to compass his intent, was advertised by an express sent from *Johnsack*, and *Bellafons*, that they were able to make good the Town for three or four days, if they were provided with Warlike Ammunition. This employment was given to *Pelseran*, wherein he succeeded, conveying in some sacks of powder: they being thus recruit-

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ed, *Harcourt* advanced with the rest of his men to *Breissemburg*. *Conde's* generals proceeded slowly in the siege; the Town had assuredly fallen into the Princes hands, had he not staid so long in *Burdeaux*, but he came not to his Camp till the night preceding the relief; where finding the River infinitely swollen with water, and the Bridge upon Boats ready to break by the rage of the water, he knew that the Kings men would raise the siege; wherefore that he might not lose the men who were quartered beyond *Charente*, he made them pass over to the other side, leaving only 18 Companies of the *Guienne* Brigade, which might amount to about 800 Foot, with Officers to guard the Town. *Harcourt* being advertised of all this, resolved not to lose the opportunity, but immediately made Marquess *Plessis Belliere* advance, that together with *Folleville* he might accost the besieged Town; as he did, with five Companies of the French guard, commanded by *Genlis*, two Companies of Switzers, the King, and Queens *Gens de Armes*, and Horse, *Jernack's* Regiment, 300 Foot of the recruit, and the Gentry of *Poitou*, and *St. Onge*; all which he drew forth in Battel array within sight of the Town, and of the Enemies Camp. *Cognack* upon the banks of the River *Charente*, having a Bridge, which passeth into the Suburbs beyond the water, and an old Castle begirt with strong Walls, and Towers, and with a large deep ditch; but it being requisite that at the same time when the Suburbs should be assaulted on the other side, the besieged should also make a Sally and assault the Suburbs; Monsieur de *Rochecheviera* was sent into the Town to make agreements with those Commanders, and ordering the assault in three parts, that of the middle was given in charge to *Plessis Belliere*, with the French guards, and 150 forlorn Foot, led on by Captain *Chassonville*; that on the right hand was led on by Monsieur *Folleville*, with the Switzers' Guard, back'd by the Queens *Gens de Armes*, and Cavalry; that on the left hand was given to Monsieur *Haudecourt*, with *Harcourt's* Recruit back'd by the King's Cavaliers, and by the Duke of *Ribohans*, *Gens de Armes*. The rest of the Horse were placed in a convenient place, to back those that were to give the assault; affairs being thus ordered, *Harcourt* summon'd the Suburbs, who answered with the mouth of their Musquets, and Monsieur de *St. Aubine*, a Domestick of the Prince who commanded there, said, that was all the composition which they would give. So as the French guards advancing under Monsieur *Chassonville*, they made themselves masters of the first Barricado, as did all the rest with miraculous courage on their parts. Monsieur *Heudicourt* was wounded on the thigh by a Musquet; *Vmont*, Captain of the Switzers guard, *Cavalliere Bagnol*, *Beauvoire* Captain of *Harcourt's* Regiment, and Monsieur *Godiniere* were also wounded.

At the same time Monsieur *Bellafons* came out with the Gentry which were in the Town, and assaulted the same Suburbs on another part which opens upon the Bridge, whereby he kept the Enemy from saving themselves by the River: so as after a stout defence, the Suburbs was storm'd, and all that were in it either slain or taken Prisoners; amongst which Monsieur de *St. Aubine*, *Noier*, and many other Commanders were taken, and four Captains, eight Lieutenants, and about 300 Soldiers were slain, and the Town was opportunely relieved to *Harcourt's* great glory; for it was done in sight of the Enemies Army, and of *Conde's* self, who was ready to go wild, seeing his men routed, and had he not been hindered by his men, he would have put himself into a small Boat, and have endangered himself, to relieve his party. The business of *Cognack* being thus vanisht, whereupon the Prince did build very much, they who had conceived great hopes were much dejected, and the Prince his business grew daily worse; he retreated with his Forces in such confusion, as they left

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behind them twelve Cart load of Ammunition; as also Prince *Taranto's* baggage, and in passing over a little River, the Prince his Van taking their own Reer, for *Harcourt's* Forces, was so terrified, as seeking to save themselves, many of them were drowned.

But because the getting of the three Towers upon the Gate which were fortified, made much for the peaceful possession of *Rochel*, *Estifack* having received Artillery and some recruit of Soldiers, presented himself before that of *la Cateau*, and *Lanthörn*, the Soldiers when they saw the Canon ready to thunder upon them, surrendered upon conditions. But the third, which was greater and much stronger, called *St. Nicola*, gave more trouble to the Kings men, there being above 120 Soldiers in it, with several valiant Commanders; so as *Harcourt* came before it himself in person with more strength, and assaulted the said Tower, the Governour resolved to parly: but *Harcourt* answering that he could not treat with a Rebel, and telling the Soldiers that they should have no quarter, unless they would kill their Governour, and throw him out of the Window into the Ditch: they were so terrified as they slew their Commander, and surrendered on the 27th. of November, and *Rochel*, together with the Country of *Aunis* remain'd well Garrison'd under the Government of *Estifack*. The zeal which not only the Catholick Officers shewed upon this occasion to the Kings service is remarkable, but even the *Hugonots*, who shewed excessive hatred against *Ognone*. The Island of *Rhe* submitted likewise to the King.

After these prosperous successes, Count *Harcourt* went from *Rochel* to a Village three leagues off, the weather being so bad as would not suffer his Foot to come further than *Surgeres*; where hearing that Cavalliere *Cregui* was come to *Parancy*, which was within two leagues with the *Flanders* Forces, and that the Prince had caused his whole Army to come on this side the River over the Bridge of *Tonney Charente*, he thought to make use of the occasion which was fortunately offer'd him by this recruit. He therefore sent away orders to the said *Cregui* to muster all his men in *Parancy*, whither he himself went the last of that month, intending to surprize the Prince by a secret and sudden march, to which purpose causing all his Forces to pass over a certain Ford by which he was to go, he put himself in Battle array before *Tonney Buttonne* a little walled Town, where there is a great Tower, wherein the Prince had placed some Musquetiers to make good that station: where leaving some few Soldiers to take it, he presently advanced his guards under *Plessis Pralin*, and gave him order to charge some Squadrons of the Enemy, which appeared on the top of the hills near *Moragne*, behind the which he thought the Enemies whole Army had been, and so to give them battle; but they by the advantage of the night were not seen, so they came not to blowes till the next morning, when the Kings men being come within sight of the Enemy, *Cregui* on the right hand, *Bellesons* on the left, and the Volunteers in the midst, inheartned by *Harcourt*, who followed them with the body of the Army, they charged the Enemies Squadrons so bravely; as though they resisted stoutly, yet they were pierced through and through, and pursued to a breast-work where the Prince stood with other twelve Squadrons, and could not keep his men from being slain and taken. *Plessis Belliere*, and the other Officers who were on the head of the *Anjou's* Regiment, seeing there was no means to pass the breast-work which *Conde* defended with a considerable body of men, and discovering that there was a quarter on the left hand, from whence some Troops pretended to go and joyn with the grosse body, they charged them so hotly as many were slain upon the place, others saved themselves in the washes, and the rest got to a strong house,

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house, where they rendred upon discretion to the *Anjou's* Regiment. *Harcourt* with some others advancing at the same time to cut off the way from the Princes men, met with another breast-work which hindred him, and the night coming on parted the two Armies. The Kings men were incamped half a league from the Enemy, who return'd to *Tonney Charente*, and past by right over the River, having lost 3 or 4 hundred Gentlemen, together with divers Officers and their baggage. *Harcourt* went afterwards to *Tonney Charente*, having re-made the Bridge which the Prince had broken. Thus the two Armies stood facing one another for about 20 days, making only some small Skirmish.

At the same time the Cattle of *Dion* which till then had held for *Conde* was after 12 days siege surrender'd to *Espernoun*. The King had all this while deferred his Declaration against *Conde*, hoping that being aware of his error, he would accept of the agreement managed by the Duke of *Orleans*, who proceeding slowly therein, the Court grew jealous that they held intelligence together; and that though they seemed to oppose the Cardinals return, yet they did in their hearts desire it, that they might make good their pretences, which were grown very low, and to draw over the people to them: but at last on the 16th. of November the said Declaration was sent to the Parliament of *Paris*, and was presented by the first President which caused great noise in the City, and chiefly in the Duke of *Orleans* his Court, and amongst the *Frondeurs*, the Declaration said, That the Prince of *Conde* was become guilty of high Treason, having taken up Arms against his Sovereign, and against the State; that he held confederacy with the *Spaniard*, intending through his ambition to disturb the peace of the Kingdom. The Prince of *County*, Dutcheff of *Longueville*, Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Rocheaucourt*, with other of their friends and adherents were contained in the same Declaration. The King's Declarations being to be registred in Parliament, they could not refuse to do it, seeing that *Conde* was in open War against the King; it was therefore Registred; but with a caution that the Prince might have a months space to return to his obedience; but the *Frondeurs*, not being content with the proceeding of Parliament, and highly netled with the fame of the actions of the King's Forces in *Guienne*, foreseeing thereby the Prince his ruine, and therewith the like of their own faction; on the beginning of December scattered abroad divers papers in the Streets of *Paris*, inviting the people to meet in *Torron-street*, intending by sedition to cause the Parliament to make such Declarations, as might divert the Court from their begun proceedings against the Princes. And some of the most outrageous, getting into the midst of an insolent Rabble, went first with them to *L'Hostelle de Orleans*, exclaiming against the bad Government; and then went to the first Presidents house who strongly defended the Courts cause, and consequently the Cardinals; for he was grown so hated by the Male-contentes, as upon this occasion, and many others, he was in danger of being hainously outraged: but being a courageous Gentleman, instead of hiding himself, he came down into the yard to that tumultuous rout, and did by his presence so appease their fury, as it might be well seen these tumultuaries were set on more by others than by their own passion; for when they saw him not, they were enraged against him, and when they saw him, had not a word to say, such force hath integrity, and a masculine vertue, to mollifie any unbridled insolency.

The Parliament being met the 9th. of the next month, made another decree against the Cardinal, upon advertisement that he raised men to re-enter *France*; and began to think upon all means how to hinder his return; but he staying still at *Dinan*, solicited new leavies, whereby

1651. to come and re-inforce the King, and his time of departure growing near, he renewed his desire of a passport from the *Spaniards*; but they feeding him only with words, he stole away suddenly one night, and without drawing bridle for eighteen hours went to *Bovillion*, not without danger of being interrupted by the *Spaniards*, who kept an eye upon him; or by *Conde's* Forces, who being quartered on the other side the River, did ever and anon, make excursions into the neighbouring parts. He sent from thence to acquaint the *Spanish* Commanders that he was gone; and that though they would not pleasure him with a pass, he hoped they would favour his friends with one; which was presently granted, and they were with much honour conducted by *Don Antonio Pimontel* to *Bovillion*; from whence going to *Sedam*, he resolved to march forthwith with the 4000 men which he had raised, into *France*, together with the Forces of *Marishal de Oquin-court*, which were sent unto him by the King.

When this news came to *Paris*, it caused great rumour, and the *Frondeurs*, Parliament, and Dukes of *Orleans*, and *Beaufort* were more troubled than the rest; who being surprised when they least thought of it, said aloud that it was not to be thought the Court would have so apparently broken their word which was so faithfully given, and that their scorn in being thus deluded was too apparent. They therefore hereupon called together all the Chambers of Parliament, and decreed that in prosecution of the judgment given by the Parliament four days before, Commissioners should be sent to their Majesties to complain of what was done contrary to their Majesties service upon the Frontiers, by raising men, giving out of monies, and by news of the Cardinals return, which were all contrary to his Majesties Declaration, and the Duke of *Orleans* was desired to send some from him to joyn with these Commissioners, and to insist upon keeping the Cardinal from returning. They afterwards by publick decree prohibited all Cities, Towns, and Governours upon those Frontiers to assist him upon pain of high Treason, and though they got but little good by these Declarations, at which all men laughed, thinking it a madness in them to command, where the King had all lawful power, yet some of them were so bewitch'd by a foolish presumption of Authority, as they believed an order of Parliament was sufficient to keep the whole Kingdom in obedience. So proceeding from one inconvenience to another, declared on the 29th. of *December*, that the Cardinal had incur'd high Treason, for having contrary to their prohibitions, return'd to *Sedam*, and being ready to return to *France*. They ordered also that his Library, and all his Moveables should be sold, and all his Rents and Benefices were confiscated; and voted 50000 Crowns to be given to any body that would kill him, or bring him alive into the hands of justice, desiring his Majesty in such case to grant a pardon to the Murderer, who if through misfortune he should be slain in doing it, they declared the 50000 Crowns should be given to his Heirs. This infamous and scandalous decree, by what was known afterwards, was made by the private intelligence of Count *Chavigny*, who by this means thought to keep the Cardinal from returning.

The Court of *Rome* was acquainted with all this, it being believed that the Sacred Colledge would not suffer such an example to remain in memory of man, and that such remedies might be found for it as depend upon the Pope's Authority; but it being considered that if they should fail in their attempt, the Apostolick dignity might be too far engaged, it was past over, nor did the Cardinal want Enemies as well in *Rome*, as in *France*.

This mean while *Marishal de Oquin-court* following the King's orders, had

1651. had appointed the Rendezvous of the Forces which he had raised in *Champagna* and *Picardy*, to be about *Laon*, to joyn with the Cardinal, and those that he had raised, to come with him into *France*; so as the appointment being made to meet about *Dormans* and *Esperney* upon the *Marne* on the beginning of *January*, the *Marishal* went from *Peronne* on the 18th. of *December*, and accompanied by many other Nobles, he past through *Han* and *Fera*, and coming to *Nifis*, he found there 2000, what Foot, what Horse, and divers other Regiments wherewith he marched the next day towards the River *Aisne* passing over the Bridge *Arcy*, and *la Merne*, and staid at *Troisy* expecting the Cardinal, who having left his alliances at *Sedam*, marched towards *Esperney*, whither he came the second of *January* with about 5000 choice men, and he was met there by several other Forces, and three pieces of Canon. *Oquin-court* met the Cardinal at *Esperney*, where it was concluded that *Oquin-court* should advance with 1000 Horse, and possess himself of the passes of the Rivers *Aube*, and *Senna*, which he did; then passing over the *Aube* without any obstacle near *Anglure*, and *la Senna* at *Mery* he met with the Foot, and Horse Regiments of *Monsieur St. Moore*. Where hearing that the Duke of *Orleans* had sent out four Companies of the *Languedock* Brigade to *Pont sur Iona*; *Oquin-court* advanced with 1000 Horse, endeavouring to get to that Town before the Enemy should be aware of his march. On the 9th. of *January* he was upon *Alba*, where being informed that two of the Counsellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Bytant*, and *Coudrey Genies* were come thither to break the Bridge, and to raise the Country against the Cardinal, he made a party of his men ford over the River, to discri some Horse, with whom they skirmished, and slew some of them, and took *Bitant* Prisoner, but *Coudrey* escaped to *Sens*. The *Marishal* being come to the head of the Bridge, which the Towns-men broke down, he acquainted them with the Kings orders, and speaking with *Monsieur Morandiere*, who commanded *Orleans* his Forces, and had orders to resist him, he caused some of his Horse-men to light, who fell so courageously upon the Bridge, as *Morandiere*, articed to return to his Master, leaving the pass free to the Cardinal: it was thought that he had secret orders from the Princes not to hinder him, though he could: for finding their business grow desperate, since the whole Kingdom inclined to the King, they knew nothing could keep them from ruine, but some new pretence whereby to justify their cause, and keep the Subjects from assisting their Sovereign, and that therefore they did not all they were able to oppose their march.

But because *Marishal Turenne* having honourably disingaged himself of the *Spaniards* service, and had refused all the offers made by *Conde*, and was reconciled to the King; *Conde* gave the command of his Forces in *Flanders* to the Duke of *Nemours*; who in the beginning of the year 1652, went privately from *Burdeaux*, giving it out that he went by Sea into *Flanders*; but came first to *Paris* by bye-ways where the Duke of *Orleans* seemed to be very well pleased, as having need of opportune succour; and he was received with extraordinary applause by the *Parisians*, and because the Coadjutor thought to make the Duke of *Orleans* foment a third party of *French* Mule-contents, and Enemies to the Cardinal, he used all his industry to effect it, to the end that making the Queen afraid that the Duke might adhere more narrowly to *Conde*, he thought she might be necessitated to keep the Cardinal away for ever; in which case the Duke by joyning with the Court interest, and strengthening himself by the *Lorrain* Forces, he should also undo *Conde* for ever.

But Count *Chavigny*, with other of the Prince his friends, held the Duke

1651. of Orleans stedfast, they made him see that he could not subsist but by joyning with the Prince. *Nemeurs* stipulated the agreement in the Prince his name with the Duke, the contents whereof were the keeping the Cardinal away, and a general peace.

The news being known in *Paris*, and the orders given by the King contrary to his former Declarations, it is not to be said, how incensed those were, who were of a contrary spirit; but all they could do was to make a noise in *Paris*; for the Kings power prevailed in the Kingdom. And though the Cardinal was withstood in one place, he was fomented in another. The Parliament of *Britanny*, being desired by that of *Paris* to make the like decree with them in favour of the Princes, against the Cardinal, did order on the contrary, that proceedings against him should be suspended, till the Prince should perform his duty, and till the Spanish Forces should be gone out of the Kingdom: but though the rancor of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of the *Frondeurs* could not be greater than it was, yet could not the *Parissans* be brought to disburse monies for the raising of men, and to provide against the threatening occurrences, but were always readier to lay on their mouths, than to lay out their monies; the noise continued still in the Palace. The first week of *January* the Parliament ordered the Cardinals moveables to be sold, and not to make good the Kings Declarations against the Prince, till that against the Cardinal were effected. Wherefore the Cardinal must be gone out of the Kingdom again, ere the Parliament would pass the said verification; to which purpose they made many resolves which were great in appearance, but weak in substance, and some Deputations were sent unto the King. The Court spoke ambiguously, and spun out business at length, hoping the time would alay the bitterness of turbulent spirits. The Queen sent Monsieur *Rouvigny* to exhort the Duke of *Orleans* earnestly to remove from *Paris*, so to take away the apprehensions which were had of him, but it did no good. The Parliament added to their instructions given to their Deputies which they sent unto the King, that they should press *Bitaut's* Release, and that Marishal *Milleray* should not be made a Duke, till he had given satisfaction to the Parliament of *Rheims* in *Britanny*; and moreover that no Duke, Marishal of *France*, or other Officer should execute their function afterwards, till the Cardinal were withdrawn from the Kingdom; which was thought was done to take away the great credit which he had in disposing of the Offices of the Crown, and making those his friends whom he had preferred thereunto. But the Nobility made small account of this; the more incensed the Parliament grew against the Court, the less did they value any of its decrees, since they might be annulled by the King's Authority. And therefore those who sounded affairs to the bottom found it was best to keep the paths of obedience, and not walk in the crooked ways of precipice: therefore the Princess Palatine, who at first was *Conde's* friend, grew a great confident to the Queen and Cardinal. The Queen sent for her to Court, that by her ready and ingenious spirit she might foment such as were proper to destroy the Cabal of Male-contents; whither she and divers other Lords came. This mean while the Cardinal coming with the Army and all the Generals, from *Pont Sur Iona*, went to *Chasteau regnarde*, where hearing that Marquess *Sourdis*, Governour of *Orleans*, was come to *Gien* to keep him from passing over the *Loire*, he found that the Citizens would not receive *Sourdis* men, who fearing to be arrested, withdrew his men, and in great haste retreated to *Orleans*. The Cardinals Army therefore at that Bridge past over the *Loire*, and quartered in the Suburbs beyond the River, and in the neighbouring Villages; and going along by *Aubigny*, came to

Veirson,

1651. *Veirson*, where he left his Army to be brought by Count *Broglio* to *Guiennes*, and he came on the 28th. of *January* to *Poitiers*, accompanied by *Oquincourt*, *Grance*, *Nauailles*, *Maincamp*, *Quincy*, *Cossy*, *Beaune*, *Lainville*, and other considerable persons. He was met without the City by the King, Duke *Anjou*, Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and by all the Princes and Grandees of the Court. The King came out of the Coach, embraced the Cardinal, and went along with him to the Queen, whose joy, as also that of the whole Court was greater than ever; but the gladder these were, the sorer were those of the contrary party: which did not appear more in any place than in *Burdeaux*. Whose Parliament followed the example of that of *Paris*, and continuing their meetings, and unlawful decrees, drove whole Families of such as were well affected to the Kings service, out of the City. They took a Brigade of Foot. into pay, to guard the Town; they provided Victuals and Ammunition; raised plat-forms, half Moons, and other Fortifications about the Walls, whereunto the Citizens did freely contribute their Monies, by little and little they framed the Council *del l' Olmiers*, so called from the Elm, under which it was kept: which grew so great and so considerable afterwards, as in a short time it arrogated all Authority unto it self, whence many disorders arose, as shall be said. The chief directors hereof were Advocate *Pex*, *Freshue Gay*, and two others called *Villars*, and *Durastote*, who were fomented by President *Gourges*, *Blanc*, *Maurisins*, *Espannes*, *Raimonde*, Duke, who were all of them Counsellors, and by other unquiet spirits who thirsted after Novelty; and all this was done under the protection of the Princes, who made use of these, to keep the other Citizens true to them, and to abate the pretensions of Parliament.

When the Cardinal was entered into *France*, the King with his Council of State, did on the 16th. of *January* annul the decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, made the 29th. of *December*, expressly forbidding all men to obey it, and not to attempt any thing against the Cardinal upon pain of life. He prohibited the sale of his goods, or books; the offenders being to lose as much as they should pay for them, and be fined in 1000 pound, he declared that the said decree was contrary to his intent, contrary to the usual course of justice, and to the custome of the Kingdom, injurious to the sacred Colledge of Cardinals, and to the Apostolike See; that the Cardinal was come into the Kingdom by his express order, and to bring with him a good body of Souldiers, raised at his own charge, to serve him in these present commotions; and that being supream King he ought to be obeyed by his Subjects without limitation.

The Prince of *Conde* not being able to keep longer in the field, as well by reason of the season, as by the blows which he had received from *Harcourt*, put his Forces into their Winter quarters, beyond the *Dragona*. to secure them by that great River, upon which he had divers good Cities and Towns; and having won over the Duke of *Rohan*, *Cabot*, Governour of *Anjou*, who took his pretence upon the Cardinals return, and encouraged by the Army raised in *Flanders* by Count *Tavannes*, which was just then to enter the Kingdom; he caused the people of *Angiers* to rise; he provided the Castle with all things necessary, and pretended to second the Princes party, whereinto upon several hopes he had thrown himself. *Angiers* is the chief City in *Anjou* washed by the River *Main*, which divides into two parts, and a little below falls into the *Loire*: it hath a very long Bridge well built, with houses on both sides; it is begirt with walls, and Towers all antique; the Castle stands upon a heighth, flanked by Eighteen square Towers, built of black Stone, with a Ditch cut out of a

Rock,

Rock, and hath a River on one side, which on that part makes it unaccessible.

The Prince garrison'd *London*, *Durtal*, *la Fleche*, and other walled Towns. The Lieutenant General of *Angiers* was arrested, and Monsieur *Arnaud*, formerly Abbat of *St. Nicholas*, then Bishop of that City being gone into the Country of *Servient*, found the gates lock'd upon him at his return, and was not suffer'd to enter; The King staid six days at *Poitiers* after the Cardinals return, wherein great concourse of Gentlemen, and Commissioners from all Provinces came to him to do their duties and to assure him of their loyalty.

Divers Councils were held frequently about the present affairs, which were reduced to two points; the one to go with all their Forces into *Guienne*, to defeat *Conde* totally, and vanquish *Burdeaux*, and this was seconded by the Queen, and Cardinal, who alledged that *Conde* had but a few men with him, and those no veterans, who were cow'd by being beaten, so as he would easily be made to fly into *Spain* with loss of all his Forces, and reputation; and though (the season of the year considered) was thought might prove long, yet they did not doubt the issue. The other was to march towards *Paris* with most of their Forces to dissipate the Duke of *Orleans* his men, to countenance the well affected Citizens, and to keep out *Nemours* his men, who were to come from *France*. Several reasons were alledged for both these opinions; but it not being thought fit to leave the Prince in *Guien* where he might recruit himself, and put himself into a condition of continuing the War, the first opinion was adhered unto, and it had been effected, had not the insurrection at *Angiers* hindered it; for instead of going to *Guien*, the Cardinal thought fit to march to *Saumur*, which was done on the 6th. of *February*, much to the grief of *Marquess Chasteauneuf*, who finding that it was resolved in the Council to go for *Guien*, and that afterwards without his knowledge the march to *Anjou* was resolved upon, thought he was not much considered; and that the Cardinal was again become the Arbitrator of all things: wherefore he resolved to do as you shall hereafter. Their Majesties were received by Monsieur *Cominges* Governour of the Castle, and by all the Inhabitants with much joy: and here the news of the Duke of *Rohan's* preparations continuing, and that he fortified the bridge of *Cee*, the King ordered *Marquess Oquin-court* to advance with his Forces, and to endeavor by the assistance of the loyal Subjects to get into the Town.

Oquin-court went from *Saumur* on the Tenth of *February* with the Horse Regiments of *Espace*, *Roquespina*, with *Fertes Gens de Armes*, and with *Mazarins*, and *Barbarino's* light Horse; and came the same day to *Beaufort*; where being advertised from the King, that the Inhabitants had promised to keep a gate open for him, he marched thitherward two hours before day with his Cavalry only, re-inforced by 100 *Norman* Gentlemen which young Count *Grance* brought; and the next day he appeared before the City; charged the Enemies that sallied out, set upon the Barricado but to little purpose, for it was impossible to storm it without Foot; he lost some Horse, and had some Gentlemen hurt. The besieged sallied out at the same time against the Guard by the Mills, but were repuls'd by *Voluntiers* who came speedily thither. Five Companies of the Guards coming in afterwards, he the next morning fell upon the Suburbs of *Bersigny*, guarded by *Barra's* Regiment, and by the Inhabitants called *Loricers*, more seditious than the rest, who basely did abandon it, and the Kings men entering, fell suddenly to make a Barricado against the City, whereby to fence themselves against a Raveline and a Tower upon the Gate; from whence

whence Monsieur de *Juxsen* a Son of *Oquin-court* was slain by the shot of a *Falconet*. And another Gentleman was slain near *All-Saints* Gate.

But the Marishal wanted Forces to take the City, wherefore Count *Broglia* was ordered to advance with his Troops, and Marishal *Milkeray* was ordered to furnish him with four pieces of Battery, and with necessary Ammunition, which was readily done; but it was very hard to bring them, by reason of the extraordinary waters and high wind; their being neither Bridges, nor Barks to pass the Horse over; and for that the Duke of *Rohan*, had fortified a Village called *Pointa*, upon the mouth of the River, and furnished it with a great Garrison and with armed Boats; yet *Broglia* made a shift to get over in certain small Boats, and came without delay before the said *Pointa*, where he charged the Enemy in their Trenches, overcame them, and got into the Village, just when those of the armed Boats were come on land, and were going to *Dine*. He took *Cavalliere Jersé*, and divers other Officers Prisoners; and made himself master of the place, and Pass, so as great Artillery, and Ammunition might be brought to the Camp before *Angiers*; wherewith the Batteries were perfected. They then opened the Trenches, and the Kings men approached the Wall; from whence the besieged shooting off small pieces, and Musquets, the only Son of *Marquess Florenville* was slain. The Duke of *Rohan* being straitned, and wanting succor beat a parly, desired a suspension of Arms, and leave for his Wife to come forth, and treat of composition, which was granted; and it was agreed that he for a while should be deprived of the Government of that Province; that he should put the Castle into the King's hands, and that without undertaking any thing contrary to the Kings service, he might retreat quietly with his Family to *Paris*.

The Garrison of *Ponte de Ce* was not comprehended in this Capitulation; which holding for the Princes Forces were sent against it, under the same Count *Broglia*, and Count *Naivailles*; to each of which, Marishal de *Oquin-court* assigned 400 commanded men, this place lies in an Island in the midst of the *Loire*, begirt with several modern fortifications, and famous for Wars in former ages, so as it could not be assaulted but by Boats, and afterwards by an *Isthmus* of land which thrusts out into the River towards *Nantes*. The foresaid named Counts imbarqued with their Forces, and being backed by some *Gallifois*, landed upon the point of the Island. *Broglia* assaulted the *Tenaglia* on the right side, and *Naivailles* on the left, so courageously as they soon took it; putting most of the Defendants to the Sword. Monsieur de *Beauvean*, Governor of the place got into the Castle, caused the draw Bridge to be raised, and made signs with his hat, that he would capitulate; the Marishals self treated with him, and granted him his life upon surrender; this enterprise ended thus, whereby the whole Province remain'd in obedience to the King, with the loss of but a few remarkable people; (for besides those that dyed before *Angiers*, none dyed in this Action of *Ponte de Ce*, but the *Marquess of Signeres*, and two or three were wounded.) *Oquin-court* left a Garrison there commanded by Monsieur *Fontenelle*, Captain of the *Piemont* Regiment; he return'd from thence to *Angiers*, and then to the King at *Saumur*, whose Council thinking that he had done much, published that he had been greatly profitable.

We must not here omit to tell how Marishal *Turenne* being restored to the King's favour by the Cardinals means, presented himself before their Majesties, ere they parted from *Poitiers*, by whom he was civilly received, and without re-capitulation of any thing that was past, was taken into the

1651. esteem which he was formerly in. On the contrary, *Chasteauneuf* being troubled that the resolution of going to *Guienne* was put off without his knowledge; were it either that he had engaged himself to his friends, never to serve with the Cardinal, or that he thought he should never be able to endure him, and therefore feared himself might be removed, did of himself take his leave of the King the very morning that he went from *Poitiers*; and with his Majesties consent, retired to live privately at *Tours*; so as the Cardinal remain'd sole Arbitrator of all affairs, as formerly, but not without the Envy and Emulation of those who could not endure that the superintendency should be committed to a Forreigner.

Conde having staid two or three days at *Dromet*, went to *St. Savinian*, a place belonging to the Prince *Taranto*, where he staid a week, and return'd from thence to *Braissemburg*, and from thence to *Xaintes*, where he past over the River, and came to *Pons*. Monsieur *Baugy* Camp Marilhal advanced with 500 Horse by bye-ways, and was advertised that the Enemies Forces were quartered in several places; wherefore about Sun-set he on the tenth of *January* ford'd over the River *Ne*, at *Merpin* and two hours before day, came before *Brive*, intending to surpris some of their quarters, in which Village was *Duras* his Regiment quartered; where Monsieur *Fouville* advancing with 40 Horse, pretending to be of the same party, charged some Horse who were come out to make discovery, so furiously, as they were forced to retreat with some confusion, and *Bougi* fell so furiously upon them, as the greatest part of the Enemy were either slain, or taken. The Prince his quarters were divided far one from another; so as though the Trumpets sounded to Horse, they could not meet together time enough to escape *Anguier's* Regiment, but being charged by Monsieur *Vivias* with *Crequi's* Regiment, most of them were either kill'd, or taken Prisoners. Wherefore the Prince hearing that *Harcourt* was marching towards him, left Prince *Taranto* in *Xaintoigne*, to defended *Xaintes*, *Faileburg* and some other Towns which were for him, and went with some Horse and Foot into *Guienne* himself, that he might be sheltered by the River *Sille*, and by the Town of *Bourg*, within one league whereof *Harcourt* was lodged, who diligently pursued him. But *Ambleville*, and *Berbisieux*, two walled, and well Garrison'd Towns being on his back, which might much incommode the Army: he that would take them must leave pursuing the Prince, and give him time to look to his affairs; otherwise he should err against the Maxims of War, wherefore *Harcourt* resolv'd to continue his march, and yet at the same time to reduce the aforesaid two Towns to the Kings obedience. He sent Marquis *Plessis Belliere* against *Ambleville*, who upon the sight of the Canon reduced it; he left Monsieur *Bellafons* with the Regiment of *Picardy*, to reduce *Barbesieux*, who discharged himself therein with much honour; and *Harcourt's* self staying no where, came with miraculous speed near to *St. Andrea*, within three leagues of *Bourg*, almost before his march was known; where he found that *Aubeterre*, whom he had sent before to possess himself of the passes, and to take up quarters, had been repul'd, and but badly treated, in his attempting the Regiment of *Baltazar*, which was got into the Village of *St. Antoine*; and that the Prince was in Arms with all his men, and that he had placed himself in very good order, in advantageous places. So as not daring to advance further by reason of the advantageousness of the Prince his situation, he spent that night only in some small skirmishes; wherein *Harcourt* not being able to discover the Prince his weakness; many of whose men were wanting, and could not come up unto him, he lost an opportunity of routing

1651. routing him totally, and might peradventure have taken him Prisoner. The Prince passing his men here over the River, went to *Libourn*; and having refreshed his men there, he went to *Bergerack*, where he made the Fortifications defensible, and return'd from thence to *Libourn* to see the Princess his Wife, who was with child of a Son which was afterwards called Duke of *Bourbone*. Being advertised that the Prince of *County* had taken *Guadacoſta*, a Town three leagues from *Libourn*, and that he faced Marquis *St. Luke*, and was ready to fight him, he marched towards him, and came opportunely; for finding the King's quarters lay a sunder about *Miradaux*, he got into the midst of them; but being to pass over a Bridge, before he could assault them, they had time to give an Alarm, and to put themselves in order about that Town; notwithstanding he charged them with *Marche's* Regiment on one side, and he himself being on the head of his men, fell so furiously upon them, as he slew many, and took many Prisoners; the rest got into *Miradaux*, and gave an Alarm to the head quarter, whence *St. Luke* came out with his men, and put them into battle array. The Prince did the like, though he were fewer in number; thus they stood looking upon one another, not doing any thing. Prince *County* came thither four or five hours after with the Marquis *Montespan*, and with the rest of the Forces; and here a Council of War was held, to know whether they should charge the Kings Camp or no. *Conde's* Foot were but few, and all new men, they exceeded not 500 Foot, and 700 Horse: *St. Luke* had about 2000 old Foot, & 700 Horse, the situation was steep, and advantageous for the King's men; so as it was thought fit to forbear attempting them, till three pieces of Canon were come, which the Prince had sent by water to take in *Agen*. All the day was therefore spent in lusty skirmishes, wherein the Marquis his men had the better at first, but when the Prince having released some of the Kings men whom he had taken Prisoners, let the Enemy know that he was on the head of his Troops, the Enemy were so affrighted at his very name, as they began to retreat by night to *Leyteres*, two leagues off, in such disorder, as the Guard which was advanced by *County*, discover'd their march, and gave notice thereof to the Prince his Brother, he took with him what Horse were ready, caus'd all the rest of his Soldiers to march, and overtook the Enemy at *Miradaux*, and charged them so furiously, as he routed the Enemy, who ran with some loss; then with no less fervour, he fell upon the Brigades of *Champagnia*, and *Lorrain*; who not being able to make their party good, unbacked by Horse, got into the Town, but fared but ill; the Town is environed with old weak walls, broken down in many places, and may rather be termed an open Village, than a walled Town. The Prince summon'd Count *Marin* Camp Marilhal, and *Convanges*, Colonel of the *Lorrain's* Regiment, to surrender upon discretion; they offer'd to yield up the Town, and not to bear arms against him for six months. But *Conde* finding the Town weak, and that it wanted Warlike Ammunition, thought he should have them all Prisoners of War within two days: wherefore he refused their offer, and resolv'd to attack the Town, and planted two pieces of Artillery against it, though he had but 80 Bullets, and very little powder. The besieged were likewise but badly Ammunition'd: but *St. Luke* found means to have some brought in every night; yet the Prince resolv'd to make a breach, and made his Horse men light to give an assault, but was hinder'd, as not being in a fit condition. Count *Harcourt* was come again to *St. John de Angeli*, after his having given many defeats; where hearing of the Prince his proceedings, march'd speedily towards him, he past the *Garonne* at *Avilare*; The Prince being far inferior in number,

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ber, would not stay for him, but quitted the enterprize of *Miradoux*; and retreated to *Stafort*, where he refreshed his men, and divided his Army in *Pluma*, *Peregrin*, and in the neighbouring Towns; and sent from thence a party of Horse to inquire after *Harcourt's* ways, who was gone from *Avilare* to *Lomagna*, intending to secure his quarters, by taking *Beaumont*, a little walled Town upon the River *Gimona*. *Marquess St. Luke* being gone from *Anch* with other Forces, was marched towards him; and *Saufbeauf* advancing as near *Stafort* as he could to charge the Troops which should come out of the Enemies quarters, *Count Illabone*, and *Aubeterre*, went towards *Pluma*, to charge *Conde's Gens de Armes* who were quarter'd there, and *St. Luke* went also against *Pergaime*. *Harcourt* with the rest of the Army tarried in the midst of them, to relieve such as should have most need; The Prince not having had any news of the Enemy, till such time as they were got into the midst of his quarters, was much surpris'd; but being an excellent Commander, and good at putting on resolutions, he presently made all that were with him get on Horseback, and drawing forth his Foot, accompanied by the Dukes of *Rocheaucourt*, and *Belgarde*, *Count Marfin*, and others of condition, went to discover the King's men, which he found to be so many, as he was forced to retreat, not without danger; and sent to all his Forces to meet at *Buet*, a Town upon the *Garonne*, that they might go from thence to *Agen*. *Harcourt* pursued him, and would assuredly have routed him, had he not tarried to take *Pergaime*, whither all the Guards of the Prince his Generals were gotten, commanded by *Monsieur Roches*; where the Town being well walled, he tarried till the Prince was come to *Buet*, and had past over the *Garonne*, which was done with much fear, and in such disorder, as had but 200 of the Kings Horse then appeared, he would have run danger of being defeated and taken. The baggage which had not time to get to *Buet*, was sent by water over against *Agen*, whither it was no sooner come, but *Harcourt* (leaving *St. Luke* before *Pergaime*) followed him with the rest of his Forces to *Burg*, over against that City. *Illabone*, *Crequi*, and *Coudray*, *Monpensiere*, fell furiously upon the Baracadoes, which were no less valiantly defended, and the forlorn hope being lost, *Conde's* men did so seasonably defend themselves, as the Prince hasting thither, and sending his men to assist their fellowes, he freed them from danger, and forced the assailant to retreat; thus his baggage got safe to *Agen*, and the King's men lost their attempt. *Harcourt* staid all that day in *Estillac*; and the next day return'd to before *Pergaime*, but finding it already surrendered upon discretion, he sent *Gowdray*, *Monpensiere*, and *Fermecon* towards *Stafort*, where there was 300 of the Prince his Foot and some pieces of Artillery, and easily made part of the Garrison turn over to the King, and other some return to their own houses, upon promise never to serve any more against the King.

At the same time the *Marquesses* of *Mountonsiere*, and *Plessis Belliere*, by intelligence with the Citizens, had besieged *Xantes* by approaches, and battery. The Garrison which was not able to defend themselves against the Enemy within and without, capitulated, and on the twelfth of *March* 600 Foot, and 50 Horse marched out; which acquisition drew after it the like of *Faileburg*, whereby the whole River of *Charente* was reduced to the King's obedience, except it were *Bourages*, which held still for *Count Oguon*. Whilst the King's Forces were employ'd about *Angiers*, the Duke of *Nemours* hasting for France with the people which he had raised in *Flanders*, marched with about 8000 men for *Fonsomma* in *Picardy*, from whence he went to the Province of *Vexin*, where the Nobles being

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assembled to the number of 1000 Gentlemen, hoping to have been back by *de Elbeuf*, and *Aumont's* Forces, would have kept him from advancing, being encouraged by the Coadjutor, who having many friends in those parts, did privately endeavour to keep *Conde* from receiving so considerable Forces. But being afterward spoken unto by *Orleans*, who protested he would complain of him in case his aversion to the Prince should cause him do otherwise than he would, the Coadjutor forbore soliciting the Nobles, who were assembled at *Maine* to consult how to oppose *Nemours*; The Duke of *Orleans* sent credential Letters to them by *Marquess Villenes* to appease them, giving them his word that they should not be injured by the Soldiers. *Villenes* found them otherwise minded, so as he had much ado to persuade them: the Gentlemen were not willing to understand him; fearing least by permitting those Forces to enter their Province, they might draw the King's Forces after them, and that making that place the seat of War, they should feel those miseries which are the product of Military licentiousness; but afterwards considering that they could not keep from what they feared by opposition, they resolved to be quiet. They therefore sent three of their number to the Duke to tell him that instead of hindring, they would assist him in his march, which they ratified in an assembly held afterwards at *Magny* in the beginning of *March*; wherefore the Duke to make good his word, that they should not be badly dealt with by the Soldiers, sent *Monsieur St. Ibar*, one who was well known to the Spaniards, as to them; so as *Nemours* past to *Mantes* without any obstacle; which Town he had secured some few hours before he came thither: having thus past over the *Seine*, he quartered his Army about *Hadam*, a little City which lies between *Chaſtres*, and *Paris*; and whilst he refreshed his Forces there, he together with *Tavannes*, *Clainchamp* and most of the Spanish Officers went to *Paris*, where they were received with extraordinary applause by the Inhabitants, as deliverers of their City.

The Duke of *Nemours*, and the other Commanders thought not when they came first thither to tarry there above two or three days; but to return then, and joyn with the Duke of *Orleans* men which were commanded by Duke *Beaufort*, which returned from the Provinces of *Perche*, and *Maine*, whither they were come when they heard of the siege of *Angiers*. But were it either by reason of the good entertainment they found there, or by reason of their natural negligence, and being fomented by *Orleans*, fearing least the Prince his Army, by taking Towns upon the *Loire*, might go to the relief of *Montrond*, or go into *Guienne*, afforded time, by entertaining them in pastimes at *Paris*, to the King's Forces to go from *Angiers*, that they might take *Ponte de Ce*, secure the Provinces beyond *Loire*, and come to *Blois*, and so to *Sally*; which fell out just so. For having dispatched the business of *Angiers*, and knowing that *Nemours* was come into France, the Court thought fit not to prolong time, but diligently to provide for affairs on that side, whither all their friends desired the King would come. Their Majesties went from *Saumur* on the 7th. of *March*, and went to *Tours*, where divers Lords sent from several Provinces, and Cities, came to assure the King of their Loyalty, and Obedience; and amongst the rest *Monsieur Chamuallon*, Archbishop of *Roan*, Primate of *Normandy*, sent by a great many Prelates from *Paris*, touching the decree made against the Cardinal, shewing the King what injury was done thereby to the Church of *Rome*, and to his Majesties self in having a servant of his outraged. The Archbishop was graciously received, and this Commission was famous as well for the matter, as for the persons who brought it; and it fell to this Prelates share to preach before the King, who appeared in a glori-

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glorious manner, and with much eloquence enlarged himself upon the Parliaments proceeding so rigorously, and by such unusual ways, against a Prince of the holy Church, not respecting that these were forms prohibited by both Divine and humane Laws; and which was miraculous, he in his discourse did openly praise the Parliament, but obliquely stung it.

Marishal *de Oquin-court* marched at the same time with his Army, to the same part by the way of *Burgueville*, and *Beaumont*, and sent his Artillery to *Tours* to be imbarqued upon the *Loire*; and he with all his Troops went to *Meralles* near *Blois*; whither the Court came likewise, which restored Count *Servient* to his former State employments.

Oquin-court went from *Chartres*, towards the *Loire* about *Vandosme*, to oppose the Army of the Princes (for so hereafter we will call it) and chose *Bangency* for his station; and sent Monsieur *Plainville* thither with *Rethliff's* Regiment, for the nearness of the Enemies Forces made him fear that place would be assaulted, whose loss would have been a great hindrance. The King staid some days in *Blois*, as did his Forces in the neighbouring Villages; where the Soldiers for want of pay committed unheard of extortions, and over-running the Country in parties, they were met with, and a Serjeant Major of *Vallois's* Regiment, with two other Captains were taken Prisoners. The Kings Council met oftentimes in that City to consider whether the King had better to go for *Orleans*, or *Paris*; it was long disputed whether or no he should go straight to *Orleans*, where the Inhabitants were for certain faithful to the King, or whether he should go some other way, since Marquess *Lordis* was ill affected to the Court, and an Enemy in particular to the Cardinal, which was the reason why that thought was given over; as also for that the King was not able to advance with safety, his Army not being great, and for that he ought not to trust himself in the hands of an indiscreet people, apt to sedition.

They therefore thought of sending the Guard *de Seaux*, and Council thither; but neither was this adhered to, it not being thought fit to hazard the King's Authority, by exposing his commands to the danger of not being obey'd. It was therefore held better to advance with the Army, and to do as occasion should serve, when the expected recruits should be come. They therefore went from the quarters about *Blois* on the 26th. of *March*, where passing over the River upon the Bridge, they resolved to march towards *Gergeau*, whither *Vaubecourt*, and *Paluan's* Troops were to come. Marishal *Turenne* was sent thither with 2500 men, to take upon him the command of the aforesaid men, and together with Marishal *de Oquin-court*, to do what should be best for the King's service. And the King with the Court went also from *Blois* to *Sully*, and the Army was quartered at *Sandillon*, between *Orleans* and *Gergan*.

The Princes Army, after having taken some contributions from the parts about *Chartres*, went into *Beaux*, the Province wherein *Orleans* stands, with intention according to *Nemeurs* opinion, to take *Gergeau*, and *Guien*. Those of *Orleans* wavering in what they had best do amidst this noise of Arms, being incited on the one side by seditious people, who were of opinion, that they ought not recede from the obedience of the Duke of *Orleans*, who as Lord of that Town, if they should so do, would hold himself highly offended; and being sorry on the other side to forego the duty of good Subjects to the King their Sovereign, resolved to remain neutrals; whereof the Duke of *Beaufort*, who was come to that purpose to that City, being assured, he acquainted the Duke of *Orleans* therewith; adding that if that Town should be taken by the King, he would be forced to forsake *Paris*; wherefore he thought it necessary that he should come thither

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thither himself in person, to keep them all obedient with the Authority of his own presence. But the Duke, not thinking it fit to abandon *Paris* when the people were so wavering, ready to yield to any the least accident, resolved to send Madamoiselle his Daughter thither, to weaken the Kings party by her presence, and to encourage the favourers of his Family, who were many. This Princess assuming a generous and man-like spirit, did not refuse to go; but did so cheerfully imbrace the proposal, as she appeared another *Zenobia*, or *Thalestris*, who was going to make new conquests. She went from *Paris* accompanied by the Marchioness of *Fronse-neck*, the young Countess of *Fiesco*, by the Duke of *Roban*, by two Counsellors of Parliament, *Croissy*, and *Bermont*, and by many other Gentlemen of condition. She past by *Estampes*; and after having been received two leagues from *Turry*, a great Town in *Beaux*, by the chief Officers of the Army, a Council of War was then held in her presence, wherein it was resolved that the Army should march the next morning straight to *Gergeau*, to secure that Town which had a Bridge over the *Loire*; and that in case they should meet with any difficulty by the Kings Forces, which were not far off, that then they should endeavor to make themselves masters of *Guienne*; in performance whereof, *Beaufort* advanced to *Gergeau*, which was seated upon the *Loire*, and walled about after the old manner; but finding that Marishal *Turenne* had cautiously prevented him, who was come into the Suburbs beyond the Bridge, he was forced to halt, and fall to blows without any advantage; for though there were none to defend it but some of the Kings Officers, who had accompanied *Turenne*, they did so excellently defend it, as after *Beaufort* had lost several Soldiers, and had many chief men wounded, amongst which was Monsieur *Sirot*, Lieutenant General, who not long after dyed, he was forced to return towards *Loris*, a Village over against *Sully* on the Rivers side.

Madamoiselle being this mean while come to *Orleans*, she found the Gates shut, and guarded by armed Citizens, whom she acquainted with her being there; and at the same time appeared the Guard *de Seaux*, on the other side the River, who was sent by the King to keep the people in their obedience. The Counsellors were at that time met in the publick Palace, with several chief Citizens, to consider how they should receive this Court-officer; the Guard not being able to open the Gates to any without express order from the said Council, sent presently to acquaint them how that Madamoiselle was come on the one side, and the Guard *de Seaux* on the other; about which, whilst they were considering what to do; Madamoiselle being upon the ditch, and weary with attending an answer, walked toward the River; which the Boat-men observing, they boldly ran to the Walls, and breaking up a little Gate, brought her into the City, not being withstood by the Guards of the next Gate; where she was cryed up by all the people; many whereof were gained some days before by some monies given by Monsieur *de Fiesco*, to spoil the management of Monsieur *Gras*, master of the requests, who was sent thither to that purpose by the King. The people flocked together in great numbers in the Streets through which Madamoiselle past, to see, and reverence her, and she using that French liberty towards them, which does not at all derogate from civil modesty, their acclamations grew so great, as all the City wondred at the unusual, and unexpected hardness of that Princess. Then going to the publick Palace, she made the Council adhere to her party; and to keep the Guard *de Seaux* from coming into the Town, she went the next morning to the Gate upon the Bridge; and getting jocundly upon the Tower, she saw none appear in that Suburbs, but Monsieur

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sieur *Champletreux*, whom she defied; whereupon the Guard *de Seaux* return'd to Court without attempting any thing, much confus'd at what he had seen, and heard. The King therefore not being able to go by *Orleans*, nor by *Chartres*, whither the Duke of *Orleans* had sent Marquês *de la Fretta* Governor of *Chartres*, to make the people take up arms on his behalf, they resolv'd to go by *Gergeau*, where finding the Bridg broken by the violent current of the water, the Court went to *Sully*, and the Army to *Saudilon* which was not far off; but as these march'd towards *Guienne*, the Princes Army went coasting along the other side of the River, to hinder his designs; the Princes had in their Camp about 10000 men, 4000 old Soldiers of the Duke of *Orleans*, commanded by Duke *Beaufort*; the rest were commanded by *Nemeurs*. The next day after Madamoiselle was entred *Orleans*, *Nemeurs* sent to her to complain for that she had not followed the resolution which was taken at *Turny*; *Nemeurs* knew that *Conde's* Enemies had infused jealousy into the Duke of *Orleans*, as concerning his march, making him believe that the Prince meant to make use of his men, only to secure the pass over the *Loire*. To which the passion he had to serve *Conde* being added, and to win honour for himself in the War, he was impatient that Madamoiselle had not followed his advice. Madamoiselle on her side, being displeas'd that the agreements put on in her presence, were not more punctually observ'd; sent to *Nemeurs*, *Beaufort*, and the other chief Commanders, to meet the next morning in one of the Suburbs of *Orleans*, to resolve of what was best to be done; she was the first that came thither, and then came the Generals and chief Officers, and the Duke of *Rohan*, who could not be admitted into the City, the people being jealous of him, and refusing to receive him. The Council being met, two opinions were propos'd; one was to go and take *Montargis*, a great Town Walled after the antient manner, but for situation of great importance; being 25 little leagues from *Paris*, upon the way to *Chartre*, with a Royal Palace in form of a Castle, washed by the River *Oing*; they had let slip the opportunity of taking *Gergeau*, and *Guien*, which were possess'd by the Kings men: The chief motives were, that by securing *Montargis*, *Paris* was likewise secur'd; the Princes Army lying between it and the Kings quarters. The second opinion was to take *Blois*, which was abandoned by the King, and so without all difficulty they might have a passage over the *Loire*. *Beaufort*, and generally all the Duke of *Orleans's* Officers, were for the first, and many of *Conde's* Captains, particularly *Cleynchamp* and *Tavanes*: for they knew not *Nemeurs's* secret design, which though he conceal'd it, was to go first to *Montrond*, and raise the siege: but he not declaring himself; it was resolv'd to go to *Montargis*; wherefore, were it either that *Nemeurs* was sorry that *Beaufort* had won the opinion, or that he did really think his opinion made more for the Prince his interest, he said it was strange that those who had promis'd to serve the Prince, should fail him. *Beaufort* thought he mean him, and said he was a man of his word, and that it was false that he had fail'd the Prince. *Nemeurs* was offend'd with this answer, and said he lyed. *Beaufort* getting to him before they could be parted, struck him on the face with his hand; and *Nemeurs* gave him many ill words: but they were parted, and were endeavour'd to be made friends. *Beaufort* was told that all that *Nemeurs* had said was not sufficient to satisfy him for the blow he had receiv'd; so as at last he was perswaded to ask him pardon; the which he did with very much affection, with tears in his eyes, and saying, that he had rather have been bastanaded with that Cane which he had in his hand, than that any difference should have pass'd between them.

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The Prince his affairs suffer'd much by these differences, and affairs in *Guienne* went no better by his continual losses; wherefore when he had quarter'd his men about *Agen*, he knew he could not tarry long in that Province; he therefore thought to go to *Nemeurs's* Army; but first to put a Garrison into that City, to withstand *Harcourt's* attempts, and against the intelligence held therein by the King's party. He therefore sent *Countie's* Brigade thither, perswading the Consuls to receive a strong Guard; the desire was so ill interpreted, as it was given out that he meant to sack the City, which made the people begin to murmur, to make Conventicles, and at last to take up Arms. The Prince got presently on Horseback, rid through all the Streets, and made those that had made the works throw them down; but not being able to be in all places at once, he was no sooner gone from one place, but disorders grew there again; wherefore finding that without speedy remedy the tumult would grow past all help, he thought good to bring in *Countie's* said Brigade, on the Rivers side by the Gate *Grace*, making it halt in the first Street which leads to the Gate: But this, instead of terrifying the people, did so augment the sedition, as in a few hours above 100 Baracadoes were made. The Prince notwithstanding with his wonted undauntedness kept on Horseback in the Streets, together with his Brother the Prince of *County*, Duke *Rochefaucolt*, Prince *Marfilliack*, Count *Marsino*, Marquês *Montespan*, and Marquês *de Force*, and with divers Officers and well born Gentlemen; and notwithstanding the horrid confusion, he went with his accustomed gravity and fierceness, sometimes to one, sometimes to another Barracado, to make them be thrown down; but if the people did for the present yield respect to his person, as soon as his back was turn'd, they would make another within ten paces of him; and so great grew the insolence, as one presented a Pistol to his breast, threatening to give fire. But he without changing countenance staid above three hours amidst those Barracadoes, and rash Plebeians, meaning still to make the Troops enter, but could not get the people to consent thereunto: amidst this hurly burly an accident had like to have happened, which would have put the Prince and all that were with him in danger of their lives; for Monsieur *de la Magdalena* being on the head of *Countie's* Brigade, one of the people discharged an Harquebus at him, which by good fortune mist him narrowly, shooting only some of the hair of his head off. This Gentleman discreetly made, as if this accident had happened by chance, which if he had gon about to revenge, things might have grown desperate. The whole day being thus spent, and the Citizens being resolv'd not to admit of any Forces; the Prince approv'd of the advice of some of his friends to seem satisfied with appearances; he therefore willed the Duke of *Rochefaucolt*, (who was particularly well beloved in that City) and Marquês *Montespan*, to work it so, as that the Citizens might go home, and that meeting in the publick Hall, they might beg pardon for their Error; whereupon he would make his Soldiers retreat, upon condition that they would by a new oath of fidelity, be bound to raise a Regiment at their own cost to defend the City; which submission being made in publick, the Baracadoes were thrown down; *Countie's* Regiment retreated and all things were hush'd up.

By reason of these successes, and of the bad condition of his affairs in *Guienne*, where it was impossible to do any good with new Soldiers; he resolv'd to go speedily to head his men who came from *Flanders*, and who were joyn'd with *Orleans's* men; and not being detain'd from doing this by any thing, but out of the consideration that he must then abandon a City, and a Province, meaning *Burdeaux*, which had declared for him, his friends

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1651. persuaded him that he had no way to save it, but by this diversion; for by that means he should draw all the Kings Forces to where he should be; to which they added, that *Paris* stood in need of being fortified by his presence, especially since it was thought that the King would go thither. That Moreover it was necessary for him to go thither to oppose the Coadjutors designs, who did all he could to make the Duke of *Orleans* fall from him; which did the more oblige him to see whether it were better for him to be friends with the Court, or else to agree with the Coadjutor, or at least to make him of no use to the Duke. Upon these considerations, and with intention to adjust himself with the Coadjutor, to which purpose he had sent power for treating to Monsieur *Croisy*, he undertook a hard and dangerous journey; he went privately from his Camp on the 24th. of *March*; accompanied only by *Rocheaucolt*, and his Son Prince *Marsillac*, Count *Lewy*, the Barons of *Chavigny*, and *Guitaut*, *Messieurs*, *Berzenot*, and *Gonville*, and marched nine days, and nights, with very little or no sleep, through the Provinces of *Limosin*, *Auvergne*, and the *Burbonnais*; and the last day *Guitaut* being known by a Courier of the Cardinals, the news was sent to the Court, which was then at *Guienne*; and they thinking that he went towards *Chastillon*, Monsieur *St. More* was sent after him with 200 Horse, to take him Prisoner; but *Conde* had the fortune to escape that danger; for having been all *Easter-day* amidst the Kings Horse quarters, he came to *Chastillon*, just when the Kings Cavalry were quartered in the Town, wherefore he parted from thence at midnight; and passing within 70 paces of *St. More*, without being discovered, he came to the Wood of *Orleans*; where he fell upon the fore-runners of *Nemeurs* his Army; making towards them, and crying *Chi Vive*, he made himself known unto them; the news of his coming being known, the Army was as much joyed, as he was confused to find the disagreement amongst the Generals. He sent *Gonville* from thence to *Paris*, to acquaint the Duke of *Orleans* with his being there, and he was ready to go thither himself in person, (not knowing how affairs went at Court) to establish agreement, to inhearten those that were for him, and to cure the inconstancy of the people, which are apt to vary according as accidents alter. But knowing afterwards that the Court was recruited in Forces and courage, by the coming of the Duke of *Bullion*, and divers other Gentlemen, and Soldiers, from several parts, and that Marishal *Turenne* was their General, he thought it better to tarry in the Army. Great joy being expected in the Camp at *Loris*, by going off of Guns, and Bonfires, for the Prince his arrival; the Court was not a little troubled at it, finding their designs vanished, which they had built upon the unruliness of the Princes Camp.

Good discipline being established in the Camp by *Conde*, and all men being encouraged by their belief in his Valor, he caused *Montargis* to be assaulted. Monsieur *Mondraille*, who had put himself into the Castle with eight Gentlemen, and 200 Soldiers, was forced to surrender, not finding his men so firm as he expected. Monsieur *Cotiere*, who was advanced to relieve it, finding it in that condition, retreated, doing nothing. By the taking of this place, the way was opened for the Princes, into *Burgundy*, and the design which they might have to prolong the War, was thereby facilitated. The Kings Generals lay betwixt the River *Loire*, and the Channel *Briara*; *Turenne* at *Briara*; *Oquin-court* at *Blenau*, four leagues from the way that leads to *Chastillon*, where the Channel, and the River joyn. *Turenne* visited *Oquin-court* in his quarters, and told him what advantage his quarters gave to the Enemy; and at his return he met with

1651. with a Letter from the Inhabitants of *Chastillon*, which assured him of their obedience, and confirm'd the news, that the Prince having left his Cannon, and 200 men at *Montargis*; was marching towards *Chasteaurenart*, which made the King and Court believe that he was marching towards *Burgundy*. The same night *Oquin-court* writ to *Turenne*, that he was assured by divers Prisoners, that the Prince was marching towards him, and desired him that he would come and joyn with him suddenly; and at the same time sent order to his Troops to draw near the Dragoons quarters, making his baggage march; and leaving only 200 Foot in his head quarters at *Blenau*, he marched into the field. But the Prince, who in all actions of War hath always been acknowledged to be incomparably solicitous, advanced so fast, as surprising part of *Oquin-court's* Troops, he fell upon several bodies which lay asunder; so as one only Volley of shot, and the darkness of the night routed the Horse Regiments of *Maipas*, *Rochpine*, *Renville*, *Beivau*, *Bourlement*, and *Moret*; the Foot Companies of *Naiuailes*, *Boda*, and the *Polacks*, and others who were left in the field, saved themselves, some in one place, some in another, so as the baggage being abandoned, fell into the hands of the Enemies.

The Prince making forward immediatly, fell upon the Dragoons which lay below, and sack'd their quarters; some of them retreated to an old Castle near hand, which was surrounded by a ditch, from whence they made some Musquet shot against the Enemy, and being will'd to surrender, they refused till they should see Cannon; which being brought they capitulated, and the Commander with many of the Soldiers took pay of the Prince. Count *Tavanes* fell upon and defeated another quarter of the *Croats*, and the Prince by these happy successes, advanced into the head quarters without any opposal. *Oquin-court* drew his men out into Battalia upon the banks of a River, to dispute the pass with the Enemy; but being advertised by Monsieur *Sirry* Lieutenant of the *Croats*, that they had already sack'd the baggage, he notwithstanding made his Troops advance at the same time to the River side; Monsieur *Gonterey* headed *Mazarines* Horse; all the French Horse were not as yet come. The Duke of *Nemeurs* having already past over the River with some of his men, the Kings men thinking that more of the Enemy were past, retreated to beyond their quarters, and left the breast-work free to *Conde*, who passing over on the head of 100 Horse, went with some others to fall upon *Oquin-court's* hindmost quarter; which he took, as he had done the others; and whilst they were busie in plundering here, the Marishal knew by the light of the fire which burnt the Houses, that there was not above 300 of the Plunderers; wherefore he made towards them with 700 Horse, which when the Prince perceived, he drew out his Squadron, and marching in the first file himself, with *Nemeurs*, *Beaufort*, *Rocheaucolt*, *Marsillac*, *Tavanes*, and three or four more of his Gentlemen, he exposed himself and all the chief of his party, to do the duties of ordinary Gentlemen.

The Kings Troops charged his Squadron, and having given fire, neither side gave back, but at the second Volley the Duke *Nemeurs* was wounded, and had his Horse kill'd under him; at last the Prince was forced to give back; and all the Officers having made the light Horse stay, haulted some 50 paces off; not being further charged by the Kings Troops: wherefore a Squadron of 30 Horse belonging to *Megly*, coming on at the same time. *Conde* and the rest of his Commanders placed themselves again on the head of his men, and charged *Oquin-court* on the Front, and worsted him, nor were his men ever able to rally again. From thence he went to before

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The Marſhal by reaſon of theſe exigents, retreated by the advantage of the night, to joyn with General *Turenne*. *Monſieur de Eſpouſe* headed his Squadron and went directly towards *St. Prive*, that he might get from thence to *Briara*. The *Croats* ſtaid in their firſt quarter, ſounding their Trumpets, to make it be believed that their whole body was there: and they had order if they ſhould be charged to run as faſt as they could by another way thither. *Oquin-court* rid all the reſt of that night, and met not with any incounter, for the Enemy did but ſeem to follow him, and in lieu thereof chaſed 200 Horſe, which on purpoſe went another way.

When *Turenne* heard firſt of the aſſault, he cauſed to ſound to Horſe, throughout all his quarters, and joyning his Troops ſpeedily together, he marched toward the place where the aſſault was given to bring relief; but having heard by the fugitives of the diſorder, and the miſfortune (which ſame makes always greater than it is) being ratified by divers Captains and Officers, he thought half the Kings Troops had been loſt, and that in ſuch a caſe, it was better to think of retreating, and of ſaving the reſt of the Army (which if it ſhould be loſt, the Kings perſon would be in no ſmall danger) than to hazard a new bickering; yet he took a contrary reſolution, and rallying his Soldiers as he marched, he went ſtraight toward *Oſay*, on this ſide the Channel, where Count *Nivailles* quarters were, thinking by the knowledg he had of thoſe parts, to get into ſome advantageous ſtation, and that when the Prince ſhould ſee him march ſo frankly towards him, he would be more weary in his march, and more apprehenſive; and that fortune, (which always favours the forward) would not abandon him in this, which was thought a great piece of valour. When he had put his men in battel array, and had rallied many that ran away, he advanced courageouſly againſt the Enemy. There is a ſmall thin Wood within three leagues of *Briara*, which parted the Generals quarters, nor could the one come to the other, but by a narrow cauſey, near which *Turenne* advanced, thinking to make the Prince believe that he would make uſe thereof, and defend it: which the Prince did cunningly ſuffer him to do, intending afterwards to incompaſs him, and totally undo him. But *Turenne* with the warineſs of a gallant Commander, poſſeſt himſelf of the cauſey with 50 Horſe, obſerving *Conde's* ways; who thinking to have him in a Net, went preſently towards the Wood with his whole Army, and with two pieces of Artillery. Then *Turenne* in ſtead of defending the Cauſey, as he made it be thought he would do, and which would have been his utter undoing; came ſpeedily out, and drew out his men into an orderly Battalia, in the miſt of the plain, whereby *Conde* thinking that the Kings Army retreated, ſent out ſome Squadrons to purſue it. But *Turenne* facing ſoon about, fell upon thoſe that were advanced, that he might fight them before the reſt were come forth. *Conde* knowing his diſadvantage, halted, and recalled thoſe that were advanced, declaring that none but Marſhal *Turenne* could have kept him from an intire Victory, and that of all the friends that he had ever loſt, he was grieved for none ſo much as for him. The Kings men drew up towards the Wood, where they planted their Canon, and began to play upon the Enemy, who were a little damnified, not having Canon ſufficient to answer the frequent ſhot of the adverſary: *Monſieur Marrais*, Brother to Marſhal *Grance*, and chief Commander of the *Valois's* Regiment, were there ſlain. *Turenne* having thus by his mere induſtry, ſtop'd the Army of the Princes: they ſtood facing one another all that day; when *Oquin-court* came

1651. came in with almoſt all his men; for he had loſt but few, and thoſe more by the darkneſs of the night, than by the Sword of the Enemy. *Oquin-court* ſpoke with the Prince, who in a civil manner ſent one of *Turenne's* Captains, whom he had taken that night, back to him, and writ unto him, that though he never thought to have ſeen him in the head of an Army againſt him the Prince; yet he declared that he had always been bound to him, and would ever be his ſervant, he preſented his ſervice in the ſame Letter to his Brother the Duke of *Bullion*. The reſt of the day being ſpent in the playing of Canon, the Kings Generals a little before night cauſed their Troops to retreat; *Conde* did the like, returning by the ſame way that he came from *Braliera*, and went the next day to *Chaſtillon*, where having ſtaid three or four days, he found it neceſſary to go to *Paris*, being ſent for thither by his confidants, to interrupt the treaties which were then in hand between the Inhabitants, the Parliament, and the Duke of *Orleans*, by ſuch as were partial to the Court, and for the jealouſie he had of the Coadjutor. The Dukes of *Beaufort*, and *Rochefaucault*, Prince *Marciliack*, *Monſieur Guitant*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen went along with him; which was the cauſe of the prejudice which afterward beſell him, and his party.

The nights ſucceſs being brought to Court, with ſuch enlargements as uſe to accompany uncertainties, did much perplex all mens minds, for it was thought that day would prove fatal to one or other of the parties; and as the *French* meaſure affairs by their own paſſions more than any other Nation, this doubt remained a while; but when the Cardinal was fully informed of what had happened, he preſently informed the King how affairs went, moderating the boasts which were made by the Enemy. His Maſteſty with a generous and Princely mind leapt out of bed, and ſaid he would be at the head of his Army himſelf, promiſing himſelf good fortune, by the juſtice of God, who is the giver of all Victory; which when the Courtiers heard, they all took Horſe, and came to the Caſtle, deſiring to be honoured with ſome Command. The Duke of *Bullion*, was made conductor of the Voluntiers, who having got ſome 200 together, came preſently to the Court.

The King got on Horſeback, attended by his menial Servants, Guards, and *Gens de Armes*; having moreover the greateſt part of the *Switzers*, and *French* Foot Regiment; the reſt whereof ſtaid to guard *Guienne*. He was further waited on by the Cardinal, Prince *Thomas of Savoy*, by *Villeroy*, and *Pleſſis Pralin*, Count *Brienne*, and divers others. When he was got half a league out, he was by all his Council deſired to halt, till he might know the condition of affairs certainly, and accordingly reſolve what to do; not any one who had a Sword, ſtaid in *Guienne*.

The Council did not intend to expoſe the King's perſon to the uncertainty of fortune, but to let the battle begin, and that then the King might move accordingly, with his Guards and Courtiers which amount to nigh 3000, and they hoped that the Soldiers would thereby be ſo inhearted, as they doubted not the Victory. Certainly ſuch a reſolution would mightily encourage the Combatants, by reaſon of the incomparable affection which the *French* bear unto their King; as was infallibly witneſſed; for *Bullion* being come within ſight of the Army with the aforeſaid Voluntiers, and it being ſaid, that the King was there, the Soldiers threw up their hats, leaping, and dancing, with ſuch joy and jubilee, as if they had longed for nothing but to fight the Enemy.

Whilst War was thus in *France*, nothing of novelty hapned in *Italy*, for *Don Lewis de Haro*, favourite to the King of *Spain*, hoping to recover *Catalonia*

1651. Catalonia with as much honour, as it was lost with dishonour by his predecessor, applied himself with all his might to recover *Barcelona*; the King of France being diverted by civil Wars at home, was forced to slacken his remote assistances. When Marquess *Mortara* had finished all the circumvallation about *Barcelona*, to the line drawn from *Sans* to *St. Matona*, he on the sixth of January, gave order for the building of a Fort called *St. Rey*, upon the Mountain *Mongevick*, whereby he did almost totally finish the Circumvallation.

And the, French though troubled by intestine Wars, forbore not doing what they were able. When the Marquess de *St. Andrea Monbrune*, had refreshed his Forces for twelve days in *Languedock*, he marched with them towards *Barcelona*, and on the 4th. of January, they passed over the hill *Pyrtus*, where he mustered 1200 Horse, and 450 Foot, and when he saw his Forces on Foot, he himself went to the Rendezvous which was to be at *Estalrich*, where he found Marishal *della Motta* waiting for them; but the *Catalonians* were backward, much to the grief of the French, who were removed from their good quarters in France, to bad ones in *Catalonia*; and where they suffered very much. *La Motta* had with him three Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, of the old *Catalonian Army*. And Monsieur de *Allets* was sent with these Horse to take the Abby of *St. Colga*, where all the Forces met. The next day the Marishal, and *St. Andrea*, went with their Guards and with 50 Horse, to discover the situation of the Spanish Camp, and finding that this was the properest place, the French Army incamped within half a Canon shot of the Circumvallation. The old *Catalonian Troops* were placed on the right hand, and those of *St. Andrea*, which were called the *Italian Army*, on the left, and being ranked all along the hill, in the Front of the Enemies Camp, Count *Pardalian* advanced, to see by which way he might relieve it; he found the line was not yet fully finished, though furnished with sufficient Forts; with good store of Soldiers, and Artillery; he resolved to attack the weakest, which was before the Fort *Sans*, and Baron *Sabacks* quarters, wherewith he acquainted the besieged by some that he had convey'd in on purpose, to let them know, that after midnight he would assault the line, to the end that they might make out a general sally at the same time, and so the *Spaniards* Trenches might be at one and the same time, assaulted on both sides; but the Soldiers moving too early, they were to hault a while, and being forced by excessive cold, made fires, whereby the *Spaniards* discovered the Frenches designs, and had time to draw out their men into Battle array; two hours after midnight, the French marched directly to the lines; which they did so furiously assault, as a Serjeant of the *Norman Regiment*, leapt into the Trenches, by whose example others did so likewise, and made themselves masters of the *Corps de Guard*, the Soldiers whereof threw away their Arms, and began to run.

The French would have effected their design, if the besieged had sallied out at the same time; but they alledged that they did not know the signs well, and that they wanted time to advertise *la Motta* therewith, that so they might have been backed by him: wherefore the whole Spanish Army falling upon them, they were forced to retreat to their former quarters, where they tarried some days, till driven away for want of water, and forrage, they went to *St. Bois*, a Village on the plain of the River *Lambre-gate*, as you go from *Taragona* to *Barcelona*, where there was better store of forage, and which place lay fitter to encounter all the Enemies Camp, betwixt which and the French divers skirmishes past, and the Marishal thinking how he might bereave the Spanish Cavalry of forrage; possess'd him-

self

1651. self of three or four places about the lines, whereby he defrauded the *Spaniards* of more than half their forrage; and as this did straighten the Spanish Camp, so was it an advantage to *Barcelona*; here the French made many acquisitions, as of the Tower of *L'Eglise de St. Hospitale*, within one hours space without any loss, as also another house that was fortified, which yielded upon discretion; which being done they returned to their quarters: which was imputed to them for a great error, for if they had advanced with their whole body, it was generally thought they might easily have relieved the City, or have obliged the *Spaniards* to a battel, which the *Spaniards* avoided; not long after the Marishal went on Foot by night, accompanied by Count *Pardalian*, six of his Guard; and a *Catalonian* guide, being followed by *St. Andrea*, with 200 Horse, to discover the quarter of *Sans*; and finding it fit to build a Fort upon the Mountain *St. Pietro Martire*, he did so, and put 500 Foot into it; this served to overlook almost all the *Spaniards* Camp, being within Musquet shot of the Abby of *Petalha*, which the *Spaniards* had fortified a little without their line.

At last many expedients being discussed, they resolved to endeavour relief by assaulting the Fort *Alfonso*, and to enter *Barcelona* on that side; he acquainted none with this, but the Marquess of *St. Andrea*, and *Marenville*, and Count *Pardalian*. The first whereof was to command the Troops which staid without; and the other two were to follow him with 500 Horse, and as many Foot. Fort *Alfonso* was a Tower, fortified upon the Sea bank, one side whereof was secured by the Sea, and the other by an unaccessable Fen, which served for a French for above 2000 paces, it had a strong Palisado on each side, which were to be broken before the Horse could pass.

The Troops of the old *Catalonian Army* were to fall on the right hand towards the Sea, and those of the *Italian Army* on the left hand towards the Fen; which was accordingly done on the 22th. of April.

Pardalian, who was to manage the assault on the left hand, set on the *Norman*, and *British* Foot, against the Palisado, and after having dislodged those who defended it, and made tryal of a furious Volly of Canon and Musquets, they did all they could to pluck down the Rafter, so to make way for the Horse, which the mean while was exposed to Musquet shot which plaid from the Fort, but they could not break them.

In these straits *Pardalian* meditating on what side he might advance, it happened that a Horse of a Soldier that was slain, went wandering up and down, and at last past over the Fen; whereupon the Count made forward presently, though the water came up to his Saddle skirts, and past safely over, being followed by *Boessack's* Regiment; and by Prince *Thomas's* his Squadron of *Gens de Armes*; and he charged the Enemy so furiously, as after a fierce bickering he routed them quite, and pursued those that retreated to within their quarter of *Sans*; he himself not being at all wounded, though his cloths were shot through and his Horse shot under him five or six times. At the same time the others fell on on their side; and came through the Sea-water before the Palisado; they assaulted the Fort by Ladders, which proving too short, they could proceed no farther, but instead of tarrying to make new attempts, by which they were likely to have done their business, the Marishal went towards the City, being earnestly intreated so to do by the whole Council of *Catalonia*; which hindered the getting of the Fort, so as it was known at last, though too late, that those of the City had Counsell'd amiss: and the *Spaniards* grew so apprehensive of that Fort, as they presently caused it to be new for.

1651. fortified, and provided all things necessary. The Marishal was welcomed into *Barcelona* with extraordinary joy, and jubilee, for having exposed his life to so evident danger for their liberty; when he was got in, he chiefly bethought himself how to make use of the great Garrison to open the passes; considering that the Horse which were above a Thousand, could not be maintained long in the City; wherefore he resolved to fall again upon the Fort *Alfonso*. St. *Andrea* being without with the rest of the Army, which was much lessened, studied also how to break the line, and so to get into the City; the Marishal in the mean while who acquainted St. *Andrea* with his design, and agreed upon the manner how; thought to attempt the Fort *Rey*, which the *Spaniards* had built within Musquet shot of *Mongevick*, and the next morning planted a Battery of six Cannon against it, intending to assault it. But Marquess *Mortara* who had drawn out his Army behind it, to defend the Fort, was contented to play upon it for five days, till he had answered St. *Andrea*: who going the mean while behind the Mountain St. *Pietre Martire*, and feigning to return to his quarters, fell privately upon a Fort under St. *Jerolomo* and took it; cut the Garrison in pieces, and took a Captain who commanded it Prisoner, and took two pieces of Artillery, and gave sign by fire to the City, thinking that the Citizens would have sallied out, or else would have fallen upon the Fort *del Rey*. But they doing neither of these, and St. *Andrea* not being able without Foot to maintain the Fort, he abandon'd it, and return'd to his quarters; where hearing that the Marishal intended to assault the Fort *Alfonso*, he sent Monsieur *Brecourt* into *Barcelona* to desire some Foot, without which he said he neither could keep his quarters, nor undertake any thing against the Enemy. The Marishal sent him the Regiment of *Britany*, and *Normandy*, which were not above two hundred Foot, and sent Monsieur *de la Place* with them, to consult with him about the taking of the Fort *Alfonso*, and *Mongevick*. The *French* advanced notwithstanding the fires which the *Spaniards* made from the Fort, and from their Ships and Gallies, they routed them, and forced them to fly into the afore-said Fen, with great loss of Soldiers and Officers, amongst which *Bontiers* self was sorely wounded, and divers Captains taken Prisoners. The Marishal received a Pistol shot in the thigh: *Perdallian* was shot by a Musquet in the Arms, and also *Maranville* in his breast-plate; but the *French* for all this could not effect their ends; for the *Spaniards* having discovered their design, doubled their Guards, and had seasonably put Five hundred Foot into the Fort; so as not being longer able to resist the thunder of Cannon, and Musquet, which plaid continually upon them from all parts, they were forced to retreat, which they did in good order, and without loss; the Marishal retreated into the City, and St. *Andrea* to his former quarters.

Whilst the *Spaniards* insisted upon the siege of *Barcelona*, they thought of taking other places also, which the *French* were masters of in *Catalonia*; and particularly upon those on the Frontiers of *Aragon*. Count *Lemoze*, Viceroy and Captain General of *Aragon*, having upon several occasions endeavoured to surprise *Bellaguer*, but still in vain, resolved to attempt it once again. Don *Pietro Valenzuela Mendoza* Governour of *Lerida*, cast his eye upon the said *Bellaguer*, and prepared to get it by the intelligence which he held with some of the Inhabitants; in pursuance whereof, his Garrison being re-inforced by some Foot, and by a hundred Horse; he sent Don *Jovanni de Sala Manques* to confer with his friends in *Bellaguer*; and to agree upon the business. They readily offered, that six of them would

1651. would open a portcullis in the Bridg, that they would kill the Guards, that they would do it by day; and that those that were to do the business should hide themselves in the Covent of St. *Dominico*, which was upon the head of the Bridg; and that to the same purpose they should place some silly companions in the other Monastery *de la perellas*, who were made to believe, that this was done in expectation of some *French* Merchants; who were to pass over the neighbouring Mountains with rich Merchandise; this being agreed upon, the *Spaniard* went on the 7th. of July to the places appointed and were recruited by some Forces brought by Don *Pietro de Lara*; they placed themselves so as that the Horse might withstand those who should first advance; They were not above Four hundred, they marched very silently, and got into the Monastery of St. *Dominico*. The *French* Garrison, before they open the Gates use not only to look about all the places about the Town, but to visit the neighbouring Covents particularly. The Serjeant Major hid himself, and his Foot in a certain place which the *French* had never observed, and placed his Horse in a place apart, called *Valfagona*. When day appeared, the accustomed Guards went out to search the Covent; the Governour came to the Gate himself, to wish the Souldiers to be vigilant, and to keep all Country people out. *Salamanque* sent a Frier who was held partial to the *French* to acquaint his confederates in the Town, and agreed with another, that whilst the one should enter by the first Portcullis, the other should possess the second; this being done, the Serjeant Major came forth with his men, and cutting the Rafter, & breaking down the Gates, got with his best men at last into the City, and after a small skirmish, wherein few of either side perished, he forced *Faro* the Governour to retreat with his Garrison into St. *Marie's* Church, where he capitulated to surrender the Town the same day upon honourable conditions, which were granted him by the Governour of *Lerida*, who upon the first advertisement went thither himself in person.

The *Spaniards* having gotten *Bellaguer* thus, turned presently upon the Castle of *Castellon de Farfana*, and from thence to *Cameraissa*, both which not being provided for defence, received the first offers which were made by *Pietro Valenzuela*, and yielded obedience to the *Spaniards*.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The EIGHTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The Prince of Conde leaves the Army, and goes to Paris. The Parliament sends again to the King to discard the Cardinal. The Coadjutor Gonde. is made Cardinal. Graveling is besieged, and taken by the Spaniards. Mardike is forsaken by the French. The King of France goes from Guieu, to Melune; and from thence to S. Germans. The Army of the Princes fortifie themselves in Estampes. S. Martino is taken: Divers other incounters. Orleans, together with Conde, send to Court to negotiate Peace. Duke Charles of Lorraine enters France. He makes the Kings Men raise the siege of Estampes. They incampe near S. Clou. New troubles in Burdeaux. The beginning of the Olmira. Rumors in Provence. The King goes to S. Dennis. The Prince of Conde endeavors to bring his Army to Charrenton. He is followed by Turenne. He gets into S. Antoine; where he is assaulted, and a bloody business follows. By Madamoiseles means, the Gates of Paris are opened, and the Princes with their Men are received in. New Sedition. The Palace of the Communalty is fired; with much confusion, and disorder, not having effected what the Princes desired. Conde solicites the Spaniards in Flanders to assist him. The King goes to Pontois, and carries the Parliament thither. Most of the Counsellors refuse to go; stay in Paris, and continue the Assemblies. The Cardinal goes from Pontois, and withdraws out of the Kingdom. The Parliament declares the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the Crown; and set 50000 Crowns upon the Cardinals head. A Duel between Beaufort and Nemeurs; wherein Nemeurs is slain. A general Amnesty published by the King of France. The Duke of Lorraine, Prince of Witenberg, and Spanish Army, in Succor of the Princes; they besiege Marisbal Turenne in Villanova. Montrond surrendered. Harcourt retreats to Brisack. The Miseries of War. Candalle commands the Forces in Guienne. The King writes to the Duke of Orleans. Barcellona besieged, and lost.

W Hilest Arms were thus managed in the Field, Counsels were frequently held by both parties, what resolution to put on: The Malecontents being still more desirous how to establish themselves, by lessning the Kings authority. All agreed, that the Cardinal was

was the ruine of the Kingdom: All *Paris* was full of Libels, and Satyrical Verses; of fabulous Histories, and politick Discourses. Which casting durt upon *Mazarine*, and the State Ministers, redounded to the dishonor of their Royal Majesties; and put bad impressions into the common people, who were ignorant of the *Arcana Regum*. All the streets sounded of nothing but of the Praises of the Princes, and of the Archduke, who were celebrated both in prose and verse, by infinite Writers, stiling them *Liberators of the oppressed People*. And many Parish Priests did in their Pulpits take no less liberty, railing upon the present Government, and filling the Peoples ears with sinister impressions, with no less blame to the Superiors who tolerated it, then to the Authors thereof. The Parliament desiring nothing more then the Cardinals ruine, sent President *Nesmond* with Five Counsellors, and other Deputies of the City, to *Sully*, where the King was, to represent how necessary it was to put the Cardinal from his Council, according as his Majesty had formerly promised: Wherein *Nesmond* spoke with no less eloquence then freedom, upon the Declarations made by the King, and by the Parliament; and did much complain, that they had been so delusively broken: But the Court was not at all moved with this; for the others might well barke, but they could not bite.

The Coadjutor, in the interim, continued in making a third party, by staying the Duke of Orleans from off *Conde's* enterprize; with whom he seemed desirous to be Friends, and did really negotiate it. But this was rather to perswade the Court to concur in his being made Cardinal, which he thought the Court did cunningly prolong, than out of a desire to reconcile himself to the Prince: Who finding how necessary it was to make himself sure of the Duke of Orleans, and to get the City declare for him; as also to receive applause for the happy success at *Blenau*, and to justify himself in Parliament, touching the Declaration made against him by the King, and which the Parliament had justified, but suspended the effects for a while; came to *Paris*, where he was received with general applause, being met by the Duke of Orleans, and an infinite of people. The next day he came into the Assemblies, endeavoring to justify himself. These Reasons brought him thither, but could not keep him there, but for a while; for the Army needed his presence. Count *Chavigny*, who, as it was reported, had made his peace with the Cardinal, by the mediation of Monsieur *Faber*, and who did intend to do so with the Prince likewise: Possess the Prince with new jealousies of the Coadjutor, and of *Chasteauneuf*; alledging the example of the Duke of Orleans, in Count *Soisons* affairs, who had recourse to the King for favor. By these pretences *Conde* was detained in *Paris*, and went not to his Camp, whereby great prejudice infused to his party, and greater to his Forces, which in a short time, were almost all dispersed. It was already agreed by the chief Citizens of Orleans, That the Prince coming to visit Madamoiselle, should be admitted into the City, which might be a colour for them to declare fully afterwards; but his abode in *Paris* ruined this design also.

Nesmonds relation of what he had done at Court was afterwards read, and the Kings Letters of the first and second of *March*, which were written to the Parliament, wherein he commanded, That all Decrees whatsoever, or Declarations, were made against the Cardinal, should be delivered to the *Guard de Seaux*; whereat the Counsellors were much troubled, and would not permit that the said Declarations and Letters should be assigned over: Whereupon the Parliament when it met, did ordain, That the same Commissioners should return again unto the King, to desire him, that

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the Remonstrances of the Parliament might be read in his Royal presence; and that he should be earnestly desired to give an answer: Wherefore the Declarations of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince, were sent him, mentioning the Reasons, why the Parliament had forborn to Register them. It was afterward ordered, that the General Assembly should meet in the *Pallazzo de la Communita*, where the same Declarations might be made, and that there the sending the Cardinal away, and the General Peace as well within, as without France, might be resolved upon by the whole Body of the Citizens; and that, in the interim, all Decrees made against the Cardinal should be fully executed.

But before we go further, we must not omit, that the Pope when he made Cardinals in March, made the Coadjutor *Gondi* a Cardinal, who would afterwards be called the Cardinal of *Retz*, increasing his pretensions by this new Dignity, he kept his wonted customs, as well to abase *Mazarine*, as to ruine the Prince; he was very careful, that discord between *Conde* and *Orleans*, might not prejudice his particular designs; for he knew, that when, by their means, he had suppressed *Mazarine*, he might more easily quell the Prince of *Conde*, whose Sword he feared not so much as *Mazarine's* Head-piece.

These Differences, and particular Interests, the more prejudice they brought to France, the more did they redound to the advantage of Spain. For the Archduke encouraged by the present conjuncture, resolved upon the enterprize of *Graveling*, which wanted Men and Necessaries; and where the Governor, Marishal *Grance*, was also wanting, who was then at his House in *Normandy*. Wherefore sending an Army of Seven or eight thousand Foot, and of Three thousand Horse into the Field, conducted by the Count *Fuensfeldaglia*, Prince *Ligny*, and the Marquis *Sfondrato*; Count *Bassigny*, Governor of *S. Omers*, was sent with a good Body of Men to possess himself of the Avenues, till the gross Body might come to besiege it, before *Grance* should get in, as he intended; to which purpose, he was raising Forces in *Normandy*: But these levies went slowly on, as well for want of Moneys, as also not to cause jealousy by raising Men in that Countrey. Duke *Longueville*, who was afraid to be held contumacious by the Court, by reason of his alliance with *Conde*, and of the new Negotiations introduced by the Duke of *Orleans*, who sought by all means to make *Longueville* declare for him. Which though it did not work upon that solid, and peaceful Prince, yet was the Court jealous of some collusion between them: And because it behoved the *spaniards*, if they would besiege *Graveling*, they must keep it from being relieved by Sea from *Calice*, where Count *Charrot* was Governor, or from *Dunkirk*, where Count *d'Estrades* commanded. Don *John d'Almara*, Governor of *Ostend*, came there with some armed Vessels, to keep them from going out, who might be sent to the place besieged, another Squadron of Ships lying still in the Mouth of the Haven of *Dunkirk*. On the seventh of September, *Fuensfeldaglia* sat down before it; as did also the Archduke within eight days after, making the Trenches of Approach, and Line of Circumvallation be made, and lodged his Army in four Quarters, abounding with all things necessary, by the conveniency of bringing them from *Newport*, and from *S. Omers*. *Graveling* is so well fortified, as it is almost impregnable, wanting nothing that is requisite to an exact Fort. It stands in the Mouth of the River *Aa*, begirt with five strong Bulwarks, and with a Citadel fortified by *Charles* the Fifth, to serve as a Rampire to *Flanders*, and as a Bar of Defence to France. All necessary provisions being notwithstanding presupposed of Soldiers, Victuals, and Warlike Ammunition. Which

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Which Monsieur *Valibert*, the Kings Lieutenant in that place, wanting, he knew he should be shrewdly put too it, without speedy and convenient recruits; wherewith he speedily advertised the Court, and also acquainted *d'Estrades* with his wants, who calling a Council of War, resolved to abandon *Mardike*, and demolish it. But not being able to bring the Garison by Sea, all the Marriners being run away at the news of the siege; nor being able to carry them by Land, for want of a Horse Convoy, he was to use his wits, and to seek how to do it some other way.

The *spaniards* had a guard of Three hundred Horse upon the way, between *Mardike* and *Dunkirk*, and One thousand Horse in Villages thereabouts, which it was probable would go thither, when *Mardike* should be abandoned. Wherefore the places where they formerly were, being free, Three hundred Men might be easily conveyed into *Graveling*. Upon these hopes, *d'Estrades* went with One thousand Foot, and four small piece of Cannon, and at unawares fell upon the *spanish* Horse beyond *Mardike*, he blew up the Bulwarks of *Mardike*, rased their Countercarps, took all their Cannon and Ammunition, fired their Houses, and retreated into *Dunkirk* with Three hundred Men that were there in Garison, who had meat but for two days. This design being happily effected, the *spaniards* removed presently from their Quarters, and came to dismantled *Mardike* with three Brigades of Foot and One thousand Horse: Wherefore those other places being free, Monsieur *Villers*, who was Captain of the Guards, went with four other Captains, many Officers, and Three hundred commanded Foot towards *Graveling*. That he might enter there at the same time when *Estrade* coming from *Dunkirk* with Five hundred other Foot, might divert the Enemies elsewhere, and draw them as near him as he could. In performance of which Agreement, *Villers* by night, on the Seventeenth of April, by the help of guides, past over three Rivers, and one Fen, the water coming up to mens middles; and speedily marched six leagues. Being come to a little Bridge at the entrance into the Enemies Line, he charged a Troop of Horse and One hundred Foot, who were there upon the Guard, and having treated them not over well, he got into the Town with Two hundred and thirty men, having lost the rest in those Rivers which were deeper then he thought; which when *Estrades* hard, he presently mustered all the Garison of *Dunkirk*, viewed the Ammunition, that he might the better know how to defend himself, if he should be assaulted, which he assuredly thought he should be; where he found Two thousand Soldiers, and Four thousand Inhabitants, who wished well to the *spaniards*, and Victuals for no longer then May. Wherefore he thought it good to rid the Town of Three thousand useless Mouths, which he put out of the Town, and brought all the Corn into the publick Magazines: And whilst the *spaniards* were busied about the siege of *Graveling*, he got in all the Victuals he could from the Neighboring parts, sent out Two hundred Foot against a Village called *Vulpes*, between *Fernes* and *Newport*, where storming a Guard of Fifty Muskettiers, he took away all the Corn and Cattle he could find: And on the other side of the River *Colme*, took divers Barks loaded with Wine, Beer, and other things, which were going to the *spanish* Camp, and took several prisoners.

When the news of the siege of this important place came to the Court, their discontent was doubled; being imbroiled by the Princes, and having Civil War. Wherefore they poured out imprecations against *Conde*, the first Author of all the misfortunes that were, and that were likely to be.

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be. But he laughed, and laid all the blame upon the Cardinal, so, as there is nothing which doth more advantage the interest of a third party, then discord between the other two. The *Spaniards* were so fortunate this year, as even the very *French* did applaud their proceedings, which made them easily active in those enterprises, which otherwise would have required longer time, and have been of uncertain event. The Court did notwithstanding, forbear, to apply Remedies to the weighty emergencies wherewith it was miserably distracted. Marquess *Oquin-court* after the siege of *Estampes*, leaving the Kings Army to be commanded by *Turenne*, had order to go with Five hundred Horse to that part of *Flanders*, and to joyn with Monsieur *Mondedieu* who had Two thousand Foot, joyntly to endeavor the preservation of the place besieged; some Ships were lifted in *Britanny*, and some in *Normandy* and *Calice*; but want of moneys hindred Provisions; nor were they to abandon the needs of their own Kingdom. Wherefore their applications were so weak, and slow, and on the contrary the *Spaniards* were so solicitous, and vigorous in their resolutions, as the Walls being still plied by Artillery and Assaults, the Inhabitants by reason of their small number, not being able to hold longer out, were forced to capitulate; and upon good conditions of War, to march out with three pieces of Cannon, and about Eight hundred Foot, went to *Calice*. Thus the *Spaniards* with no small glory were masters of one of the most famous Forts of *Flanders*; and which was to make way for the recovery of *Dunkirk*; towards which, Don *Fernando Solis* went with Four thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, within half a league of *Dunkirk*; which he quartered in several parts, and fortified himself every where, insomuch, as the Fort was blocked up at large round about. Above Two thousand of the *Spanish* Army perished before *Graveling*, and divers Officers, of which, Marquess *Sfondrato*, General of the Artillery, was one, which sadded all their content. He was shot by a Cannon in a sally which the besieged made out, on the seventh of *May*, and died on the tenth.

At the same time when *Graveling* was besieged in *Flanders*, the *Spaniards* forgot not to think how they might get the long wished for *Casalle*; the best means how to effect it, was looked into by the *Spanish* Agents; and it being hard for the *Spanish* Army to approach that City, whilst all the Avenues were guarded by the *French*; the Marquess of *Caracena*, Governor of *Milan*, knew that it was necessary to have *Trino*, which lying in the way to *Casalle*, as well by the way of *Poe*, to which, it is very near, as by Land, if it should be left in the Enemies hand, would have much incommodated the enterprise. Wherefore, about Ten thousand Soldiers being raised upon the Frontiers, together with Artillery, and all things necessary for War: *Trino* was assaulted on all sides on the fifth of *May*: There were Six hundred Foot and Seventy Horse in the Garison, under the Government of *Catalano Alfieri*, a *Piemontese*, who commanded there in the Duke of *Savoy*s name; Too small a number to defend so great a circuit as was that of the outward Fortifications; so as it was undoubtedly lost without speedy Supplies: Which the *French* not being, by reason of their weakness, able to send, the care of preserving the place lay wholly upon the Dutches of *Savoy*, who presently caused Three hundred Foot to be raised, and gave order that they should fall down the stream to recruit the besieged: But it proved in vain, for the Captain vvho had the charge of them, for vvant of Boats, as he affirmed, staid tvvo days longer then he ought to have done, vvhereby the *Spaniard* had time to hinder the attempt. Wherefore the besieged failing of their hopes, capitulated, and marched out vvith Arms and Baggage. Wherefore *Caracena* returned glorious

glorious to *Milan*, but left the Army distributed into divers quarters upon those Frontiers, that he might be ready for new enterprises, when the approaching harvest should be ripe. This acquisition was as acceptable to the *Spaniards*, as that of *Graveling*. For by taking *Trino*, they might assault *Casalle*, and drive out the *French*, as they had hopes by *Graveling* to recover *Dunkirk*, to the great glory of their nation; who not only by valour, but by wisdom, knew how to make use of their Enemies confusion and weakness.

Greater disturbance continued still in *Paris*, then elsewhere: Whether when *Conde* was come, it is impossible to say, with what expressions of joy he was received, to that degree as the Kings faithful Servants, and the Cardinals Friends durst not stir out of doors without great advisement. Which made the Marishal de l'Hospitalle, the Provost of Merchants, Cardinal di Retz, and the Dutches of *Chevereux*, send to desire their Majesties to come speedily to *Paris*; for otherwise, when *Conde*s faction should be grown stronger, they themselves should be forced to forgo all Agreements and Treaties. The Kings Council being hereby incited, and that they might preserve that great and powerful City, resolved to draw near to it. There were divers ways to go thither, or to *S. Germans*; for the Queen would not trust her self in the City, being acquainted with what had past; nor would she have been there received, having the Cardinal with her. The shortest way was by *Estampes*, but by reason the Princes, their Army lay about *Montargis*, and might fall upon the Kings men, either on the Flank, or Rear; they took a way which was further about, but more safe; which was, that the King and his Court, with some few more, got to *Auxere*, vvhere passing over the River *Tone*, they vvent to *Melune*, being sheltered by that River, and by the River *Seene*. Their Majesties vvere received in *Auxeres* vvith incredible joy. So as the Court being comforted to find so great loyalty in those Inhabitants, the King dismissed his ovvn Guards, and vvould be guarded by the Citizens. *Auxeres* is one of the chiefest Cities of *Burgundy*, seated upon the Banks of *Tone*, begirt vvith Walls and Towers, after the ancient form; of a large circuit, and vvell peopled, having about Five thousand armed men usually listed in it. From thence their Majesties came to *Sens*, an Archibishopal City upon the same River; and from thence to *Montreuil*, and so to *Melune* upon the *Seene*, vvhere the King vvvas received also vvith extraordinary content; and thither came many *Parisians* to kiss his hand, and to assure his Majesty of their uncorruptible fidelity. And the preservation of all these places, being the only means in these present conjunctures to vvinn the game, (for from those plentiful parts, the *Parisians* greatest subsistence comes,) Foot and Horse Garisons vvere put by the King into *Forgeaux*, *Jogray*, *Sens*, *Montereux*, and into all the Walled Cities, and Towns, in those parts. And vvhilest the Court vvent from one place to another, the Army marched still by the parallel Line: So as vvhen the Court came to *Melune*, the Army came to *Moret*, a little Town upon the River *Loin*, near *Fountainbleau*, not incounting any Enemy; for they lay tovwards *Estampes*, to keep the Passage, and Communication free betvveen *Paris* and *Orleans*. The Famishing of *Paris* vvvas propounded in the Kings Council, and the compelling it to lay down all contumacy, by bereaving it of the Commerce of the River; but the Cardinal vvould not listen thereunto, knowing, that though the City fell then into extravagancies, it vvvas by the procurement of some seditious people, vvho vvore more greedy to advantage their ovvn particular interests, then the publick good, as vvvas given out; but that being freed of the Witch.

Witchcraft vvherevvith they vvere posselt, the King should not need to desire any thing of his Subjects: Moreover, that it was not good, to exasperate the people of that City yet more by rigor, and to precipitate them desperately to declare for the Prince, which was the thing desired by him, and his followers, and without which their party could not subsist. That those people often altered their opinion, and sometimes for the better, as it was likely, they might do now, they having desired his Majesty to return to his Royal Throne; to which they had sent Monsieur de Leaygue to him: Though by these strong Reasons he sought to persuade the Council to return, it was notwithstanding observed, that the *Parisians* were only moved by the suspicion they had of the Kings Forces, which not being able of themselves to oppose, they must consequently throw themselves into the hands of Foreigners, or succumb to the Regal Authority.

But three things hindered the effecting of this Council. The first was the condition of those who made the invitation; the second, because their Subjects who were well affectioned to the Court, counselled the contrary; the third, that it became not the King to put his person in ballance with the People or *Frondeurs*, without good Caution. By these, and the like arts, *Paris* was kept from declaring particularly, but keeping, as it were, Neutral, though it appeared otherwise, it afforded time for such things as made for the Kings behalf: The Court went afterwards from *Melune*, to *Corbeile*, and from thence to *S. Germans*, by the way of *Silly*, being still sheltered by the Army.

But before the King went from *Gien*, he sent a Letter to the Marishal de l'Hospitalle, and to the Corporation of the City, to acquaint them with his going from thence, and with his drawing near *Paris*: Wherefore he commanded, that no Assembly should be made before his coming, for he intended to be there in person; and having heard under hand, that Guards of the Inhabitants were to be placed at the Gates, he gave order likewise for the same; to let it be seen, that it was done by his Majesties order, and not by the Parliament. And the said Guard being desired by Merchants, as we'l in respect of the nearness of the Armies, which came even to the Suburbs; as for the peoples insolency, who in a sedition, were apt to plunder the houses of the ablest men: And that though *Paris* was not in open Rebellion against the King, they held notwithstanding frequent correspondence with the Princes; and for that Counsels and Preparations for War were made there, and in the Assemblies; a General was made, who should be one of the Corporation, assisted by the Deputies of Parliament. In which Parliament it was Decreed, That when the Cardinal should be driven out of the Kingdom, with assurance never to return; they would immediately lay down Arms: But as they made use of this pretence, only to make the people believe their actions innocent, and that they aimed at nothing but the Publick good, by sending away that State Minister; to whom they imputed all their grievances, and the continuance of War. So the Court, knowing, that if the Cardinal should be sent away, they should get no more by his dismissal, then they had done when he was before sent out of the Kingdom; and that by yielding to the Princes pretensions, the Regal Authority would be insensibly wounded, which ought to be absolute, and independent: They also pretended, that it belonged neither to the Princes, nor to the Parliament to give Laws to their Prince, but to receive Laws from him: And that the very pretending, that the King should make use of such State Ministers, as they should chuse, deserved correction; since it stood not with the Maxims of good Govern-

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ment, That any of his Majesties Council should depend upon any bodies will but the Kings. They therefore said it was impertinently done, to desire that any one should be turn'd away whose service the King approved of, to place another there who was not so much to his satisfaction; and who would be more careful to please private men, than the publick; or the Crown; and that it did plainly appear that to deprive the King of the Cardinal, was to take his satisfaction from him as they listed; that therefore to avoid so pernicious an example, though the King should have a mind to dismiss him, he should forbear doing it, and maintain him against all men; the King being their sole Patron and Master. The *Parisians* who were not aware of the Princes their actions, had a general assembly the next day, wherein they chose Commissioners to desire that their Majesties would return to *Paris* and to send away the Cardinal, which was the way to restore peace to his faithful Subjects. But the Council finding that the design of the Princes, and Parliament was to banish the Cardinal, to the end that they might govern all things as they listed; they would not alter their resolution of maintaining the Royal Dignity, but on the contrary resolved to suppress the exorbitant, and indiscreet pretences of the Princes and Parliament; wherefore they indeavoured to gain time, and to keep the *Parisians* Neutrals, that they might not assist the contrary party with men and monies, which they wanted much. The Princes and Parliament on the other side, studying to preserve their credit with the people by the specious pretence of easing their grievances, forbore not any thing that might incite the fury of the Inhabitants against the King's Agents; and because it was necessary for the Commerce of *Paris* to keep the King's Army from passing over the *Seine*, and to exhaust *St. Germans* of all things; by keeping it from the daily helps which it received from *Paris*, they raised some Troops which being joynd to other Forces, overran the neighbouring Country by night, doing more harm to the neighbouring Town, and Villages, than did the Kings men who came even to the Gates of *Paris*.

The Prince of *Conde* caused two Arches of the Bridg of *St. Clow* to be broken, and all the rest that were upon the *Seen* from *Paris* to *St. Germans*; and placed good Garrisons in *St. Clow* and *Neully*; with Ammunition furnished from *Paris*, but at the cost of the Princes: for the *Parisians* could never be brought to disburse any monies for them in this War; whose Troops having taken *Estampes*, they pretended to fortifie themselves there, hoping thereby to keep *Paris*, and *Orleans* true to them, which was their main business. Whilst the Kings Army was quartered in *Chartres* and thereabouts, the aforesaid Troops threw themselves into *Estampes*, with their Lieutenant General: for the Prince, and Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Beaufort* were gon to *Paris*, to keep the *Frondeurs*, and their friends true to them, many whereof wished for the Kings return, and willingly listned to treaties which were then in hand touching the receiving of their Majesties, who if they had then freely appeared they would have been welcomed with all joy and applause, and the Princes, and their party had been driven out for the common people were easily wound about, and the Citizens were mightily affraid they should make tryal of War, and the miserable effects thereof: the Princes men had abundance of Victuals in *Estampes*, which the Kings Forces wanted mightily; wherefore Marishal *Turenne*, who managed the War with much precaution, when the Court was come to *St. Germans*, and that the treaty of publick peace was begun; upon the Princess of *Orange* her passing through *Estampes*, and before the jealousy of the Duke of *Lorrains* marching towards *Paris* grew greater, bethought himself of a gallant design. After he had received a pass from the Court,

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and sent it to Madamofelle to carry her to *Paris*, he propounded to the Marſhal *de Oquin-court*, and to the other head-Officers, that the ſaid Princeſs being gon to *Eſtampes*, and the Army of the Princes, which were drawn out in Battalia, when they ſhould be retreated to their quarters, and the better half of them according to cuſtom gone for forrage; they might eaſily get ſome good advantage by falling upon them at unawares. Upon this, with general conſent they got on Horſe-back, and marched quietly with all their Troops and Artillery on the third of *May*, (which was the next day after Madamofelle was gone from *Eſtampes*,) thitherwards leaving the Horſe Regiments of *Marcuſe*, and *Lamet*, and *Rales*, *Burlemonts*, and the Crowns Foot to guard the Bagage at *Chartres*: which was five leagues from *Eſtampes*, the deſign was to ſurpriſe the Suburbs *St. Martine*, wherein part of the Princeſs Troops were; and having paſt the River *Fuleville*, they marched quietly, and in good order, till an hour before day, within ſight of *Eſtampes*; the Enemies Army kept in Battalia; and when Madamofelle was gone, *Conde's* Regiment, and that of *Burgundy*, together with ſeven other *Dutch* Regiments of Foot, and *Virtembergs* and *Bruchs* Horſe Regiments, quartered in the aforeſaid Suburbs which was to be aſſaulted.

The Kings Generals finding the adverſary thus quartered, they drew out a body of commanded men from out the body of Foot, to place them in the intervals of the Squadrons of Horſe, together with all the Pol-axes; the Army was drawn out into Battalia, the Canon was placed within Muſquet ſhot of the Town. *Turenne* took upon him the moſt dangerous charge with 300 Soldiers, whiſt *Oquin-court* was to aſſault the other end of the Suburbs with 500 commanded men. *Virtemberg*, and *Bruchs*, *Dutch* Regiments, who were placed without, were forced by ſome ſhot of Artillery to alter their ſtation; the ſorlorn hope fell on upon the Suburbs; but finding ſtout reſiſtance, for the Princeſs men were many, and well fortified, *Turenne* came in with his own Brigade, and thoſe of *Uxelles*, and *Picardy*, and after a hot ſkirmiſh, made himſelf maſter of ſome of the houſes, and of ſome of the Garden Walls, which were defended by the Enemy, even to throwing of ſtones: the mean while *Oquin-court* making forwards in the head of his men, with his Sword in hand, was the firſt himſelf that got over the Wall, and driving the defendants into ſome houſes that were near the Church, yea even into the Church and Church-yard, where they Barracadoed themſelves. But becauſe the Kings men at their entrance into the Suburbs fell to plunder, ſo as the Enemy might have come out upon their backs, and get ſome great advantage in that conſuſion; *Monſieur Varennes*, a Volunteer who was near *Turenne*, rid with looſe reins into the Suburbs, and making the Soldiers come quickly out of the houſes, put them into Squadrons in the Street before the Church-yard; and ſeeing ſome of Count *Broglie's* Soldiers lead Count *Brioll* Priſoner, he deſired him to let thoſe Soldiers know, that there being no hope of ſafety, their beſt courſe was to yield; which he reſuſing to do, *Turenne* ſent him away Priſoner, and cauſed a call to be beaten to *Pieur's* Regiment, who were fighting deſperately there: whoſe Officers knowing *Varennes*, capitulated and became Priſoners of War upon his word; at which time *Oquin-court* coming in on the other ſide, all the reſt were alſo made Priſoners. Count *Turenne*, who was in the Town with the other Commanders, thought to go out and ſuccor his ſide; but being beaten back, all that were in the Suburbs were left to the diſcretion of the aſſailants, and all the Soldiers, and Officers were generally ſlain, or taken, not being able to get into the Town, nor to ford over the River. The *Burgundy* Brigade abandon'd its ſtation,

ſtation, and retreated intire; *Conde's* Regiment did make ſtout reſiſtance, and recovered a place, where the Kings Commander yielded upon diſcretion. Thus there being no more Enemies to make oppoſition, the Suburbs was totally plunder'd, and little leſs than burnt to aſhes; and the Generals much to their glory return'd to their quarters at *Chartres*; and two days after to *Palaiſan*. Many of the Kings Officers and Soldiers dyed in this action, and the young Count *de Quinck*, and *Carlo Broglie* were ſorely wounded, whiſt they fought valiantly amidſt the Enemy; this action was generous, and noble, for which the Generals were much commended, and the credit of the Princeſs was very much leſſened. The King ſtaid at *St. Germans*, whither a Deputation was ſent unto him in the name of the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Conde*, from Count *Chavigny*, and Secretary *Goulas*, and the Duke of *Rohan*; but not without jealouſie of one another; for it was thought their private inſtructions differed from their publick ones; doubtleſs *Chavigny* was the ableſt and wiſeſt, and he was for *Conde*, *Goulas* was for *Orleans*, and *Rohan* for them both; theſe went with ſeeming orders not to confer with the Cardinal; but by private agreement to treat with him; as ſoon as they were come to Court, and had made their Commiſſion known, they were told (the better to cloke the cauſe of their coming) that they had taken pains to no purpoſe, and that ſo they might return, ſo after having ſhewn ſome reſuſtancy, they obeyed the Kings will without any contradiction; whiſt all were curious to know the contents of this conference, they were ſtruck with wonder when it was known that the Gentlemen were ſhut up with the Cardinal in his Cabinet, and that they did privately negotiate with him; but they were much more aſtoniſhed when they heard that Count *Chavigny* had himſelf alone private conference that night with the Cardinal, to whom he propounded the Prince his full agreement, if four things might be granted him, *viz.* That Count *de Ognone* might be made Duke, and Peer of *France*, Count *Marſin* Marſhal of *France*, Prince Count Governour of *Provence*, and *Conde* himſelf Plenipotentiary of the general peace. The Court would have yielded willingly to the firſt two, nor would the Cardinal have oppoſed it much; ſince it only concerned Titles. But the Government of *Provence*, and the Plenipotentiariſhip were totally reſected; for the Cardinal declared he would never ſuffer his Maſteſties Authority ſhould be prejudiced, for his particular intereſt. This Deputation did much injure the Princeſs; for it was made in a time when the Parliament, and *Parisians* were moſt incenſed againſt the Cardinal, and when all the chief Companies had reſolved to deſire he might be ſent away; when the Commonalty of *Paris* began to be of the ſame mind; and when the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince had declared in Parliament, that they demanded no other ſatisfaction, but that the Cardinal might be ſent away; wherefore they began to ſuſpect them; when they ſaw them act contrary to their former expreſs declarations; and many that were very well inclined to them grew cooler in the buſineſs: which as ſhall be ſeen was one of their chiefſt ruins.

After the Gentlemen were gone to Court from the Princeſs, the Parliament Commiſſioners came thither, with Remonſtrances to their Maſteſties, for ſending away the Cardinal; againſt whom Preſident *Neſmond* ſpoke very freely. The King liſtned unto them very graciouſly, and told them, that he was very well informed of his Parliaments good meaning, and wiſhed that they were ſo of him; that he would confer with his Privy Council, and would declare himſelf within three days: thus with theſe general answers, which were no ways poſitive, did the Commiſſioners return to *Paris*. They likewiſe that were ſent from the Chamber of accounts, and from the Court *de Aides* had audience the ſame day, and had

1652. the like answer. The Provost, the Merchants, the Sheriffs, Procurator General, the Communalities Notary, and other *Parisians*, came also to his Majesty, representing unto him the miserable condition of his subjects; and what necessity there was to send away the Cardinal, who was the sole cause of all the mischiefs, and misunderstandings. The *Garde de Seaux* answered, that his Majesty was very certain of the love of his good City of *Paris*; for whose further satisfaction, he promised to return thither as soon as the passages should be open. This he did to flout them, for that at the same time, when they made these representations to him, they endeavored to hinder his journey by breaking the Bridges of *Seine* and *Marne*.

The Chambers were already met, to know what answer their Commissioners brought from the Court, and *Orleans*, *Conde* and all the chief of the faction were there, when news was brought, that the Kings Forces assaulted the Bridge of *S. Clow*, which was guarded by a small Fort; whereupon the Prince got presently on Horsback, crying aloud, as he rid along the Streets, *Let us go to relieve our Friends*. This caused such a hubbub in *Paris*, as above Eight thousand Armed Men ran on Foot towards the Wood of *Bullonia*, not far from *S. Clow*, with such fervor, and readiness, as if they had been old Soldiers; and it was observed, that there were Counsellors, and Officers of Justice amongst them. The Prince appeared at the Head of the Bridge, accompanied with about Three hundred Volunteers, amongst which, was the Count *di Rienx*, the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Rocheaucolt* and *Sully*; Prince *Marsilliack*, and other of the Gentry; and the Cannon shot which the Kings men made at them, shewed, that they themselves were not come to conquer, but rather to retreat, as they did. The day was fair, and the *Parisians* very glad to see themselves under the famous *Conde*, and their welbeloved *Beaufort*, who drew them forth into Squadrons, with no less delight for the novelty, then labor for their unskilfulness. The Kings men being retreated from *S. Clow*, the Prince went to *Madrid*, (this is a Palace built by *Francis* the First, King of *France*, to keep his word to the King of *Spain*, That he would not go from *Madrid*, when being taken Prisoner, his Ransom was in Treaty.) And here he resolved to fall upon *S. Dennis*, a league from *Paris*, begirt with weak and ill composed Walls, and kept by Two hundred of the *Switzers* Guard. But before he went about it, he sent to know the Duke of *Orleans* opinion, who having consented thereunto, he marched with all those Horse, and with about Five thousand Armed *Parisians*, backed by Six hundred Soldiers of *Fortune*, which were newly raised to recruit *Condes* Brigade, and that of *Burgundy*. *Beaufort* went with some Horse to the Highway, from whence relief might be brought from *S. Germans*; and *Conde* came by night to certain unperfected Earth-works, from whence he sent to the *Switzers*, to yield, and march out: But they answering by the Mouths of their Muskets, those who were with him, were so struck with such a panick fear, (though they were experienced Men, and had shewn their courage in a thousand other Incounters) as they all began to flie; none staying with the Prince, but Duke *Rocheaucolt*, Prince *Marsilliack*, Messieurs *Berset*, *Guitant*, *S. Ibar*, *Gurville*, and *Fontrailles*: So as if but twenty Horse had then come out of the Town, they might easily have taken the Prince, and the Seven that were with him prisoners. But this fear being over, and the Prince have rallied his men which were run away, he went himself on Horsback on the Head of his Men, and lighting at the same time, got upon the Wall, which was there broken down; and entering in, overcame two or three Baracadoes, and made himself master of the

1652. the place, charging Duke *Rocheaucolt* to see no abuse done to the Citizens Houses, nor to the Monasteries. The *Switzers* retreated into the Abbey, and after having defended themselves half an hour, they rendered themselves prisoners of War, and were led in triumph into *Paris* with their colours displayed. The Prince left Three hundred Foot in Guard there, and entered gloriously into *Paris*; but Marshal *Turenne* sent some of his Forces the next day from the Camp, which was at *Palaisseau*, commanded by Monsieur *Renville*, a Colonel of Horse, who recovered the Town; and the Garison retreated to the same Abbey, and yielded upon composition. At this news the *Parisians* went out with *Beaufort* to relieve the Town: But all mens skill in Arms not being alike, the few Forces of the King chased them to the Suburbs of *Paris*, and put them to some loss; but the King being likewise unable to maintain that Town, without more men, it was agreed, that it should be left Neutral, and the Princes were to quit *S. Clow*, *Neully*, *Charenton*, and *S. Maure*, which they did. After the recovery of *S. Dennis*, *Illeadam*, seated upon the River *Oyse*, near *Pontois*, and which was Garisoned by the Princes men, was retaken by the same *Renville*. After this, the Parliament having heard the report made by President *Nesmond*, resolved to send him again to *S. Germans*, to receive the answer promised by the King. But since it made for the Court, that all things should be proceeded in maturely, and with deliberation, the Duke of *Anville*; one whom the King esteemed well, and who was generally well beloved, went several times from the Court to *Paris*, treating of agreement between the King and Princes. *Conde*, who was naturally warily wise, as well as valiant, finding the sickleness of his party, was inclined to make his peace, yea, without the removal of the Cardinal; thinking it better to treat with him, who did at least give all men good words, then with others who were naturally violent, as was the Cardinal of *Rets*. But the Duke of *Orleans* being solicited by *Rets*, who wished *Condes* ruine, as well as that of *Mazarine*, was by ingenious ways still dissuaded: So as *Rets* his presuming to get the supream Administration by the Prince his banishment, and by the remove of *Mazarine*, was, that which did chiefly divert the agreement. For *Orleans* being in a manner bewitched by *Rets*, did always oppose it.

Whilest things went thus in these parts, Count *Harcourt* was not idle in *Guienne*; but finding, that his men needed some rest, took up his Quarters beyond the *Garonne*, in the *Condomise*, and lay himself at *Gondrine*, intending to bring the Neighboring parts to give contribution, as he did. He tarried here, not doing any thing of much weight, save, that he reduced the City of *Condomne*, and Port *S. Mary*, to the Kings obedience, driving the Prince his Men, out of their Quarters, and pursuing them to beyond the *Garonne*. But the Inhabitants of *Agen*, being exasperated to find that *Conde* would put a Garison there, thought it better to have recourse to the Kings clemency, then to throw themselves blindly into a party that could not subsist. They therefore treated with *Harcourt*, and in three days came to an agreement: The Count was honorably received into the City. This example drew after it the like of *Marmada*, *Clairack*, and of *Aignilon*, which all sent Commissioners to him, with Protestation of their Loyalty and Obedience. *Harcourt* sent his Nephew *Bongy* afterwards, with commanded Men to take *Mas d'Agenois*, a place advantageously seated upon the *Garonne*, wherein was a Garison of above Five hundred Soldiers; towards which, the Kings men approaching quietly, and holding intelligence with the Prior of *Pibon*, and with a Consul of the Town, took it by *scalado*, killing about One hundred of the Enemy, and taking

6 5 2. taking Four hundred; amongst which, were Lieutenant Colonel *Lusignan*, *Marsigniac*, *Dilebert*, and divers other Officers. After the Success of *Agen*, *Harcourt* went thither himself, and took an Oath of Loyalty from the Inhabitants of *Montseigneur*, and *S. Basil*, who willingly submitted. By these happy Successes, he thought to advance with all his Horse, to try whether the *Burdelois* might not peradventure have changed their resolution of Disobedience; to which end, going from *Mas d'Agenois* to *Brede*, he sent a Trumpet with a Letter to the *Giurati*, and several other Inhabitants of the City full of gracious Expressions, if they would return to their Obedience. But the Prince of *County* being there, with all the chiefest of his faction; the Trumpet was not let in, nor was the Letter received. The Royalists approached the Walls, and those within coming out, a great skirmish was had: But *Harcourt* not intending to tarry there, began to return; which the *Burdelois* believing to be done out of necessity, and not of choice, they sallied out with more Forces, and chased *Savebeausi*, and *Coudry Monpeifiers* Squadrons: But being repulsed with some loss, they returned to *Burdeaux*, and *Harcourt* continuing his march, and having also reduced *Rious*, he went to *Marmanda*, and there by means of a Bridge, which he caused *S. Colombe* to cast over, he past over his Horse into the Countrey, between the Seas to refresh them, and to continue Contribution in that Countrey: Where *Castilalonse* was besieged, and taken by the Royalists, under the command of Count *Marin*.

More Corn being found to be in *Estampes* then was believed; and the Court not vllingly induring the length of such a business, by vvhich the *Spaniards* made so great advantage; they resolved to fall upon the Army of the Princes, who being bereft of this leaning stock, their whole designs were likewise to be ruined. They therefore bent all their thoughts upon the taking of *Estampes*. The King to this purpose went from *S. Germans* to *Melune*; which being upon the *Seine*, and nearer *Estampes*, the Kings Camp might more easily receive aid, and be recruited from thence, and might at the same time obstruct the carriage of Victuals which were conveyed from those fruitful parts to *Paris*.

General *Turenne*, who after the aforesaid action, commanded solely the Kings Army, for *Oquin-court* was gone, as you have heard, into *Picardy*, went before *Estampes*; the Army appeared, partly on the right hand over against the Suburbs of *S. Martin*, and part on the left hand upon the Hills on this side the River; where he drew a Line, and placed his Batteries, to hinder their Sallying out, and to beat down a great Town. Which finding to be too strong he threw over a Bridge to the *Capuchins* Church, passing Captain *Segaime*, with divers Muskettiers, into the Church, whereby the Enemies Foragers were hindred, and continual skirmishes hapned with reciprocal Fortune: For the Defendants were little less then equal, both for number and valor, to the Assailants. The Kings men being afterward, by means of a Wall that was thrown down, gotten to an Earthwork which was raised in midst of a Courtein, they assaulted the Half-Moon of *S. Martins* Suburbs, which was taken, and retaken thrice, with loss of much blood: And here was Monsieur *Shombert* wounded by two Musket shot, near to the Duke of *Tork*, Brother to the King of *England*, who served as a Volunteer; as also Monsieur *de Niaville*, Son to the superintendant of the *Financiers*, who died. Marquess *Vardis*, and *Mancini*, *Mazarines* Nephew, had their Horses shot under them; Monsieur *Sorvia*, being shot in the Foot, had his Leg afterwards cut off. General *Turenne* hearing the noise came in with his own Regiment, and those of *Navales* and *Picardy*, commanded by Monsieur *Berbese*. But the store of fire which the

the besieged gave, made them retreat with some loss; whereupon *Berbese* advancing, drove the Enemy at last away, took the work, and planted his Banner upon the Parapet. The besieged indeavoured again to beat them out, but in vain. The next morning they sallied out upon the Pioniers, who were working in the Trenches, slew many of them, and beat the Troops which backed them, and kill'd a Lieutenant of the *Gens de Armes*. *Turenne* coming in seasonably with some Volunteers, withstood the Enemy who would have past the line, beat them back, and made the station good. So as the Kings men having gotten the said work, they got into the ditch, and fell to undermine the Walls of the Town, which they would certainly have won, had their mines plaid well; and what shall be related had not hapned; for the Princes finding that their Army could not subsist long in *Estampes*, by reason of their continual loss of Soldiers, prevailed with the *Spaniards*, that the Army of Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* should come to succor them.

This Duke had wont every year *Di far un tratto di Campagna*, to draw out into the field; for the which he received some monies, and was bound to serve them; they had engaged him this year to go into *France*, to relieve the Princes, in order whereunto he marched with 4000 Foot, 500 Horse, and some pieces of Artillery, through *Champagna* towards the *Seine*, to raise the siege of *Estampes*; and leaving his Forces at *Lagni*, he came to *Paris*, and was met without the Town, by *Orleans*, *Conde*, and all those of that party; whereupon the Court fearing *Cordeile*, which was then an important place, sent Monsieur *Almerat* presently away, with 500 Foot, 200 Horse, and six pieces of Canon, to guard that Town, and provided for all other Towns which were worth preserving.

Here the Duke of *Lorraine* visited divers great ones, and amongst the rest, the Dutches of *Cheveraux*, who was allied to his Family; who being a wise Woman, and of a great reach, making use of the jealousy which is always between the Princes of the blood, and the Dukes of *Lorraine*, and particularly against *Conde*, who was more considerable to the *Spaniards* than all the rest; told him it would be ill for him to assist them. The Duke embraced the Counsel willingly, that he might find a pretence, to perform his undertakings to the *Spaniards*, whom he had promised to relieve *Estampes*; thereupon *Chasteauneuf* writ to the Court, and received Authority to negotiate with the Duke; wherefore they secretly agreed, that to disengage himself of his promise, and keep unblamed by the *Spaniards*, the siege of *Estampes* should be raised; making it appear that the condition of the Kings Army required it; and that the next day after *Turenne* should be retreated from *Estampes*, *Lorraine* should promise to withdraw from the *Frontiers* of the Kingdom, to which purpose he should be furnished with Victuals and pay. The Princes knew by his guidance of affairs, that he held intelligence with the Court, and it may be they were advertised thereof by some private friend. They therefore went to his Camp to perswade him to pass over the *Seine*; but he told them they were to rest satisfied if the siege of *Estampes* were raised; and that there being hopes that the Court would be perswaded thereunto, it was needless for him to engage himself any further. *Conde* told him the siege of *Estampes* would easily be raised, if he would afford them means of putting their men that were there in safety; for they could no longer subsist in a ruined place; so as after much discourse *Lorraine* was insensibly perswaded to make a Declaration in writing to *Orleans*, and *Conde*, wherein he engaged himself to tarry a while in his quarters upon the *Seine*, in which time the Princes might withdraw their Forces from *Estampes*, and bring them nearer

Paris.

1652. Paris. The Kings Army being disingaged from the siege before *Estampes*, and the Court finding that *Lorrain* failed in performing his secret treaty with *Chasteauneuf*; *Turenne* marched speedily with his Army towards *Corbeille*, intending to fight the *Lorrainers*, before they should pass the River and joyn with the Princes Forces; and when he came to face them, they being astonished, and afraid to be engaged in a battle, retreated presently, and sheltered themselves by a little River, which falls there into the *seene*. As the Kings Cavalry came towards *Corbeille*, they took divers Pri ones, which made Duke *Charles*'s desire *Beauvain*, who negotiated the agreement with him, to tell him why the Army marched against him, whilst he was in treaty with the Court. *Turenne* made him be answered, that he thought there was no more treaty with him, since he had failed in effecting his promise, which if he would yet faithfully perform, he would advance no further: allowing him four hours space for answer; which being past he waited an answer no longer, but marched presently without baggage against a Castle which the Duke held upon the River, within half a league of his quarters; which he took, and throwing a Bridge over the River, he past most of his Foot, and his Canon over, making the rest of his Army ford over a little higher, and came within shot of the *Lorrainers*, which *Lorrain* perceiving, he sent my Lord *German*, a near servant to the King of *England*, and who had interested himself in the agreement to *Turenne* to let him know he was ready to make his word good. *Turenne* answered, that this had been good the day before, but that now being ready to fight, and he not having kept his word, there were no more words to be made of any preceding treaty, for the face of affairs was changed. But he sent Monsieur *Varennes* back with my Lord *Germain* to find the Duke out, and to tell him he would not forbear falling on, unless the Duke would give him the Bridge of Boats which he had upon the *seene*, unless he would also forbear to fortifie, and return presently by the way that he would appoint him, and get out of *France* within fifteen days, and give him Hostages hereupon. The Duke after having made some difficulty; was again threatened by *Turenne*; whereupon he consented to all that was desired, upon condition that *Turenne* should not make use of the Boats which he gave him, to go against the Princes Army, and that the Princes Forces that were with him, might have a pass to return to *Paris*: that conduct money might be given him for his march, and fifteen days allowed him to get out of the Kingdom. That *Marcouffe*, and *Vanbecourt* should be given for Hostages on the Kings behalf; and Count *Linville*, and the General of the Artillery, on the Dukes with promise that no Hostility should be committed in his march; the treaty was thus stipulated by *Turenne*, much to his glory; which being concluded in the face of both Armies, the *Lorrainers* began presently to march towards *Bria*.

Whilst things went thus in these parts, the Parliament who now that *Lorrain* was come, thought they had hit the nail on the head, raising their pretensions still higher, sent President *Nesmond* again to the Court to insist upon sending the Cardinal away; the Commissioners being come to *Melune*, made the Parliaments desire known, adding that it was a small business for a King to deprive himself of a Servant, whereby he was to regain the obedience of so many, who had withdrawn themselves from it, only out of that respect. The King returned his answer in writing;

That having often heard the Remonstrances made by his Parliament, where- in they still asserted their intentions to maintain regal Authority, and that they would always contribute their chiefest power to the advantage of his service; and

and that finding the wound did now begin to Gangrene without speedy remedy, he desired that their Commissioners might meet with his Privy Council, to the end that they might joyntly find some remedy for the threatening mischief: and to keep his people from the apparent ruine, whereinto they were ready to fall, through the capricious unquietness, and ambition of some few; and that his Majesty indeavoured nothing more than how to restore his Kingdom to its former splendor.

When *Nesmond* had read this answer, he reply'd, That the only way to satisfy all, was to send away the Cardinal; The King thus interrupted him, and with a serious aspect said; You have heard my pleasure; no more words.

The Commissioners returned to *Paris*, where they gave an exact account to their Companions of what had past. Many were for accepting the propounded Conferences; but *Brussels*, with an appearing zeal to the common welfare, was firm that there needed no other Conference, or negotiation, since all was reduced to one sole head, which was the sending away the Cardinal, who being the sole occasion of all resentments, they must stand upon it; for this being had, all controversies would be ended. And the more averse he found the King to part with him, the more he prest it; not for that he cared much for it, but that knowing how difficult a business it would be, he might nourish the diffidences, and maintain discord. For it was apparent, that if the Parliament had believed that the King would have parted with the Cardinal, and with that re-unite the Princes to his service, he would never have pretended thereunto, but would have underhand indeavoured his tarrying; for it did not make for him, that the Kings Authority should be the more fortified by the joyning of the Princes with his Majesty, and that consequently the pretences of the Parliament should languish. *Brussels* opinion being adhered unto, it was decreed that the Commissioners without any delay should return again to the King, and tell his Majesty, that they had nothing to add, nor to propose, but the effectual dismissing of the Cardinal, in conformity to the decrees, and Declarations made by his Majesty, and to the protestation made by the Princes, who were ready to lay down Arms as soon as the Cardinal should be gon out of the Kingdom. Letters written from the Queen of *Sweeden* to the Parliament, were given to the Commissioners, to be delivered to the King, the content whereof was, her offering her self to interpose as a friend and confederate to the Crown of *France*, in agreeing all parties. The Commissioners came to *Melune* the 12th. of *June*, and had Audience two days after, they represented the desolation of the State by the Cardinals return, which they said was the only cause of all the disturbances of the Kingdom. The business was referred to the Council of State, and the answers examined; the Cardinal renewed his many former desires, that he might be dismiss, saying it was not fit that the peace of the Kingdom should be confounded merely for him. This the King denied, saying, that he was master, and was to be served by whom he pleased, and that none but God could prescribe laws to him. The next Sunday the Commissioners had Audience again, wherein the King gave them a writing, saying, that thereby they should know his pleasure. Monsieur *Drilliere* read it, and gave it to President *Nesmond*, wherewith he went to *Paris*; the contents of the Letter were these;

That the King did very much wonder, seeing there were so many wise and well advised Subjects in the Parliament, that they should not know the desire of dismissing the Cardinal, was but a specious and nice pretence, since the true cause

1652. of all the troubles appeared to be the interest, and ambition of those who had took up Arms and waged War when the Cardinal was in Germany, dismiss from the Court and Government, which made it clearly appear that the maladies of a State are not cured, whilst pretences are stood upon, the roots whereof produce as many mischiefs as by those pretences are desired to be cut off; so there was no remedy that would do good, but to pluck up the chiefest and deepest evil by the Root. That if his Majesty should permit the Cardinal to withdraw himself into some foreign employment, with due respect to his honour, how should he be secured that the Male-contentments would be quieted, since his departure in the beginning of the last year, had rather augmented, than moderated the troubles; so as it was not to be hoped it should fall out otherwise, when he should be gone again, unless the cause which produced the effect were presently taken away. That his Majesty did desire speedy and permanent quiet to his Subjects, that they might not fall into the former inconveniences; the rather for that he knew well, that at the same time when the Princes declared they were ready to lay down Arms, if the Cardinal were sent away, they provided for the contrary by strengthening their party with Forreigners, and by seducing other of his Majesties Subjects from their obedience; that what the Duke of Orleans had said some days before to the Commonalty of Paris, touching his having no power over the Duke of Lorrains men, which he had boasted to have brought, was not like to that which he had affirmed in Parliament; that the treaty made with the Spaniards by the Prince of Conde, mentioned not laying down of Arms, if the Cardinal were sent away, nor indeed could it be spoken of, since he was in Germany when it was made. That therefore the Princes were to give real, and positive security for performing what they promised; wherefore he desired to know whether they renounced all leagues, and associations made with Forreigners, and all particular treaties had, and made with his Majesties Subjects against his Royal service; whether they would not pretend to somewhat else, when the Cardinal should be gone, and whether they would come to his Majesty and serve him as they ought, if the Cardinal should be gone; whether or no they would send the Forreigners out of the Kingdom which they had called in, and would promise that the Spanish and Lorrain Forces should retire, without giving them that which they might pretend to, to the prejudice of the State. Whether those who in their names made War with his Majesty in divers parts of his Kingdom, should be dismissed? Whether the Spaniards who were in Stenay, Bourg, Guienne, and in other parts would retire or no, and in case they would not, how Conde could force them to go? Whether the Prince of County, and the Dutcheffs of Longueville would do their Devoirs? and whether Conde had power or no to promise for them? Whether County would forego all pretensions? Whether they had all of them joyntly Authority from those of condition who had followed them, to answer for their obedience; and that they should renounce all the leagues and confederacies, which they had made against him? Whether the Cities, and places fortified, and guarded in the name of the Prince of Conde, would put themselves into the same condition they were before? Whether Burdeaux would submit to do its duty? and whether the decrees made against his Majesties service, since these present Commotions, should be revoked; and all things put into the same posture they ought to be, according to the Articles of his Majesties Declaration in December, 1649. which things when he should be assured they should be done without any Cavils, or new pretences, it might easily be believed that the remedy should be found out to cure the malady under which the Kingdom laboured.

When

1652. When this Letter was read in Parliament, the Duke of Orleans said it was wholly dictated by the Cardinal, and that not being well informed of the Customs of France, he questioned the Princes of the Blood, by way of Interrogatories; which was not a thing usually practised. And that since they had often declared, as they did now at this present, That they would lay down Arms as soon as the Cardinal should be gone out of France there was no need of further security: All things being done in sincerity, and without equivocation. Yet this was long argued in the Assembly, wherein it was proposed by those of the Kings party, that Commissioners should be sent again to his Majesty, with authority to treat of Peace, which was so necessary to the State. Counsellor Brussels was still fixt to his resolution of refusing all Conferences, and that they were only to execute their Declaration. Other Counsellors not speaking of such affairs, said, That it was necessary to think upon some means how to maintain so many poor people. The Provost added, *Who will give me Bread?* Counsellor Betault answered, *That one who had Three thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, ought not fear to die of Famine.* Thus some sharp words past between them.

The One and twentieth of June, the Chambers met again, where two Propositions were made, the one, How to maintain the poor; the other, To raise Fifty thousand Crowns as a reward for the Cardinals Head; if any would undertake the business. But this was for that time laid aside, and it was only resolved to raise One hundred thousand Crowns for relief of the poor, every Counsellor being to pay Ten pound sterling thereunto; there being many of them paid purposely, that they might come and exclaim at the Parliament door, and make a tumult which might oblige the Assembly to joyn with the Princes, which was apparently their design; to the end, that they might necessitate Paris to raise moneys, and other things for the maintenance of the War, by crying when the Counsellors went out of the Palace, *Bread, Peace, and a fig for Mazarine.* They shut the doors upon some of the Parliament, insulted over President Bail-leule, and evilly treated many others, amongst which, Monsieur Vassan, and the Sons of Monsieur Emery were kept four hours in a private shop, but were afterward set free by Beaufort, who went thither himself in person; and as he returned to the Palace, said aloud, That this was not the right way, but that they were to meet in some place, and think how they might demand right from the *Mazarinians*. He therefore wished them to come to the Palace Royal that night, where he would be, where every one might propound their opinions. Thither came four or five thousand of them, vvhhere Beaufort told them, They did not well to go bawling before the Palace, and pretend to force Justice, oppressing as vvell the good, as the bad. But that they were to distinguish, and that Twenty four of them ought to desire the Counsellors to declare vvhho were *Mazarinians*, and vvhho not, vvhwhereby they might know the *Mazarinians*, and fall upon them in all places. He found the common people ready to follow his advice, and disposed them all easily to fury and sedition; so ending his discourse, He said he would expect them the next morning at the Palace. The Provost des Merchants hearing this, acquainted all the Quarters, and Colonels vvvith it, ordering them to have their Chains ready; and that the Inhabitants should be prepared to come forth Armed upon the first Summons.

Nothing was spoken of the Streets, but of assaulting the Parliament, vvherein they said, there were many *Mazarinians*, vvhho would declare themselves. The people cried aloud to Conde as he entred the Palace,

1652. That they would have Peace; to whom he said, He desired the same, and that he endeavored it, but without Mazarine. The Parliament fearing sedition, met not on the Twenty second of July, as they ought to have done; but the *Frondeurs* appeared there; the Presidents met in *Ballieu's* house, to resolve what to do, which the Prince hearing, he went to intreat them in his own name, and in the name of Orleans, to come to the Palace after dinner. Which they refused to do, saying, That there was a conspiracy against them, and that they could not be their safe. Conde treated *Ballieu* spitefully at first, threatening, That if he came not to the Palace, Orleans and he would deal with him little to his liking. But when he saw the other Presidents were of the same opinion, and that they valued not his threats, he fell to intreaties. He desired the President to speak with Orleans, which he refused to do, saying, That all was but *Beaufort's* cheats, whose designs he well knew. He again desired him, and assured him he should receive no wrong; so as at last he prevailed with him.

Orleans prest him very much, that the Parliament might meet that day. *Ballieu* answered, That the Assembly was resolved not to meet, unless their safety might be provided for; that the Duke of Beaufort had discovered his bad opinion: And that though the Presidents and Counsellors should be assured not to meet with any offence, they could not come together before the Twenty fifth of that Month. Whilest they were upon this discourse, *Beaufort* came in, who appeared much astonished, that he should be blamed for the last days sedition; and that a Soldier should be imprisoned that swore against him. But the Duke of Orleans was not well satisfied with *Ballieu*, that the meeting of the Parliament should be denied. The same night, whilest President *Maison* was going to *L'Hôtel d'Orleans*, as he came out, he was followed by many *Plebeians*, who cried, A *Mazarinian*, and kill him. He got into the next House, the door whereof was assaulted, that they might have him out; but *Beaufort* and *Conde* coming in, kept him from danger, and brought him to *L'Hôtel d'Orleans*, assuring the people, That he was no *Mazarinian*. At last, on the Twenty fifth of June, the Assemblies met, being assured by the Princes, that they should not be injured by the people. And here Orleans and Conde declared, That if the King would send the Cardinal away, according to his Declaration of the Sixth of September last, they would readily do what was desired in the Kings Letter, which was brought by their Commissioners. After this, there was no more rubs in the business; only, whether this Declaration should be sent by the Kings men, or by the Commissioners of Parliament, who had been employed formerly, or by others that should be chosen out of each Chamber, whereunto all the Princes consented, excepting *Nesmond*, whom they suspected to have brought Moneys in his late employments from the Court; and that he held secret Conference with *Mazarine's* friends.

This clause caused no little confusion in the Assembly; all the Counsellors holding it very strange, that they should be guided by the will of the Princes, where their Votes ought to be free, and independent. This business was argued three hours, and the wiser sort thinking the Princes pretensions, to be unsupportable, bewailed the misfortune of the times: And finding palpably, that to shun obedience to the King, they fell into the subjection of the Princes, they found, that they must use the Princes, as the Court had done the Parliament, refusing all things that might proceed from another authority. For in such cases, by degrees desires turn to commands; and he who would not be forced to obey, ought not suffer commands. They therefore resolved to send back the same *Nesmond*, and the

the other Commissioners, to tell the King, That if the Cardinal were sent away according to the Declaration of the Sixth of September, the Princes would lay down Arms, and do all that his Majesty demanded of the Parliament.

Thus the Assembly ended, and at the coming forth, the Counsellors were kept back by a croud of people, crying out, Peace and union with the Princes; whereby it appeared, that their design was to make the Parliament, and the City declare; for many of the Soldiers of the Army were got among the *Plebeians*, which caused a dangerous commotion against the whole Parliament, many of the Counsellors whereof, were pursued into the Neighboring Houses, not without danger of life, for many shot were made at them. Many men were slain, and many wounded; President *Noion* had great fortune to escape, for he was pursued by the people thorough two or three Streets. The Lieutenant of Civil Causes got into the Castle with some Counsellors, where he was beset by the rout, who thought to fire it; not being able to get in by reason of the number of Guard that defended it, and they had fired it, had it not been for Monsieur *Mitton*, Colonel of that Quarter, who with his Company made them retreat. Other Counsellors and Presidents shifted for themselves the best they could; the sedition lasted till night drew on, with much horror and confusion. It was mightily declaimed against, not only in Parliament, but in the Town-house, and it was resolved to provide for the common safety.

When the Parliament met, Monsieur *Champrond* was ordered to make proces against the chief Authors of the Sedition; as also against those that had printed and published infamous Labels against the Court and Parliament; moreover, a *Monitorio Ecclesiastico*, a Declaration of the Clergy was given out against the Complices of the aforesaid things; and the Provost des *Marchants*, Consuls, and Sheriffs, and other chief Citizens, resolved, That the Captains and Colonels of each quarter, should have their Guards in readiness, and should place a Corps de Guard about the publick Palace, to keep off further insolences, and preserve the freedom of Parliament. But sufficient provision not being had for the desired quiet, there being more that followed the party of the Princes, then of the Parliament, and Council of the City, it was concluded, That the most expedient means for the indemnity of Paris, and the Parliament, should be taken in a General Assembly of all the Inhabitants on the Fourth of July.

The Duke of Lorraine being this mean while, dis-incamped from *Villa Nova*, he went on the Seventeenth of June, to *Bridcomte Rubert*; from thence by *Columniere* to *Secana*, and so by degrees, till he got out of the Kingdom, which caused apprehensions, that he had betrayed the Princes, and which caused great trepidations in those that were of the contrary faction to the Court. It being thought, that the Kings Army being free from the *Lorrainers*, should incamp before Paris, and that the Princes should be forced to comply; but when the truth was known, the Duke was justified, and it was known, that all was caused by the *Spaniards*, who were afraid, That if the Duke of Lorraine should stay in France, and joyn with the Princes, the King would be forced to make peace; and the Cardinal would be dismissed. Wherefore they sent for him back, to the end; That the Court being strengthened by his retreat, might not moderate her pretensions, but maintain those divisions, which it made for them, to foment.

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The Kings Army being gone from *Estampes*, where there was no more Corn, and the place much infected by the dead bodies of Men, and Horses which lay unburied, the rest of the Forces were made to remove, and abandon that Town, which was more than half destroyed; when through the news that was given out, that *Lorrain* had betrayed the Princes, whose Army was thereby exposed to the injuries of the Kings Forces, who might pass over the *seene* upon the Bridge of Boats, which was surrendered by the *Lorrainers*. The Prince went out with only twenty Horses, amongst which, were the Dukes of *Rochefaucolt*, and *Nemeurs*, and Prince *Marilliac*, and went, not without danger of being taken, to joyn with his men, who were marching towards *Paris*, and came with them to the *seene*, over against *Villanova S. George*, where the Kings Army lay. And the next day hearing, what had past in treaty with Duke *Charles*, he came to between *S. Clow* and *Surenne*, within two leagues of *Paris*, on the River side, and upon the way to *S. Germans*, whither those few Forces that they had in *Paris*, were also sent, wherewith they made a Camp of about Five thousand men. Which Army was provided of all things necessary from *Paris*: All which was done at the expence of the Princes; for they could never get money, nor any thing else from the *Parisians*: But only free commerce, popular affection, and a receptacle upon need. Wherefore the Prince knowing he could not long subsist, unless that the City, and Parliament, would publicly declare for him, he used all means to make them both second his designs, and at last used violence, by which he became odious, and overthrew all his concerns.

The Castle of *S. Vincent* being in these emergencies, a place of no small consideration, it was recruited with One hundred Soldiers by Count *Chavigny*, Captain thereof, who was then in *Paris*, a great Confident of *Condes*, and a prime Adviser of the Anti-Cardinalists. Many other provisions were likewise had for the common concernment; and the *Spaniards* were solicited by many Messengers for assistance; and to enter *France* from *Flanders*, with a powerful Army, to drive the Kings Forces from about *Paris*: But the Catholic Agents not intending to assist the Princes more then to maintain their pretences, that by the troubles in *France* they might work their advantage in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and *Catalonia*, they fed their hopes now and then with moneys, not thinking that affairs were yet brought to such straits, as that they were to neglect their own occasions, to suppress strangers; nor did the Princes and *Frondeurs* omit to foment such *Burdelois* as were desirous of novelties. And here it must needs be pleasant to hear how divisions arose amongst those of the same party.

It is a known truth, that one fault committed draws on another, and that he who cannot indure lawful Dominion, will not tolerate unjust usurpation. The *Frondeurs* of *Burdeaux* divided themselves into two factions, one whereof was called the *Little Fronda*; whose Chief was Monsieur *Mirate*, with whom the President *Dafis* and *Pichon*, *Todiaffort* and *Fontaineille*, all of them friends to *Conde*, and who called him into *Burdeaux*. These divided the Province amongst them, that they might get the Kings Taxes. Monsieur *Guionet* went towards *Toulouse*, to Count *Marfin*, whereat the Parliament of *Languedock* took such offence, as those who were the Kings friends, took occasion thereby to keep the people in obedience to his Majesty. Monsieur *Mousniere* went to the *Haganoise*, and *La Roche* to *S. Onge*, as superintendent of *Condes* Army. *Fryard* and *Halen* were made superintendents of the Sea Coast. So as this *Little Fronda* took upon themselves the managing of all the moneys for War, which they themselves had

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had for that end raised; moreover in the Princes their Council, were the Presidents *Dafis* and *Pichon*, and Messieurs *Tarang*, *Mirat*, and *Grimart*, these were of the great *Fronda*. In the same Council President *Gourges*, *Blanck*, *Movefine*, and *Espenet*. The great *Fronda* were very jealous of the confidence which those of the lesser had in the Princes. Divers Parliamentarians were of the grand *Fronda*, who met in the same *Gourges* his house, where making use of the peoples murmuring against the arrogance, and greediness of the petite *Frondeurs*, who made merry with the present miseries to that excess, that *Guionet* having invited his friends one day to Dinner, bid them eat cheerfully, for all that was before them was the blood of the people; so as by this and such extravagant proceedings they soon turn'd patience into fury, so as the grand *Frondeurs* had a plausible pretence to accuse those of the lesser *Fronda* as Authors of all the disorders, which did afterwards ruine the Princes affairs; wherefore to satisfy them, it was agreed that, *Remont* one of the grand *Fronda*, and *de Due*, and *Espenet* should be employ'd also in gathering the aforesaid Taxes. It was also ordered that the Council of the *Olmiera* should be govern'd by the lesser *Fronda*, who to please the fury of the *Olmiera*, did Sacrifice as Victims, divers of the Kings faithful Subjects; and in an extraordinary assembly did declare *Salamon* the Father and Son, *Bernet*, *Montisquion*, and *de Ariebe*, to be suspected persons. The Advocate brought in a bill containing their names; and the names of the Attorney General *Pontack*, *Mafquedet*, and Doctor *Roche*; who though they were adjudged by the Parliament, to be suspected persons, and therefore to be sent out of the City, they were notwithstanding exempted, for having been zealous for the publick in the former War, and only the first three were banished. They also prohibited the meeting of the *Olmiera*; but it was continued under the protection of the Prince of *County*, and Dutchess of *Longueville*, who were desirous to lessen the Parliaments power, for that it would predominate over all things, especially since the Prince of *Conde* was parted from *Paris*. Wherefore it was resolved on the 14th. of *May*, that a decree should be made against the *Olmiera*, and that it should be proclaimed by the *Hussiers*, Ushers; but those who undertook it were beaten by the *Olmiristi*; then being invited by Monsieur *Tarang*, who threatened to hang them, they went in great numbers to the Parliament, in a tumultuous manner, desiring that the decree might be repeal'd, and in a threatening manner forbidding them to proceed any further; and their rage increasing, they took up Arms, and drove out fourteen of the Parliament, whereof President *Pion* was one, though he was a Pensioner of *Spain*, and more a friend to *Conde* than the rest. Count *Marfin*, and *Lenet* advertised *Conde* of this, blaming the Prince of *County*, and Dutchess *Longueville*, as those who were the Authors of all novelties for their peculiar interests; to ballance which *Marfin* and *Lenet* were to weaken the faction of the *Olmiera*; by means of the Parliament.

The Prince answered these Letters, that he intended the *Olmiera* should be put down; which being ill taken by the *Olmiristi*, they went that very night to Cornet *Mercatante*'s House, with whom Monsieur *Giurato Fontinelle* supped, who being surpris'd at the Audaciousness of these seditious men, suddenly assembled the quarter of *le Chappreaux*, who falling upon them and shooting at them from the Windows, slew Monsieur *Lort*, who was their chief, and wounded four more mortally: the Parliament being highly incensed at this popular insolence, met the next day, where the *Giurati* declared what mischief had happened, and *Conde*'s Letters were read, upon which a general Amnesty was resolved upon for all the seditious;

1652. ous; but they were prohibited meeting together. The fourteen that were lately banished were re-called; but not those that were first expell'd; as being thought too partial to the Court. The *Olmerists* were hereat mightily scandalized; they met again at the Abby of St. Croix, pretending to provide for the defence of certain Towns upon the *Garonne*, which if they should fall into the Kings hands, would block up the way for coming to buy Victuals. Monsieur *Girante*, one of the *Giranti* having notice of their meeting, indeavoured to separate them, which not being able to do neither by fair words nor foul, he went to the quarter of the *Chappeaux Rouge* where were the exil'd Officers, and the rest of the lesser *Fronde*, who with their adherents made about 300, and dividing them went in Squadrons to meet the *Olmerists*, who by *Blanck*, the Procurators direction had taken the publick Palace, he fell valiantly upon them, and broke some of their Barracadoes; but not being backed by *Fontenella's* Squadron, he could not perfect his design. The Dutchess of *Longueville* by her fair words, and by her Majestical aspect, made them face about, and the Princess of *Conde*, as one who strove with her Husband for glory and applause, came into a Street next to the publick market, and by her Authority, kept the *Olmerists* from assaulting the Parliament; whereof two or three were slain by shot out of the Windows. The confusion being thus ceased, and the parties parted by these two Princesses; The *Olmerists*, being fomented by the Dutchess of *Longueville* were still resolved not to be supprest by the Parliament; but as Inhabitants of the City, pretended to be the chief directors thereof; for having forgon their obedience to the King they thought it not fit to be subject to the Parliament which was full of interested people, and govern'd by ambition: being thus perswaded they posselt themselves of all the principal Stations. That very night, those who were in the quarter of the *Chappeaux Rouge* remaining there, fomented by *Lenet*, and by the Princess of *Conde*, to moderate the power of *County*, and of Dutchess *Longueville*. *Lenet* having assigned over the publick house of Convoy, to a particular assembly of some Counsellors of the lesser *Fronde*, but finding many Citizens of the faction of *Chappeaux Rouge* who were well vvishers to the King, and unconcern'd in their party; as also that the Parliament too proud of their successes vvould quell all superiour Authority, or those vvho they vvere jealous off, and considering moreover that the greatest part, if not all the *Olmerists* vvere mean people, easie to be corrupted by monies; *Lenet* joyned vvith the Dutchess of *Longueville*, and they caused the alteration vvich happened on the 24th. of June, vvherefore the *Olmerists* the next day, being assisted by some *Giranti*, and Captains of the Wards, vvith many Officers of the Troops mingled amongst them, met armed in good order, vvith Drums beating, giving out that *Harcourt* drevv near the City, and demanded that Monsieur *Belgarde Montaspan*, and of the Advocate General *Sant*, that *Fontenelle*, and *Girant*, who were *Giranti*, should be delivered up unto them, and made the same desire to Monsieur *Chavignack* who was come some few days before to *Burdeaux* with orders from the Prince to appease them; and the meaner sort of people impatient of not being speedily resolved by the Princesses; having assembled the field Corporals of both the *Fronde's*, and the other prime Officers and Citizens came out of the Palace publickly with two pieces of Canon, and about 2000 armed men, commanded by some of *Conde's* Captains, and with an Elm and other Wood in a Cart, to fire the quarter of the *Chappeaux Rouge*, and threatening to plunder it; at the noise whereof the two Princesses desired *Pichon*, and *Dasts*, and others of the lesser *Fronde*, to un-arm their houses, to the end

1652. end that the people meeting with no resistance, and finding the doors open, might want pretence to vent their fury: but they continuing their opinion, that the people being naturally poorly spirited would be quell'd by vigorous resolutions; began to shoot at them out at the Windows; whereat the people being more incens'd, they brought their Canon to before the House of *Pay Paulin*, where they were received with a shower of shot from *Pichon's* house, and from another house where *la Roche*, *Gnionet*, and *Orest* were with Ten of their friends who did so valiantly defend themselves, as above One hundred of the *Olmerists* being hurt, they set fire on both the houses, and barbarously plunder'd *Pichon's* house, who by chance was then in the Princess's her house. The fire was violentest in the house where *la Roche* was, which was totally burnt, and he himself had much ado to escape. Other houses were likewise plundered; the factious people would have committed greater disorders, had not the Princess and Dutchess of *Longueville* interposed, who caused the *Hofia* to be carried, which was conducted by *Tobias Girato*, who labour'd much for his friends the *Frondeurs*, some of which were gotten into Counsellor *Thiebauts* house, imploring the Princesses protection, and obtain'd that the whole Company of the grand *Fronde* might come along with them, who with Bows of Elms in their Hats counselled the people who were their friends to retire; which they did, and carried back the three pieces of Artillery into the publick Palace. The next day they set three great Elms upon the Steples of St. Michael, St. Eulalia, and St. Remigio, mixing red Standerds with them, which was ill taken by the good French, as if it had denoted favour to Spain. The Prince of *County* being returned from *Libourn*, found the City in such a condition, as he was glad to make use of the *Olmiera* as of a Theater wherein the peoples fury, and Princes interests were acted.

A certain Priest who was a melancholy Astrologer, imagined that City might be made a Commonwealth; which he Communicated to President *Hofteime*, and held intelligence with the English, to whom the *Olmiera* writ their design; but the Prince of *County* being acquainted with this *Caballe*, and that a certain English man, called *Edward Sigisby* treated hereupon incognito in *Burdeaux*; he forthwith assembled the *Olmiera*, and made a discreet speech unto them, wherein he caused them to resolve never to talk any more of a Commonwealth, nor of any thing else with Forreigners without the Princes their exprefs consent. A month after *Hofteime* and the Astrologian Priest were expell'd the Town, which had like to have occasioned some uprore, had it not been for the Duke of *Guise*, who was then come from Spain as you shall hear hereafter: whilst the Prince of *County* and Dutchess of *Longueville* were sick, the *Olmiera* met daily in the common Palace, to the number of Thirty Counsellors and Four Presidents, which were every month changed. These treated of the civil Government of the City, whilst the other Twelve judged Criminals; but nothing was binding, save in the general assembly or the Lords day: wherein all those whose names were written in the Catalogue of the *Olmiera*, which were about 1000 mean base people, who concluded articles of Union, under the title of serving the King, Country, and Princes, vowing to defend the meanest of them that had any deliberative vote in the publick meetings of Citizens, even to death.

For other things, little of remark was done by the Armies in these parts: for both sides were equally weak. Their happened only two considerable actions; the one near *Roche Shirles*, where the Count *Mora* being advanced with some of the Prince his Troops, to surprise Monsieur

1652. *de Folevilles* Quarter: *Foleville* repulsed him, and took many prisoners, amongst which, were *La Mora* himself, who was wounded in the head, *Count Chatelus*, who commanded the Prince his *Gens d'Armes*; and *Monsieur Fourville*. The other encounter was made by *Colonel Baltazar*, near the Castle *Montireff*; who foarding over a River with his Horse, fell so vigorously upon the Kings Troops, that they abandoned the Marquess of *Montousie*; who being wounded in the Arm, was forced to retreat, the rest were all routed, many of the Nobles wounded and slain. *Baron Montendre* was taken prisoner; *Monsieur Nicull* was killed; *Baltazar* took the Kings Baggage, and took also the Castles of *Montanse* and *Bordoilles*, wherein he took much Stuff, and put a Garrison into the White Tower.

Some Tumults hapned in *Provence*, but they were soon pacified by *Duke Mercurus* vigilancy.

All this while the Court ceased not to treat of peace with the Princes, and particularly with *Conde*; nor had it been impossible to reduce him, had he not been diverted by the *Cardinal de Retz*, and others, for whom Quiet was not good. *Retz* kept *Orleans* continually of a contrary mind; wherefore *Conde* being unwilling to countervene the Duke, with whom he had so often faithfully promised to joyn, all Proposals met with difficulties, and were interrupted. The Court used the best means it could to render these machinations invalid. The best way was thought to make the *Parisians* aware of their error; which when they should be, it would not be hard to stave them from off the rest, and the Princes wanting the aid of *Paris*, would soon have all their machinations destroyed.

Upon these considerations, the Court went from *Melune* about the end of *May*, and came to *S. Dennis*, within a league of *Paris*, to encourage what was undertaken by the Kings friends there: The King used universal clemency, treating them all, as if they had been all equally affectionate. And to let them see it was not his intention to block them up, as the Princes gave out, he kept commerce open: The Kings Army which was conducted by *Marishal Turenne*, followed the King, and being recruited with Three thousand men by *Marishal de la Ferte Senetre*, who was joyned with *Turenne*, in command of the Army, incamped near *S. Dennis*, on the left hand, near the *Seene* toward *Paris*, which was invironed beyond the River, on the West side by the Kings Forces; who might at their pleasure block up the River, and reduce the City to greater straits of Victuals than it was yet in. This was taken by the Kings Council to be the best expedient: For the people, unable to indure Famine, and the Citizens being debarred Traffick, which was their sustenance; and finally, being annoyed by the ruine which was daily made in their Territories, as well by Friends as Foes, they would resolve to free themselves from so long slavery. But for all these inconveniences suffered by *Paris*, yet were the Inhabitants so obstinate, trusting to the Princes and *Frondeurs*, as hoping soon to see all the *Mazarinians* destroyed (for so they called all the Kings party) they thought not of their own undoing, which made them the more willingly undergo their sufferings. The King not being able by these ways to reduce the people who were backed by the Army, and by the Princes, endeavored to destroy the Forces of the Princes; which not being thought to be hard, their Camp not being fortified, nor well seated, and not half so many as the Kings: Order was taken for all things fitting for the enterprise, before the *Spaniards* should come with their promised recruits. On the Twenty ninth of *June*, *Turenne* came to the River to cast a Bridge of Boats over, beneath *Espernay*, where passing over the *Seene*, he might As-

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1652. fault the Camp at *S. Clow*. Which giving an Alarm to the Princes Army, *Count Tavannes* dispatched away One hundred and fifty commanded Foot, and as many Horse, under Camp-master *Goville*, that he might interrupt the Kings Works, till he might be ready to march thither with the rest of the Forces. *Goville* went, and finding the Bridge already advanced to the Island in the midst of the River between *Argenteule* and *E-pivalle*, and that the Artillery was carried to the opposite Bank, sent word presently to *Tavannes*, who was ready to get on Horseback; and hastning his march came to the Bridge, accompanied by several Officers, and sent to acquaint *Conde* with it. *Tavannes* retreated to a Village near the River; and hearing that the Kings men past over, returned to the opposite shore to hinder their landing: Who finding the attempt not feasible, was content to quit it. Then leaving Fifty Foot, and One hundred and fifty Horse, to Guard the Station, he returned to his Quarter at *S. Clow*, the Prince of *Conde* having this mean while gathered together as many of his Friends as he could in *Paris*, galloped to that place, and calling *Tavannes* and his Horse to him, he fell upon the Kings Forces which were drawn up upon the Rivers Bank, seeming, as if they would perfect the Bridge, and pass over to entertain the Prince; whilst the rest should pass over beneath *Poissy*. But *Conde* discovering the design, and fearing least the Kings Army would pass at *Esperney*, and Assault him, he called a Council of War, and resolved to remove his Camp from *S. Clow*, and carry it to *Charenton*, as a safer place, where he had the *Marne* on his back, and was flanked by the *Seene*. He therefore on the first Munday of *July*, went from *S. Clow* two hours before Sunset, past over the *Seene* upon the Stone-bridge; and upon another Bridge of Boats, and marched towards *Paris*. But finding Orders given at all the Gates, that no Soldiers whatsoever should be suffered to pass, he made his Army march along the Ditch *Richelieu*, and continued his march towards *Charenton*. About half an hour after midnight, the Cardinal had news hereof from a Confident of his, that lay concealed in *Paris*; who made his servant be let down over the Wall, and sent word thereof speedily to *Marishal Turenne*; who, without loss of time, Horsed his men, and about five of the clock the next morning, met the Prince his Rear, as they were entering *S. Dennis*; and were so briskly charged by *Count Navailles*, his County his Regiment suffered very much; and a Squadron of *Conde* which was with him, fared no better.

Conde being come to *Paris*, went to *L'Hofelle d'Orleans* to confer with the Duke, and went presently again out of *Le Porte St. Martine*, running like Lightning through his whole Army, and sending divers parties towards *S. Dennis*, to inquire after the Kings men; he ordered *Count Tavannes* to continue his march; and sent *Monsieur de Fornemont* again with some Horse, to discover the number of the Enemy; whom he discovered from the top of *Mountmartre*, to be putting themselves into Battle Array. The Prince finding his design discovered, and that consequently, whether he should advance or retreat, his loss would be irreparable, ordered *Monsieur Beauvau* to send a Squadron of men to the top of *Montisfacon*, to observe the Kings proceeding; and that the rest of his men should go to *Pickepuses*; and to the Suburbs of *S. Antoine*, thinking to defend himself there; and the rather, for that he found part of the same Suburbs already fortified by *Baracadoes* made formerly by the inhabitants; for fear of the *Lorrainers*. The Kings Camp, and all the Court, was already on Horseback, being resolved either to conquer that day, or to end the War; not only in respect of the superiority of their men, but by reason of the long way this Prince was to go with his Baggage.

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The Cardinal was so confident of this, as having given fitting orders to *Turenne*, he brought the King to the top of *Sarone*, that he might be an eye witness of so famous an action; and being upon the point of having the Prince either dead or alive, he sent to his friends in *Paris*, wishing them to be of good courage; and that they should by all means take care, that the Gates might not be opened for the Enemy to retreat; nor for succor to be sent them from the City. The Kings Army being come to *Vilette*, within half a league of *Paris*, and knowing that the Army of the Princes was gone; from whence, if they could have light upon them, they would undoubtedly have routed them. Marishal *Turenne* going on the left hand, past by the Hills of *Sarone*, and came into the Plain; the *Fauxbourg*, *S. Antoine* and *Charenton*, drawing all his Troops out in order, whilest the rest stayed on the right hand with Marishal *Ferte Senetre*. And though the Prince being got to underneath the Walls of *Paris*, had the advantage of place; yet the Kings men knowing that he could not withstand them, and the Court being assured that the Princes their Forces, should not be received back into *Paris*, they having been kept out the night before, they resolved to advance boldly, and to fall upon some Squadrons which were advanced into the Suburbs, and who were pursued even into the Houses. Here the Prince, who with unparalleled valor bore the whole weight of that important fight, made use of his wit where his Forces failed; and galloping on all sides, divided all his Men in form following.

His Highness Brigade was placed on the left hand of the Suburbs, those of *Languedock*, *Vallois*, and *Lignerou*, on the right; *Conde* and *Burgondes* Brigades on the right hand; that of *Languedock* and that of *Pelleins*, at the Barracado, in the way which leads to the Castle of *Vincennes*. And wanting Foot to furnish all the Stations, he ordered some of the Cavalry to back the Foot: The Artillery was placed at the Heads of the Streets of the Suburbs; and all the Avenues were Trenched and Barracaded.

General *Turenne* having drawn out his Majesties Army in good order, designed the *French* Guards to Assault his Highness, and *Languedock*, and the Brigades of *Picardy*, and *Marine* to Assault the *Vallois*. Two Batteries were placed against the Barracado which was Guarded by *Tavannes*: One plaid upon the High-street of the Suburbs, and the other on the Street which answers to the great Market.

Things being thus ordered, whilest the Prince was ordering his men how to defend themselves, the Kings men came on furiously, charging the Enemy in two places, and were valiantly withstood, and for a while repulsed: But the Brigades of *Languedock*, *Vallois*, and *Langueron*, not being able to resist longer, leaned with some loss towards the Market-places; to whose relief, the Prince himself came in the Head of his Horse Regiment; and of that of *Anguien*, accompanied by *Nemeurs*, *Tarentin*, and *Vallon*: And here the fight grew hot, the Prince gave high proofs of his skill in War, and of his incomparable courage, he thrust himself, as he had been a Common-Soldier into the midst of the Enemy, killed many with his own hands; and with his Sword repulsed many. To his eternal glory, those who were formerly affrighted, were encouraged; and those Brigades replaced in their former Stations who were driven away; *Marine* having lost, together with some that were wounded, forty men; here was Monsieur *Gouville* slain; but *Tavannes* and *Languis* did not play their parts so well. For here Marquis *S. Magrin* gave on furiously on the Head of some Volunteers, and others, upon the Princes Forces, which he did much indamage, and was likely to have utterly routed them, had not the

the death of the *Sid St. Magrin* cooled the courage of his men: he being slain, the Kings Forces were repulsed, but not without much blood of the Princes men, who received here their greatest loss; Marquis *Rochefaucolt*, and Count *Bassue*, a Dutch Colonel of Horse, were there slain; and Count *Tavannes*, the Marquis of *Jerse*, *Cavaliere la Force*, Marquis *Cogna*, Count *Melune*, Baron *Lorese*, with others of good quality were there slain. In this interim the Count *Navailles* had taken the Street *Rambulliet*, with some houses and two Barracadoes, though they were vigorously defended by the adversary; to whose succour came Monsieur *de Landes* with a Dutch Brigade, the Prince of *Conde* made good the Street which leads from the Gate to a large *Piazza*, where the Kings men had seized upon some houses; the Dukes of *Nemeurs*, and *Beaufort* came just then to the Prince, and these two, who were not upon very good terms, resolved to attack the Barracado which was taken by *Navailles*, rather out of Emulation, than Military wisdom, though it were hard to take it, (which was well sheltered) with weary and worsted men. Yet *Conde*, who though he foresaw the mischief, did never forbear any hazardous bickering, was persuaded by reason, that though things should not fort according to his desire, he should by so generous an action afford the Enemy matter to think upon, and spin on the business, which made most for his safety; so as *Rochefaucolt*, *Marsilliack*, *Flammarin*, and many others of the Nobles coming in unto him; *Rochefaucolt*, who saw *Beaufort*, and *Nemeurs* forwardness, joy'd with them and fell to the assault, but the Soldiers being weary, and timorous to attack the Barracado, marched along the Wall to shelter themselves from the Enemies shot; and would advance no further; this mean while a Squadron of *German* Horse being got into the Gardens, where they were much incommodated by shot from the neighbouring houses, retreated in disorder; the Prince taking them to be the Enemy, who were come to take that place, and to charge him on the Flank; and his Generals finding that their Foot fell not upon the Barracado, advanced to charge the same Squadron; but finding them to be their own men, they forbore any further attempt: they, and those Horse being exposed to a shower of shot which came from the houses and Barracado; and here were *Flemmerin*, Count *Castres*, Monsieur *Forneau*, and others of quality slain. Which when the Generals saw, they thought of themselves to assault that Barracado; and though they went to engage themselves in an eminent danger, of desperate event; yet excited by heat of blood, and glory, they considered nothing but their own boldness.

Thus did the Three Dukes and Prince *Marsilliack*, themselves alone, unassisted by the Foot which staid behind, light from Horse-back, and with their Swords in hand advanced against the Barracado, with such boldness (not to call it rashness) as the Kings men being astonished (were it either fatality, or that the presence of great Personages have out of some hidden cause great prerogative in difficult undertakings) did abandon it, and the Princes who did so gallantly take it, would have kept it, had not the Enemy continually fired upon them from both sides the Street, that it was impossible for them to tarry there. The Duke of *Nemeurs* received Thirteen Musquet shot on his Armor, and two on his right hand; *Rochefaucolt* was wounded between the eyes; and *Beaufort* and *Marsilliack* being bound to help the wounded, were forced to quit the place; which when the Kings men saw, they made hast to take those that were wounded Prisoners, which they would suddenly and safely have done, had not *Conde* with his wonted undauntedness come in on the head of some Gentlemen that

1652. that followed him, whereby he afforded them time and opportunity to retreat, as they did with much wonder and applause.

Guitaut, Berceuet, Lullery and Martinieri were wounded; all the rest witnessed what danger they had run by the shot which they received in their Armor and by having their Horses slain under them.

At the same time that they were fighting without, the *Parisians* were at as much strife in words within the Walls; some were for the going out of such Citizens as had Arms to help the assaulted, and for opening the Gates that they might retreat; others said that by suffering *Conde* to be lost, who was the occasion of all their misfortune, there would be an end of their misery, and the City would be put into her former quiet condition; but at last amongst all these differences, wherein nothing was concluded in favour of the Princes, *Madamoiselle* came forth into the Streets, accompanied by the Dutcheßes of *Rohan, Monbason, and Chastillon*, and by the young Countess of *Fiesco*; and went to the Town-house, where she told the Citizens, that without any more dispute or loss of time, the people were to take up Arms, and to assist the Princes, suffering the Baggage and Forces of their friends to come into the Town. The pressures of this courageous and generous Princess were so perswasive, as the sad and horrid spectacle of so many Lords of high condition, who ever and anon came into the Town half dead, wounded and besmeared with blood; amongst which that of *Rochefaucault* was most compassionate, whose eyes were well nigh shot out: as it was resolved the Gates should be opened, and they should be received into the Town, and every one with tears cried out that the Prince must be relieved, who put his life, and the lives of many good French men into apparent, and almost inevitable danger, for the publick cause: whereupon about 300 Inhabitants went out, who by the Prince were put to Guard some stations; and then *Rohan* causing some of the baggage to march by the Temple Gate, and *Beaufort* bringing in the rest by that of *St. Antoine*; the Prince was told that the Kings Army being divided into two parts, went by the way of *Soronne*, and *Neully*; wherefore thinking that this might be with design to keep his men out between the Suburbs, and the Gate, he placed Count *Hollack* with his German Regiment, at the entrance of the Street of *Saronne* to assist the retreat which was begun, and sent word to Monsieur *Lovieres*, who then commanded the Bastile, instead of his Father *Brussels*, to let the Canon play upon the Kings men, which being forborn as a thing unbecoming a Subject, *Madamoiselle* came instantly thither, and getting upon the Walls, with more than a man-like spirit, and as if she her self would share in the glory, and danger, commanding that in her presence the Guns might be fired against the Kings Forces; it was done. Then orders being given for the retreat, the Horse and Foot marched speedily with the Canon, the Burgundian Brigade keeping in the Rear, commanded by *Marquess Sasse* whose Horse Regiment was then govern'd by Monsieur *St. Mars*. When the Canon plaid first from the Bastile, it was thought they plaid upon the Princes Forces; for the Kings friends in *Paris* had promised as much; but being found to play upon the Kings men, and that the Inhabitants failing of their promise, the baggage was already got in, and the Troops began to enter *Paris*, those of the Kings party were astonished, as were also the Kings General, being somewhat blamed for their slovenliness and negligence, and for being defrauded of their hopes in the very nick of Victory; so as they returned towards *St. Denis*, not less sad for the loss of so many gallant Subjects, whereof besides *St. Magne, Marquess Nantalliet* was one; and Count *Maipos*, and *Mancini* the Cardinals Nephew were so mor-

mortally wounded, as they soon after died; and Count *di Tre*, with divers others of quality was taken prisoners.

The King did very graciously visit *Mancini* often, as he did also *S. Margins* afflicted Widow. The Princes Army, not without wonder, past through *Paris*, it being unusual to see an Army with Baggage pass through those Streets. These lodged in the Countrey about *Tury*, without the Suburbs of *S. Marcellles*, and in two days plundered all the Villages and Houses that were within three leagues; and brought what they had so gotten, to the Camp, where the Soldiers sold all things, as if it had been in a Fair. *Madamoiselle* would see them pass, and caused moneys be given to the wounded. Count *Chavigny* gave them store of Victuals, not so much out of charity, as policy: And because it hath always been a custom in Military Actions to have some sign whereby to discern Friends from Enemies; *Madamoiselle* put a straw upon her head, wherein being followed by all that would not be accounted *Mazarinians*, you might in a moment see, not only all the Inhabitants, but Foreigners of every Nation, yea, even the Fryers, and Agents of stranger Princes, do the same, to shun the insolencies which were done by the common people to those that bore not this Badge.

Thus ended the memorable Action of *S. Antoinnes* Suburbs, on the Second of July; wherein the quality was more considerable then the number of those that were slain. The Prince of *Conde*, not valuing his own life, but running like Lightning, sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, where the business was most bloody, and his men in most danger, performed the office of a private Soldier, as well as of a Captain, was oft-times upon the very edge of the Grave, being miraculously preserved by Fortune, his Horse was killed under him, his Cloaths shot thorow in divers places, his Feathers and his Hair burnt; and yet was he miraculously kept unhurt. *Marquess Turenne* behaved himself no less valiantly; who by his presence gave great proof of his valor, and experience every where. And he was heard to say, *That he had met with above six Princes of Conde; for wheresoever he turned himself, he found the Prince in the Head of the Enemy with his Sword in hand.* All other Generals and Captains behaved themselves undauntedly, and with extraordinary courage. This was numbred as one of the noblest, and most worthy Actions that ever hapned in any whatsoever age.

Conde having won more reputation in Arms, betook himself to think how he might make *Paris* declare openly against the King, without which, he found he should be too weak; for he wanted moneys, and other necessities to maintain War: But finding how little good he had hitherto got therein by fair means, he resolved to use force, having failed of making the Parliament be assaulted in their own House (as you have heard) he bethought himself, how to force the Citizens to second his intents. The Members of Parliament, by reason of what was done on the Twenty sixth of June last, had desired *Le Marishal de l'Hospitalle*, with the Common Council of the City, to provide so for them, as they might sit with safety, and follow their business. A General Assembly met to this purpose in the publick Palace on the Twelfth of July, to consider how they might put the City in safety, as was desired. The Princes, and their party, resolved to Assault the Assembly, and to force them to comply with them. When they were met in the Town-house by all the Officers of the Commons, which make up a Body of about Four hundred of the best Men in the City: The Duke of *Orleans* sent *Marishal d'Estampes*, to the *Marishal de l'Hospitalle*, who sat there as Governor of *Paris*, to assure him, That no disorder should be

be committed that morning; the Marishal answered, his Highness should be satisfied. So the Assembly began, where the Duke came about half an hour after four in the afternoon; where the *Piazza* of the *Greve*, where the Assembly sat, was full of seditious Armed Men with straws in their Hats, an evident sign of some extraordinary disorder, and of a *preludium* to the fatal Tragedy which followed. When *Orleans* was come into the Assembly, the Marishal de l'*Hospitale*, gave him his place, and sat himself on the Bench of the Provost des *Merchants* and Sheriffs. But it is to be observed, that the said Marishal who went to receive the Duke at the Stair-foot, when he saw the Duke with a wreath of straw about his Hat, said boldly, What means this Sir, does your Highness come with a Badge of Seditious into the Kings House? The Duke answered, That he had received that wreath, but that he did not approve thereof. They went up Stairs, and when *Orleans* had taken his place, he thanked the City for having suffered his Forces to pass; asking, if upon the like occasion, they would do so again. The Prince was there likewise, and spoke to the same purpose; the Marishal answered, That they would always be ready to serve them; and that when they should be gone out, the business should be taken into consideration. This mean while a Letter came from the King, wherein he willed them to adjourn the Assembly till the Eight of that Moneth. The Marishal caused the Letter to be read, and then asked the Princes, and the rest, if they would obey it; the Princes said nothing, but went out, not thinking their faction strong enough to effect their desires. And as they went out to wait upon the Princes, an impertinent fellow presented the Marishal de l'*Hospitale* with a wisp of straw; who being touched to the quick with that affront, told him, That were it not for the respect he bore to his Highness, he should presently be thrown out of the Window and hanged. The Princes as they went out said, that the Palace was full of *Mazarinians*, who sought to spin out time, which caused so great a commotion, as divers Soldiers and seditious people began instantly to shoot in at the Windows.

The Princes to encourage this business, had set on divers Soldiers, but in vain, to raise a tumult in some other part of the City. At this time, one of the Populacy hapned to be with a Musket slain, which did more incite their fury; for they all cried out, it was done by some *Mazarinian*; and that therefore they must all be slain, pointing, that they were in that Palace, and some were hard to say, Union, union, and down with the *Mazarinians*. So all of them running with straws in their Hats, like so many *Bacchanalians*, they fell to such insolencies, as are usually committed by the rabble rout. Those who guarded the Palace ran all away; whereat the factious people growing more incensed, got wood and set the great Gate on fire, striving to get in: Amidst this danger, the Marishal, who was Governor, President *Charton*, Colonel *Miron*, *Vedo*, and *Barantine*, with divers others, resolved rather to die gloriously, than weakly to yield. They therefore prepared to defend themselves; the Marishal ordered Marquess *Frances* to make a Baracado of great Rafter on high, at the entry into the great Hall, which opens upon the Yard, which was speedily done, and was so well defended by the Marishals Guards particularly by Monsieur *Berry*, as the Assailants surprised with the opposition, ceased their fury. The Marishal commanded to spare Powder till night, that the means while they should defend themselves with great stones; but the great Gate being at this instant burnt down, they got upon the Baracado; where *Blanchart*, Commissary General of *Condes* Army was slain, and some other of the Prince his Soldiers. The people applied fire also to burn down

down the back Gate. The Marishal knowing that the same fire would keep the seditious people from coming in, made more Wood be applied thereunto, so to hinder the ingress of the furious people. Whilst these things were doing, the Prince was in *L'Hosnelle de Orleans*; where hearing that affairs went otherwise than he intended; which was to infuse fear, but not to bring things to extremity; he would have gone to the place, and by appealing the business by his own presence, would have obliged the assaulted, to have acknowledged their lives, and safety from him. But *Orleans*, who thought it not convenient, that the Prince should hazard his person amongst that enraged rabble, were it either that he would not have the Prince to gain the peoples love, and that he alone should be hated, by force with-held him, and would not suffer him to go out of his house; where much against his will he was compell'd to suit himself to the Dukes will. Many the mean while, seeing the danger, and excited by fear, would have saved themselves by making way through the rabble; but many of them were slain, amongst which Monsieur *Miron*, though well esteemed by the people, as being a *Frondeur*, Monsieur *Gras*, Master of the requests, Monsieur *Ferrand*, Counsellor of Parliament, six or seven noble Citizens, besides many that were wounded; yet some escaped, as President *Charton*, the Curate of *St. Johns*, whom the Priests of his Church met with the *Hosella*, to make way for him. Monsieur de *Ponset*, Master of the requests, Monsieur *Barantine*, *Beaufort*, and Marquess *Bella*, who were in a neighbouring house, came forth and calling out aloud to some of the Assembly by name, said, They would cause peace, and save the assaulted. The Marishal de l'*Hospitale* thinking this to be but a trick to save such as were of the Princes party, and to leave the rest to the fury of the people, caused them to be asked whether there were safety in it or no? saying, that they would all perish, or all be saved; the assault lasted from Five after Dinner, till Ten at night, and now at last the Marishal being come to the Baracado, found it free, and his Guards gone, upon a false report that he had saved himself. The people entred, plundered, and robbed all they met, who willingly permitted them, so to save their lives. The Marishal not knowing how to get out unknown, mingled himself amongst them, and went along with them into the next Chamber. He had wisely given his order of the *St. Esprite* to his Page to keep, and changed Hats with him, and casting a dark colour'd cloth Cloke about him, stood in the midst of them, who raging for anger sought for him: This his safety must be attributed to divine providence, who would for his great integrity, save him amidst his Enemies; in this Emergency came Three persons, one of which was Monsieur *Noblet*, who hearing the name of his friend Monsieur *Croiset Mirebeau* called upon by many, stept to the Marishal, and said Sir I you may do well to answer to the name of *Croiset*, which being agreed on, he turned to him, and said you injure your self Monsieur *Croiset*, not to answer when you are so often called upon, Duke *Beaufort* stays for you, let us go; he said further to the contrary who knew not the Marishal, you shall each of you have a Hundred Ducasons, if you will help me to save this my friend; which being heard by the seditious people, they thought he might be some suspected person, saying, they saved a *Mazarinian*. *Noblet* reply'd, You mock, we have been long seeking for this man on *Beaufort*'s behalf, saying still *alloun*, *allouns*, make hast. These Four past through the crowd, not without much danger to the Marishal, lest he might be known, particularly by a Butcher called *Hon*, who of all the rest had been the most insolent that day, and whom *Beaufort* employ'd. *Croiset*, whom these men seem'd to seek, lay in *St. Johns* Cloister near the *Greve*; which

1652. which made for the Marishals safety, who entring into *Croiset's* house, one of the house said, This is not *Croiset*, who are you? he answered in his ear, I am the Marishal de *L'Hospitale*: whereat the other had like to have Reverenced him; for he and his vvhole Family had been brought up for above Thirty years in the house of *St. Mesmes*, vvhich is *la Maison de L'Hospitale*; some came to the house, asking vvho it vvas that had got in thither, for sure it vvas not *Croiset*; it vvas answered, they vv ere in the right, for he vvas a Rogue vvhom they had driven out; the Marishal not being yet secure of life, Monsieur *Barratine*, a Counsellor of Parliament, and Colonel of that quarter, came thither vvith a Squadron of his Soldiers, took him out of that house, and not making him knovvn to any of his Soldiers, brought him safe to his ovvn house, passing by above Forty Barracadoes, and armed places, without any opposal, of such credit was *Barratine* with the people. At last *Madamofelle* moved at this Massacre; though it were Three a Clock at night, and that the horror and noise did confound even the most man-like spirits, went with her accustomed courage to the Town-house, and taking *Beaufort* with her, appeased the uproar, and much to her praise sent all away unhurt. The Marishal staid two days in his own house, not being able to get out of the City: but the third day he went in a Coach of the Duke of *Orleans*, waited upon by a Lieutenant of his Guard who was sent to that purpose, to a *Villa* of his own called *Beneis*, and from thence to Court, from whence he was sent into *Champagnia*, where he was Lieutenant General to serve his Majesty with his wonted fidelity.

The confusion, and cruelty committed in this Riot, made *Conde* be held cruel, and violent. So that as his Triumph and height of glory in *Paris* was on the Second of *July*, so was the 4th. day after the impulsive occasion of his downfall, for the City could never be brought to lend monies, nor come to open breach with the Court. The *Parisians* did commonly complain of the Princes; they therefore to moderate any sinister opinion, and to make it appear as much as they could that they had no hand in what had happened, made two complices of the sedition be imprison'd, and who were after executed, though one of them was a particular servant of *Conde's*, whom he would not protect, that he might not seem to approve of what he denied he had plotted, it may be because it did not succede well. Six days after the Assembly met at the common hall, but a few went thither, and for all the intreaties and desires that *Orleans* could make, who sent his Guard of *Switzers* to the Town-house, none came thither but some few who depended upon the Princes.

The Provost de *Merchants* declared, that he would come no more to their publick meetings, till the Kings Authority should be there first established: wherefore *Orleans*, and *Conde* caused the Counsellor *Brussels* to be chosen in his place, making him take the accustomed Oath, and the Marishal de *L'Hospitale* not being to exercise the place of Governor of the City any more, they confer'd that dignity upon *Beaufort*, this was the first effect of the aforesaid Riot, and the first step by which the Princes mounted to attain their ends.

The Parliament being afterwards called, though none of the Presidents thereof came thither, the Duke of *Orleans* proposed Four things, which he said must be speedily provided for. The first was to take order for Victuals, and particularly for Bread, which was grown to an excessive rate; the second, the safety of the City and Parliament, seeming much discontent at what had happened at the publick house; the third, how to detain those who went out of the City, whereof were some of the Parliaments

1652. liaments Officers, contrary to the decree which inhibited parting from the Assembly. The fourth, that the Commissioners having now tarried long at Court, not having received any answer, it behoved them to resolve of what was to be done; upon which it was voted, That the decree of the 4th. of that Month, and of others touching Victuals should be punctually observed, that the Officers should be inhibited going out of *Paris*, and that the Counsellors should be desired to assist in their charges; that *Lisne*, and *Gilbert*, both of them being Parliament men, should draw up Procefs against those that had attempted the publick Palace the preceeding days; that no publick nor private Conventicles should be made or had upon pain of life; and because the disorders of the Princes their Militia was intollerable, who plunder'd all the neighbouring parts, and all Passengers, it was likewise ordered that Procefs should be made not only against such as should cut, or sell grain of the fields, but also against those who had any hand therein, or did buy any, which decrees were strengthened by an Ecclesiastical Monitory against those that were Authors, or accessaries of the said Riot, these things were done to appease the *Parisians* incensed with the said violences, whereat they seemed all to be offended, there being few but were concerned either in their alliance or friends.

Wherefore the Prince having but small hopes to subsist with his own Forces, and that speedy remedy was requisite, he dispatched an expresse to Baron *Batteville* at *St. Sebastians*, acquainting him with what had happened, and of his great need of help, without which he could subsist no longer. *Batteville* sent these Letters into *Spain*, which came thither in so happy a conjuncture, as the *Spaniards* might easily assist him with some ready Monies, whereby to accomplish those enterprises, which could not be done without Mony. The *Spanish* Gallions came on the eighth of *July* that year from the *Indies*, which brought 250000 pieces of Eight for the Kings share, besides what came for particular men.

Conde sent also to acquaint the *Spanish* Agents in *Flanders* with his condition, who finding the party of the Princes weakned much, since the Duke of *Lorraine* departed out of *France*, fed the Prince again with large promises, resolving to send him 6000 men under *Ulderick* of *Wirtemberg*, General of the *German* Horse in *Flanders*; to which purpose Count *Fuenseldaglia* marched into the Field, and passing between the Rivers of *Some*, and *Omse*, came to before *Ethoumy* a Walled Town upon the River, but not fortified, where he found the Duke de *Elbeuf*, Governour of *Picardy*, who had raised many men in the neighbouring parts to keep the *Spaniards* out of *France*, but not being provided for defence, he articted to go out himself, and Monsieur de *Maincampe* his Lieutenant General, on the 24th. of *July*, with some other chief Officers, all the rest remaining Prisoners of War, amongst which there were above a Hundred Gentlemen Voluntiers, and about 500 Soldiers and Officers, with some Horse. Here the *Spaniards* staid some days, as well to enjoy that fruitful Country, as to expect opportunity to advance towards *Paris*; they notwithstanding neglected the performance of assisting the Princes, and Parliament, not meaning to strengthen them so as they might force the Court to grant all they demanded, in vvhich case, in stead of adding fuel to the fire of civil War, they vvould have extinguished it vvith the ruine of themselves.

From the second till the Twentieth of *July*, the Kings Army kept near *S. Dennis*; and that of the Princes, without the Suburbs of *S. Victoire*, spending all that time in Treaties of Peace on both sides; the substance whereof, was, that the King did finally declare, That though he had always believed, and did so still, that their desires of having the Cardinal

1652. sent away, were only pretences wherewith to colour their ends; yet his Majesty, who desired nothing more than his Kingdoms Peace, was persuaded to gratifie the Cardinal, by giving him leave to go from the Court, which he had long desired to do; but not till the affairs of France were better established: To which purpose, he wished the Commissioners to acquaint the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Conde, that they might send to negotiate the main points on their part; and that they should tarry the mean while at Court, expecting the Princes their answer from Paris. And because some doubt might arise, Whether the Cardinal should be effectually retreated before, or after the establishment of affairs; his Majesty declared, That he should be gone as soon as they had agreed upon the manner; before the business were effected. The Parliament discoursed variously hereupon. Orleans said the Answer was cunning, and ambiguous, to draw them to a Conference, and spin out the business; that if the Cardinal did really intend to be gone, he needed not have made their Commissioners wait fifteen days for an Answer; and in the interim fall upon violent means, as was that of the second of that Moneth, in the Suburbs of S. Antoyne, to destroy the Army, and afterwards to put all the Inhabitants of Paris to the sword. That if he intended to be gone, there was no need of any Conference, for nothing but his absence was required; and that then the Princes would render all due respect and obedience to his Majesty, That as touching sending of Commissioners in his name, it was superfluous; since the Parliaments Commissioners being there, on whom he totally did rely, he intended to do nothing without the interposition of the Assembly: To which purpose, he would have written his mind to President Nesmond; but he would not, nor could not send any other Commissioners on his behalf. The Prince of Conde was of the same mind, and said, That he would write his mind to Nesmond. It was then resolved, That they should thank his Majesty for his gracious Message, desiring him to make good his promise, of sending away the Cardinal as soon as he could: That the Princes would write to Nesmond, or to some other of the Commissioners, that he might insist upon the Declaration which they had made; that as soon as the Cardinal should be gone out of the Kingdom, they would perform what they had promised; and would give order to the same Commissioners to receive his Majesties commands. It was observed, that the Prince did not now speak with that sweetness he was wont, but somewhat more rigidly, as if he were offended, that his desires were not followed. Monsieur de Boust did discreetly move, that new Commissioners might be chosen, to find out the best means how to dispose of the Soldiers, and to use all possible means to have peace; and that when this should be agreed upon, nothing should be done therein till the Cardinal were sent away.

Hereupon the Parliament ordered their Commissioners who were at Court, humbly to thank his Majesty, for his promise of dismissing the Cardinal, to sollicite the effecting of it, and to intreat the Duke of Orleans and the Prince, to write to President Nesmond, That as they had declared in the Assembly, they were ready to lay down Arms, and to render all due obedience to his Majesty, when the Cardinal should be gone. Orleans writ, that the Courts desire, that he and Conde should send Commissioners to the King, could be understood no otherwise, (the long time considered, that Audience was forborn to be given to the Parliaments Commissioners) then as an usual trick of the Cardinals, to keep the King from sending him away, and giving Peace to his Subjects; for his sole desire was to agree with his Majesty, and obey him, as he should always do with all respect

1652. respect and submission, according as by birth he was bound. The Prince writ to the same effect, and charged Nesmond to give any assurance thereof; who being brought to have audience before the King, spoke as followeth.

Sir, Your Majesties assurance given us, that you will send Cardinal Mazarine away, hath rejoiced the hearts of all your Majesties vassals. Your Parliament hath charged us to thank your Majesty for it, and to desire the performance, beseeching you to consider, That the evils of France increasing daily, so as they can admit of no delay; Your Majesty will be very gracious in not deferring, to make us enjoy a good so much desired. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince, have commanded us to confirm their former Declarations to you, and to tell you, That they cannot satisfy you otherwise by Commissioners of their own, but will obey your Commands, as soon as the Cardinal shall have obeyed your Majesties Declarations. It now lies in your Majesty, Sir, to abbreviate all these evils, by dismissing the Cardinal. We can say no more to express the grief which doth even suffocate our words.

The King answered, That he would advise with his Council, and would give them his Answer, as he did the next day in writing; as was read unto them by Count Brien to this effect.

That the King had granted their desire of sending away the Cardinal, though he clearly foresaw it was nothing but a pretence to trouble the State. But if his Majesty did believe that this answer would occasion another Decree in Parliament, he would not have given it, knowing, that in the condition the Parliament now was, by the absence of so many of their leading Members, and by the violent Authority usurped by the prime Rebels, they could do nothing but execute their wills; since by their own Decree of the first of this present July, they had resolved not to treat or resolve of any thing touching publick affairs, till Justice and the City might be secured. But that instead of providing for such security, when the Assembly were met for that purpose, Justice, and the City, were oppressed with fire, violence, and slaughter: So as his Majesty could not build upon the resolutions of those, whose Votes were not in their own free power.

The Kings intention in this Answer, was to afford means to the Princes to send some with Authority, to receive orders concerning the Articles which they had accepted of, and to agree upon the time, manner, and security of their being performed.

The King for several Reasons, resolved to go from S. Dennis to Pontois, on the Sixteenth of July, the Cardinal remaining still in his Administration by the Kings expresse command, though he still desired to be gone; but affairs were so well governed by his Council, as the good effects which you shall hear hereafter ensued thereupon: But the Princes and their party complaining still upon the Actions of the Court, saying, That it sought only to delude the people, and that it had no mind to have Peace, which depended solely upon dismissing the Cardinal, they redoubled their detractions, both in private and in publick against the Cardinal, and other Court Officers.

When the Court went from S. Dennis, the Parliament Commissioners were ordered by the King, to tarry there, to expect what word his Majesty would send unto them; for they refused to follow his Majesty, pretending, That they were not in equipage, and that they must needs return to Paris,

1652. to discharge their duties. The King lay in *Pontois*, and his Army was quartered about the River, to watch over the proceedings of the *Spaniards*, who overrun those parts, to the great prejudice of those who had any goods there. The news of the King and Armies, being gone from *S. Dennis*, coming to *Paris*, it was whispered, that the Commissioners were detained Prisoners, which made *Conde* get on Horseback with Four hundred Cavaliers, and go speedily thitherward to inform himself of the truth. He found the Commissioners free, and offered to carry them back to *Paris*; but they excused themselves, saying, They had given their word to Monsieur *S. Tor* to stay at *S. Dennis*, till they should receive further orders from the King. But when the Parliament met, which was the next day, they resolved to send for them back. Wherefore *Orleans*, *Conde*, and *Beaufort*, with above Two hundred thousand common people went thither, and brought them back to the Parliament, with as much applause, as if it had been a glorious triumph, notwithstanding, that the King sent express order for them to come to *Pontois*, for affairs of great consequence which had hapned since his going from *S. Dennis*: Yet they gave out, that this was but a Court trick, which useth to weary with delay, when it means not to comfort with effects, and to spin out time; wherein they thought they might reap advantage by the sufferings of the *Parisians*, who are accustomed peacefully to enjoy their rich Traffick.

To provide against all which, the King and his Council of State did Decree on the Eighteenth of *July*, after a long debate of all that had been done, that Information should be taken of the horrible and scandalous attempt that was made upon the publick Palace, upon the Fourth of the present Moneth; and that the circumstances should be sought into, and the Authors and abettors of the massacres, and violences committed, should be proceeded against according to the rigor of Law; and in the mean while revoked, and nullified the pretended Election of *Brussels* to be Provost de *Merchants*: And the King forbid him upon pain of life, to act any thing therein, saying, That he and his posterity should give an account of the disorders which had hapned, and which should happen after his pretended administration. He declared also, all the resolutions void and null which were made in Parliament on the first of *July*; as also in the Common Hall, concerning publick Affairs, till such time as the Governor of the City; and the lawful Provost de *Merchants*, and the other Magistrates which were forced to absent themselves, were taken in again; and that sufficient provision might be given for the security of Justice, and of the City. And the King did further expressly inhibit all the other Cities of his Kingdom, and all his Subjects and servants, to take notice of any thing that should be written to them, or ordered from *Paris*, since it was tyrannically possess'd by Rebels; and to the end, that the Moneys which were intended to pay the Rent of the Commualty, might not be disposed of by the Enemy to make War, and pay the *Spaniards* whom they had called in; he ordered, that they should be brought to the place of his abode, to be put into the hands of those that were to pay the Rents, whom he commanded to come to Court, with all other Consuls and Sheriffs of the City, within three days after this Decree should be published.

The Princes, Parliament, and *Frondeurs*, were mightily troubled at this departure, believing, that the Court laughed at their pretensions. Count *servient* had told the former Commissioners in his Majesties name, That if *Orleans* and *Conde* would not name new Commissioners, but would imploy the former; the King would be contented, and would agree with them,

1652. them, touching the Propositions contained in the aforesaid answer; promising to send away the Cardinal before the Princes should perform their part, when they had agreed with their Commissioners, or with those of the Parliament. But the Princes, instead of accepting this offer, not suffering the Commissioners to stay at *S. Dennis*, and expect an Answer brought them back, as hath been said where continuing to say, The Court made merry with them; they resolved, the Cardinal should be dismissed before they would do any thing. The Parliament seeking how to make valid their pretended authority, chose the Duke of *Orleans* to be Lieutenant General of the Crown, and *Conde* to be General of the Forces under him; but this was to little purpose, for the other Parliaments of the Kingdom refused to do it, and reprehended them for it. But *Orleans*, thought how he and Cardinal *Rets*, who managed the whole business, should be able at last to drive away *Mazarine*, without ruining the Court; which *Rets* did, least the Court being too much abased, his irreconcilable Enemy *Conde* should be exalted too high. Thus *Rets* his particular interest, who longed to be the sole Administrator of Government, by *Mazarines* expulsion, and then by *Condes* ruine, through the Union of the Queen and *Orleans*, was judged the true cause of the ruine of that whole party; and finally, of his own imprisonment. The Parliament did further Decree, that the sale of the movables, and of all things that belonged to *Mazarine*, should go on; and Fifty thousand Crowns (as hath been said) was set upon his head.

The Duke of *Orleans* went the next day to Parliament, and accepted of the place of Lieutenant General of the Crown, as long as the King was ruled by the Cardinal, and desired he might have a Council chosen by the Parliament: To which, reply was made, that they referred it wholly to his Royal Highness. He went afterwards to the *Exchequer*, where he made the same request, and had the same answer. He took for his Council of State, *Conde*, Chancellor *Segniere*, Count *Chavigny*, *Nesmond*, and *Longueville*, *Aubry*, and *Archiere*, Presidents of the *Exchequer*; and of the Court *des Aydes*, *Dorieux*, and *le Noire*; and all the Dukes and Peers of that faction, which were the Dukes of *Roban*, *Rocheaucolt*, *Brisack*, and *Sully*; their first Consultation was had on the third of *August*: But all this vanished into smoke, for the whole Kingdom, and even *Paris* it self, being well withers to the King; there was not any that would obey the Lieutenant General: Nay, the Parliament of *Toulouse*, which was the *Metropolis* of *Languedock*, *Orleans* his proper Government, though it professed much devotion to him, declared, The Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, to be null and void, all which things proving contrary to the expectation of the Princes, *Conde* grew almost desperate. Wherefore not caring to please others, since he was almost ruined for want of Moneys, he assembled some of the Inhabitants, by means of some of his adherents, and persuaded them to furnish him with some Moneys, and though other means might be used to get Moneys from the people with less noise; yet this was made use of, which seemed more specious and feasible, but in reality harder. A Tax was laid upon all Gates of Houses wherein a Cart or Coach might enter, of Twenty five Crowns; upon the middle sort, and Shops ten, and upon lesser five. This Imposition caused great rumor and aversion: So as not above Twenty five thousand Crowns were gotten by it. The Prince foresaw the unsuccessfulness of this and divers others; but he failed of his design, which was to make the Court believe, that he could command *Paris* at his pleasure. But this did little good at Court, and less in *Paris*: For instead of disbursing Moneys, the *Parisians* they broke forth into great complaints against his violence, which did much increase the hatred

1652. hatred of the Inhabitants against him, and his adherents, and caused the alterations which ensued; and not only the Prince but *Beaufort* began to grow less in the peoples good opinion, for behaving himself too arrogantly in this Tax, and the Parliament lost Reputation also.

Conde enlarged his quarters in the Village *Jouise*, Four leagues from *Paris*, since the King's were gone to *Pontoise*, but wanting Victuals, and forage there, he brought part of them to *Charinton*, and part to *St. Clow*. Emulation and hatred continued all this while between *Nemeurs* and his Sitters Husband *Beaufort*, not only for what had formerly past between them, but through other disgusts occasioned by Ladies jealousies; upon occasion of the sitting in the new Council which was contrived by the Duke of *Orleans*, wherein *Beaufort* strove for precedence before *Nemeurs*, no remedy being to be found, and the business growing hotter, *Nemeurs* challenged *Beaufort*, who accepted the defiance. They went towards Evening to the Horse market on the 30th. of July on foot with Sword and Pistol, having each of them four seconds. Count *Burny*, *Messieurs Ris*, *Herecourt*, and *Brillet* were for *Beaufort*; and *Marquess Vallars* who carried the challenge, *Messieurs Champ*, *Viseck*, and *Chasse* for *Nemeurs*, *Nemeurs* discharged his Pistol, which missing, *Beaufort* discharged his, which hit and kill'd *Nemeurs*. *Beaufort* went to part the seconds who were wounded already, and ran half mad to his Brother in laws house, bewailing bitterly what had happened; *Herecourt* dyed of his wounds, as did also *Ris*. *Orleans* and *Conde* were much troubled at this sad accident.

Conde, whose great friend, and confident *Nemeurs* was, would not see *Beaufort* in many days: nor would his Sister, Wife to him that was slain, see him; but complaining bitterly on her Brother, went from *Paris*, to bewail her self at her Country house. *Nemeurs* was a young Prince, of an high spirit, and extraordinarily valiant, of a courteous, affable, and generous nature; as are all those of the house of *Savoy*, which is reckoned amongst the antientest, and Noblest of all the Families of Christendom; he dyed without Heirs male, there remained no more of that house but the Duke of *Omale* Archbishop of *Reims*, who was his only Brother. Touching precedence in this unfortunate Council of State, another dispute arose between the Prince of *Conde*, and Count *Rienx* of the house of *Lorraine*, second Son to Duke of *Elbenf*. For *Rienx* disputing with the Prince *Taranto*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Tremaglia*, Kinsman to *Conde*, *Conde* would have appeased the difference; but *Rienx* thinking that he leaned too much to *Taranto*, did by injurious words provoke him, to give him a blow with his hand, whereupon *Rienx* drew his Sword, and worse would have happened, had not the Duke of *Roban*, and President *Viola* parted them; and because *Rienx* in this action transgressed the terms due to a Prince of the blood, *Orleans* sent him Prisoner to the Bastile, not so much for punishment, as to keep them asunder till his anger was over; from whence he was set free the next year at the desire of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and went to the Duke his Father, having past his word that he would forget what was past.

The King tarried at *Pontoise* from the 17th. of July, till the 19th. of August, in which time great sickness grew there by reason of the straitness of the Town, and the scarcity of all things. Many dyed, amongst which the Duke of *Bullions* death was lamented; and this malignant influence dilated it self even unto *Paris*, where a great many men of all sorts dyed in a few days; the Duke of *Vallois*, the only Son to the Duke of *Orleans*, being about two years old dyed also this September, to the great grief of his Father and Mother, by his death *Conde* returned to be the first Prince of the

the blood, as he was before the other was born, for the Sons, nor Brothers of the King, are not called Princes of the blood, but Sons of France.

Whilst affairs went thus in these parts, Count *Harcourt* keeping still with his Army in *Guienne*, to observe what the Princes Forces did; went to besiege *Villanewf* upon the River *Lot*, which was fortified only with old Walls and Towers; but well garrison'd under *Marquess Thenbon*; wherefore he was forced to raise his siege after two months attempt.

The Kings men had ill fortune also in *Flanders*, for want growing hourly greater in *Dunkirk*, the Plague, and dysentery grew so violent amongst the Soldiers, as above a thousand of them dyed in eleven days; and the rest were so weakned by continual watching, as the Archduke resolved to approach it with 8000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, and Ten pieces of Canon, there were not above 700 Foot in the City who were fit for service; of which 200 of the Inhabitants who wished well to *Spain*, did still keep Guard, and the rest defended the Fortifications, who were continually in Arms without being mislead; whereat there was such murmuring, as they were thrice ready to revolt, had not the Governor by hopes of speedy succor, and by his much revered Authority detained them. The *Spaniards* fell upon the Counterscarp on the sixth of September, upon three sides with a Thousand men on each part, the *Spaniards* and *Italians* won it, and lost it again with some prejudice: but being assaulted a second time with fresh men, they won it, wherefore Monsieur *de Estrades*, finding that his men had given back, and that the Enemy began to lodge upon the same Counterscarp, fell upon them with 500 Foot, and 40 Officers, and charged them so furiously, as after a bitter, and bloody bickering, he recovered the Counterscarp, losing Seven Officers, and Twenty five Soldiers, and he himself was shot with an Harquebuse on the Thigh. After this unfortunate, but glorious accident, followed treachery framed by three Soldiers who were bribed by the Enemy, which being discovered cost them their lives; and the Governor was commended for discovering, and punishing it, for six weeks past the Soldiers had but six ounces of Bread the day, wherefore *Estrades*, and all the chief of the Garrison thought it fit to yield to necessity, and to parly; wherein it was concluded on the 12th. of September, that if they were not relieved within six days, the place should be surrendered; that in the interim there should be a cessation of Arms, and that the besieged should be permitted to send two Captains, one to *Callis* to the Marishal de *Aumont*, and another to the Duke of *Vandosme* at *Diepe*, to acquaint them with the condition of the place, and in what need they stood of speedy succor. *Rivilliers* went to *Callis*, *Rowie* to *Diepe*, and they arrived so luckily, as Marishal de *Aumont* began the same day to lade six months Victuals in several Barks, and 1500 Foot at *Callis*, to attend the Fleet which was gone from *Diepe*, wherein they were to go to *Dunkirk*, which being block'd up by some few Spanish Vessels, it had not been hard to have fought them, and to have made way through them.

But before we speak of the going of the Fleet, we must acquaint you with what past in the Seas of *Britanny*: before it went from thence the Duke of *Vandosme*, vvho vvvas Lord High Admiral of France, vvvas gone into that Province, and had armed some Frigats about *Rochel*, against Count de *Ognons* Fleet, which was re-inforced with some Ships from *Spain*, which threatened *Rochel* not a little. When he had gathered together Twelve Ships, Three Frigats, one Gally, and some other Vessels in *Brest*; he went from thence on the 19th. of July, and coasting along *Exauet*, and other places, some other Ships and Gallies joyned with him; so as being

1652. about Twenty Ships and Frigates, Four Gallies, and Twelve fire Boats; he went towards *Olone*, and from thence to the *Strand of Pallisse*, over-against the Fort *Preda*, where Monsieur *Souches*, Commander of the Isle of *Rhe*, furnished him with some French Foot.

The Spanish Fleet consisted of Seventeen Frigates commanded by Admiral *Antonio Mispell*, and by *Antonio Dies*, who being drown'd between *Blavet* and *Grois*, *Cornelius Meigne* succeeded him; to this Fleet was joyn'd Twenty five Vessels, and five fire Ships; when news came of the Arrival of the French on the Ninth of August two hours after Sunrising, they were at a competent distance to begin battle with their Canon, which roared on all sides; they advanced warily, not to ingage themselves in danger; a brisk wind blowing a little before night, the Fleets were severed. The *Nativity* a Spanish Ship was burnt, and taken, Commanded by *Antonio Gonfales* a *Dunkirk*, a Ship of the Neapolitan Squadron was sunk afterwards; *Vandosme* would have done more, but wanting necessary provisions, and monies, he was contented to have driven them away, sent his Ships into Haven, and he landed at *Rochel*, went towards the Court, which was then at *Campagne*, whither he came on the Fourth of September, from whence he was suddenly sent with orders to relieve *Dunkirk*; to which purpose expresses were sent into *Britanny*, and the neighbouring Provinces; at the news brought by Monsieur *Rorur* of *Dunkirk's* capitulating, the Commanders of the Fleet made that stays presently, hoping to relieve the Town; But the Parliament of *England* at the desire of the Spanish Ambassador in *London*, and the rather for that they liked not that that important Haven so near the *Thames* mouth should remain in the French mens hands; they apply'd themselves to divert their succor; wherefore that Kingdom being strong at Sea, by reason of the War declared against the *Hollanders*, when the French Ships appeared before *Callis* to receive in provisions and necessaries for the relief of *Dunkirk*; as soon as they had cast Anchor, *Blake*, the English General fell upon them with many of his Fleet, with such fury, as they prepared rather to fly, than fight, though in vain; for unless it were Three Ships which held out at Sea, and got into *Flushing*, all the rest were taken, but that the Parliament of *England* might not appear an open Enemy to *France*; now that they were at War with the *Hollanders*, they sent all the people that were in the French Ships to *Callis* (for they were not free from some new convulsion amongst the people) and detained only the Ships and Goods in lieu of the Reprisal made by the French Pirates, of Shipping, and goods belonging to their Merchants; whereby they had much prejudiced the Nation upon the Mediterranean. The preparations made at *Callis*, remaining thus of no use, *Dunkirk* wanted its expected succor; and the Court of *France* being much troubled at this unexpected accident, fearing least *England* might break peace with them; when it learnt what was true, was aware that not only the reprisals, but the loss of *Dunkirk* was that which they intended. Thus in performance of the Treaty of the 18th. of September, Monsieur *de Estrades* marched out with 600 wounded, and sick men, and with but only 500 that were whole, and in health, with every one of them a course Loaf in their hand, which was all the livelihood that was left them, in the time allotted them to go to *Callis*, which was but two days, above 300 sick Soldiers dyed; they marched out with Arms, and baggage, Four great Guns, and one Morter piece; and a years time was allowed to the French that inhabited there to alienate any goods they had gotten there, or to remove them with safety.

The Archduke having reposed his Army till the 27th. of September, sent

sent some of them toward *Terrowan*, seeming as if he would enter into the *Bolognese*; but went elsewhere; and the Prince of *Ligne*, with 4000 fighting men, advanced towards the Frontiers of *France*, to second the Princes their interests, whose Forces lay about *Paris*: where such as were better minded than the rest to the Kings service, remembered how they had been used on the Six and twentieth of June last, as they went out of Parliament; and how unsafe they were in *Paris*, where the burning of the Commons House, taught them how violent the Malecontents designs were.

Monsieur *Fouchet*, the Kings Attorney General, who had long before desired, that the Parliament might be removed from *Paris*, making use of the present favorable time, was one of the chief that occasioned his Majesty to remove the Parliament to *Pontois*, by a Decree of the Sixth of August, wherein he declared why he did it, and made void all the Decrees made in Parliament; as also in the Town-house of *Paris*, particularly those of the Twenty and twenty fourth of that Month; prohibiting all men to acknowledge *Orleans* as Lieutenant General of the Crown, or Conde as General of the Forces. He also charged the Counsellors, and Officers of Parliament to come to *Pontois*; whereupon, most of the Presidents came thither, and five or six Masters of the Requests, and about twenty Counsellors; whereunto divers honorable Counsellors, and Dukes, and Peers of *France*, who were at Court, being added, an Assembly was made, able to overthrow the Princes their factions. When this new Parliament met, the Cardinal bethought himself of retiring, since his tarrying was the only pretence of the Princes and *Frondeurs*; so as when he should be gone, they would lay down Arms, and do their duty. So the King would be absolute Master; or, if they should continue their disobedience, the World would know their leud intentions; all good men would be weary of adhering to them: And the Parliament of *Pontois*, which was already acknowledged lawful by the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, would give out Decrees against the Princes and Rebels: And when their Majesties should have made it clearly appear, that the Cardinal served only as a meer pretence to the Enemies of the Commonwealth, they might when they pleased recal him, and the people would be satisfied.

The Cardinal declared his sole endeavors were to serve the King, and with much willing zeal prepared to be gone, contrary to the opinion of most of his Friends, and of the King himself: It was added, that at this the Cardinals retreat, the *Parisians* were for receiving the King, and driving out *Conde*; in the management whereof, Father *Fortis*, Bishop of *Amiens*, Father *Bertaut*, a *Franciscan*, and Counsellor *Pevoft*, imployed much affection and fidelity. And the wisdom of this advice prospered, for the people who did not discern so much, did verily believe he would return no more thither.

Upon these Reasons, their Majesties were perswaded to let the Cardinal go, though they needed his presence then, more then his departure: But before we pass further, it must not be forgot, that the Privy Council being much troubled at the Parliaments rash resolution in chusing *Orleans* for the Lieutenant General of the Crown; and for their declaring the King to be a prisoner to the Cardinal, they declared not only all that till then was done in Parliament, to be void and null, but whatsoever else they should do; and that no Parliament should be acknowledged but that which was lawfully removed to *Pontois*.

Upon which, the greatest part of the Counsellors, who remained in *Paris*, debating, (amongst which were the most seditious) divers Declarations

1652. rations were made contrary to those of the King: As that the transferring the Parliament to *Pontois* was invalid, and illegitimate, protesting against it, and maintaining, that the Parliament was never kept out of *Paris*; though *Charles* the Seventh, did for some occasions of his own, remove it once to *Montargis*; they also damned all that was done in the Privy Council, touching the prohibiting of Taxes upon the Gates of Houses in *Paris*: They farther ordered, that the Salt-Farmers should make their payments to the Parliament, and that the goods of such Presidents and Counsellors, as were gone to *Pontois*, should be confiscated, if they should not forthwith return to *Paris* to do their service: And they would have proceeded further, had their power been equal to their will; but that failing, all their determinations were ridiculous. The day before the Cardinal went, he caused the King to give Patents of Dukedom and Peerage of *France* to Monsieur de *Crequi*, first Gentleman of his Majesties Bed-chamber, Son to Monsieur de *Canaples*, who was Son to Marishal *Crequi*; as also to the Marquess of *Mortmar*, of the House of *Rochefaucolt*, Knight of the Order, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and to Marquess *Rochelaure*, Master of the Wardrobe.

The Cardinal did afterward give unto his Majesty in writing, particular instructions touching Government; and amongst the rest, that he should never agree with the Parliament of *Paris*, unless it should first render obedience by coming to *Pontois*; which was impossible, since all would never consent thereunto, which proved the welfare of the Kings party. For those that remained in *Paris*, wanting means to maintain War, and to hinder this removal to *Pontois*, they were forced to give way to all conditions that were prescribed them by the Court. He left Prince *Tomaso* of *Savoy*, Count *Servient*, Count *Tillier*, Secretary of State, to succeed him as chief Ministers of State. Moreover, he left with the Queen for Director in her most important and private interests, Abbat *Undedey*.

Thus taking leave of their Majesties, he went from *Pontois* towards *Sedam* on the Nineteenth of *August*, passing first by *Turennes* Army, which advanced from *Lagny* towards *Brie*; and pursuing his journey he came to *Sedam*, and from thence to *Bovillon*, where he stayed. *Conde* hearing that he was gone, whereby all pretence of War ceased, sent Marquess *Jerze* to the *Lorraine* Army, whither was come the Succor which *Wirtemberg* brought the Princes, with orders to fall upon the Cardinal in his journey, and take him prisoner: But the *Spaniards*, who liked it not, acquainted him with it, so he escaped the danger. The very same day the King went from *Pontois*, and that he might win the more upon the *Parisians*, when he came to *Campaigne*, he published an Act of *Amnesty*; wherein after a short account of all that had past from One thousand six hundred forty and eight till then, he granted a General Pardon and Abolition of all that had been done against his Majesties service, nulling whatsoever had been done by his decrees upon occasion of the present troubles, from the first of *February*, One thousand six hundred fifty and one till then; as also his Majesties Declarations of *September*, and the eighth of *October* that year; upon condition that *Orleans*, *Conde*, *County*, and their whole party, should lay down Arms within three days after the publication of the said *Amnesty*, and to that purpose *Orleans* should within three days send a writing to his Majesty subscribed by himself, wherein he should renounce all Treaties, Confederacies and Leagues, with any whatsoever without the Kings leave; and that *Conde* and *County* should do the like; and that they within the same time should put necessary orders into the Kings hands, to make the *Spaniards* who were in *Stenay*, *Burg*, or in any other places, to

go

1652. go from thence; as also to make the Enemies Ships depart from the Coasts of *France*: that *Orleans* and *Conde* should cause the Foreign Forces which were about *Paris*, to march directly towards the Coast of *Flanders*, and join their Forces to them of *Turenne* and *Ferie Senetre*; and also all Forces that were farther off within fifteen days, declaring that who should not do what was contained in this *Amnesty* within three days, should not partake thereof, wherein the King did only except such faults as had been committed between particular people of the same party, which he left to the due course of Law.

This *Amnesty* with this bundle at its breech, seemed a piece of cunning to those who liked it not, saying that those not being therein comprehended who had fought Duels, or assaulted the publick Pallace on the fourth of *July*; the King might punish whom he would, under colour of this Riot. It did notwithstanding make impression upon those who liked not the cavil of the Princes, and *Frondeurs*, but had thought that when the Cardinal should be gone, the Princes and Parliament would throw themselves at the Kings feet: But though neither the Princes nor *Frondeurs* had any thought of accepting the *Amnesty*; yet they appeared zealous of the general good, seeming very well pleased that the Cardinal was gone. *Orleans* and *Conde* went to the Parliament, where it was decreed that thanks should be sent to his Majesty for dismissing *Mazarine*, all the chief Companies, and the whole body of the City did the like. And soon after the Parliament resolved to intreat the King to return to *Paris*, and the Princes declared they were ready to lay down arms, when a good *Amnesty* should be granted. *Orleans* sent an express to the Duke *Anville*, who was a friend of his, and one whom the King loved, and who was very faithfull to the Queen, to get Passports from his Majesty for such Commissioners as were to negotiate a final Peace: But *Anville* having detained the Messenger three days, sent him back without an answer, for it seemed not decent that the King should enter into other Treaties, having supplied all things with an *Amnesty*, and intended that the Princes should presently lay down arms, (as they had offered to do) when the Cardinal was gone from Court. *Anville* writ therefore back to the Duke of *Orleans*, telling him that he thought his request would be granted, if his desire were made directly to the King; which being done, Marishal de *Estampes* had a Pass sent him to come to Court, not as a Commissioner, but as a Courtier; and at the same time certain private Treaties were renewed between Secretary *Goulas*, Marquis *Chasteauneuf*, and the Dutchess of *Aguillon*, the contents whereof was to stave *Orleans* off from joyning with *Conde*, whose declarations made in Parliament, and to the Court, were clearly found not to be real, since at the same time that he said he was ready for Peace, he protested at *Madrid* and *Brussels*, that he would alwaies join with the Crown of *Spain*, and continue war, and did negotiate in *England* for assistance in his designs; that therefore all assistance in *France* should be taken from him, without which he would be but a bare Captain of the King of *Spain*, and would be able to do but little against so powerfull a Kingdom, when it should be wholly obedient to the King.

The Prince his Forces lay this mean while behind the River between *Su-rene* and *St. Clou*, expecting Recruits from *Flanders*, and those fruitfull hills being full of Vineyards, and grapes beginning then to grow ripe, the Soldiers did very much prejudice the people in these parts, at whose requests they were sent to *St. Victoire*, where some Soldiers quarreling with the Citizens upon the Guard, five or six of the inhabitants were slain, and twenty of the Soldiers, which seemed to set them at variance.

But

But because the Cardinal knew that the welfare of the Royal party consisted in reducing the *Parisians* to a necessity of Peace, which they began to wish, the people, Merchants, and all others being weary of the ruines which they underwent, he advised the King to go *Campaigne*, as being more commodious for the Court than *Pontoise*, and that he should never be allured to go to *Paris*, without undoubted security of not being once more detained there; and this was one of the chiefest Maxims which he recommended to the Queen in his absence, which he gave in precise charge to Abbat *Undecy*; he added, that the Kings Forces should go to oppose those of *Flanders* which were marching to assist the Princes, and that if they should be too weak, they should go to *Villeneuve*, upon the *Seene*, and fortifie themselves, and have Provisions from *Corbeile*, *Melune*, and other neighbouring parts, by means of the River, where, whilst they should tarry, the Enemies Forces would be necessitated to keep thereabouts also, so as the Country being sack't, and plundered by the Soldiery, and Travellers slain, the *Parisians* would without an open breach, be in a manner besieged, whereby the Princes would become odious, as thought the chief occasion thereof, that thus keeping correspondency with their friends that were faithfull to them in *Paris*, the *Parisians* might easily be brought to resolve upon fitting means to free themselves of their miseries which could not be done without a King whilst there was a King. This was the best thing the Cardinal could do; for this Maxime well observed, fomented the Prince his ruine, since not being able to free the *Parisians* from the ruine wherewith they were threatned, without his withdrawing, he would be undoubtedly undone, for by staying there he would increase their miseries, whereby he would draw on the peoples hatred; and if he should go away he would loose the assistance of so rich and powerfull a City, and would be forced to retire to his Towns upon the *Maax*, forsake the Kingdom, and cast himself into the *Spaniards* hands.

The *Spaniards* were much confused when they heard the Cardinal was gone from *France*, for they foresaw that by his removal, all pretences which did any ways cloak the Male-contents reasons, ceased, and wisely weighing how they might maintain, but not advance the Princes party, two ways were thought upon; the one to advance with their whole Army, and drive the King from about *Paris*, and so keep the Citizens true to the Princes: the other to feed the Princes, and *Parisians* with hopes, but without effects, to the end that by appearance of their aid they might keep fast to their pretentions, and redoubling their disobedience, might at last be necessitated to declare against the King; and becoming unworthy of pardon, and afraid to be punished, they might strive to continue their usurped Authority. The first was gain-said by suspicion, that the Court being reduced to straits, should grant the pretentions of the Princes, which were still hotly pursued by their well-wishers. The other seemed not fit for the present conjunctures; for when the Princes, and Parliament should be void of all hope, and promise made by the *Spaniard*, they must be ruled by necessity, and be contented with such terms as they could get. They therefore chose a third way; which was to cause their Troops to advance, that they might thereby foment *Conde's* unquiet thoughts, who making War in *France*, as first Prince of the blood, and one of the valiantest, and best esteemed Commanders of the age, was likely to disturb the whole Kingdom long. Wherefore after having staid a while at *Fimes*, and thereabouts; and having changed *Fuenfeldaglia's* Forces, for those of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had again taken pay for his Army for two months from the *Spaniard*, they marched towards the *Seene*; it was thought better to send the *Lorrainer*, then *Fuenfeldaglia*, for that they had rather

rather put Forreigners to hazard and sufferings than their own Soldiers, as also because if *Spaniards*, and *Italians* who differ so much both in habit, and face, from the *French* should come into *France*, they would rather provoke the hatred and aversion than civilities of the *French* towards them, who do naturally abhor Nations of another Climate. This Army consisted of 3000 Horse, the most part *Germans*, under the Duke of *Wittemberg*, of Six Regiments of Horse, paid by the Country of *Leige*, and the parts adjacent, in the name of the Princes, commanded by the *Chevalliere de Guise*, and Count *Pas*; and of 6000 *Lorrainers*, which in all made between Ten and Eleven thousand good fighting men, and well in order. This Army being come on the first of *September*, almost without any obstacle to *Sessene*, a little Town in *Brie*, Fourteen leagues from *Paris*, thought to approach the *Seene*, and to come to *Villeneuve St. George*, in the same place where some months before the Duke of *Lorraine* lay when he came to relieve *Eftampes*; but he was prevented by *Turenne*, whose Army being much lessened by their continual labour intrenched his Army there, and threw two Bridges upon Boats over the River, to succor the other side, and to provide forrage for the Horse. *Lorraine* kept therefore higher up, and falling down afterwards into the Plane, incamped on the East side of the River; the Army of the Princes going the next day from *St. ViVoire*, past over the *Seene* at the *Pontneuf* of *Paris*, and over the *Marne* at *Charinton*, and joyned with *Lorraine*; the Princes Forces consisted of about 3500, what Horse, what Foot, the one commanded by Baron *Cleinchamp*, which were the remainders, which came from *Flanders* with *Nemours*; the second was *Orleans's* own Forces Commanded by General *Beaufort*; the third were *Conde's* men, under Prince *Taranto* the General, and the Lieutenant General *Tavaanes*. For *Rochefaucolt* was not yet cured of his wounds; These three bodies of Armies, and the other two of *Lorraine*, *Wirtemberg*, and Duke *Charles*, having assigned over their *Spanish* Forces to *Conde*, *Lorraine* declared he was no Enemy to *France*, nor to the King thereof, but that he was only obliged by the *Spaniards* to bring those men to *Conde*, which being done he was free. He went the same day, being the Sixth of *September*, to *Paris*, where consulting with *Orleans* in *Orleans* his own Palace (wherein he was lodged) with *Conde*, and the rest of the party, they resolved to draw near the Kings Camp with all their Forces, and either to fight them, as occasion should serve, or to incommode them, chiefly in their forrage; in performance whereof they made divers quarters about *Villeneuve St. George* in safe places, and well fortified, from whence sending out great parties of Horse to plunder, and get Victuals, their past several skirmishes between them and *Turens* men, with Reciprocal success, but of little moment; the Soldiers being thus incamped all about, *Paris* was besieged by its own Friends; the King was desired daily to come to *Paris*, who answered he was unwilling to do so, but that the *Parisians* must first get *Orleans* to cause *Conde* to return to his Government of *Guienne*, and *Beaufort* to *Annet*, a Castle of his Fathers, and all Forreigners out of *France*.

The Cardinal of *Rets*, Dutchess of *Chevereux*, and *Chasteaunef*, who were all three *Condes* Enemies, made use of these favourable conjunctures, and were not wanting to stave *Orleans* off from joyning with *Conde*; and to re-unite him to the Court, for the reasons already alledged.

Notwithstanding all these troubles of the Court, the siege of *Montroind* continued; and Count *Palau*, who commanded there in chief, knowing how few the besieged were, and what scarcity they had of Victuals, resolved to open his Trenches and hasten the taking thereof, but meeting with

1652. with more opposition than he expected, he fell to finish his line, the circumvallation whereof being but small, it might the more easily be kept. Marquess *Perseau* who commanded therein for the Prince, to keep from being reduced to such necessity, as he must surrender upon discretion, articulated on the 22th. of *August*, that if he were not relieved by the 30th. of that month, he would deliver up the Castle to the King, and would match out on the first of *September* with Arms, and Baggage. That Hostility should cease on both sides, and that daily Victuals should be given by the King's men to the Soldiers and Inhabitants, they being paid for it; that no Fortifications should be made on neither side, and that if relief should come, *Perseau* and his men should be Newters, and do nothing whilst the Line was fought for; that all lives should be saved; that *Tallon*, *la Coste*, *Ballet*, and *Marjelly*, who were come thither from *Dunkirk* to serve the Prince should enjoy the same articles; but as for the Officers, and their places, they should be at the King's disposal, to whom Count *Paluau* would write in their behalf; that those that came out should be convoy'd to the Princes Camp near *Paris*, and that Passports should be given to those that would return to their own homes. That an Inventory should be made of all the Prince his goods, part whereof should be safely convey'd to *Chasteauxneux*, and delivered to the Governour thereof, and that the rest which could not be convey'd, should remain in the hands of the Prince his Agent, who was to have leave to tarry there, and have a care of them, that Monsieur *Hautaeuille* should keep in his place of Farmer as all the rest of *Conde's* Farmers in *Berry*.

The Prince hearing in what danger this important place was, sent Count *Briole* from his Camp on the 19th. of *August* with 500 choice Horse, ordering him to pass over the *Loire* suddenly in Boats over against *Sully*, and to joyn with the Marquess *Levy*, and Count *Colligny* in *Berry* with 300 Horse.

Briole pass'd over the *Loire*, but not finding his friends so provided as he was made to be believe, and the line not to be mastered, he retreated speedily to *Paris*; for Count *Maipas* marching towards him with 800 of *Turenne's* Horse, traced him; but *Briole* got safe to the Prince his Camp, and *Montrond* according to articles remain'd in the King's hands.

The Kings affairs beginning to better, and all wise men knowing that affairs would at last prove favourable to the King, the Lord Chancellor being sent for by his Majesty, went to Court; who by leave from the King had staid in *Paris* as a private Gentleman; but the Princes desiring to Authorise, and give Reputation to the new Council, *Orleans* sent to him to come and assist therein, as had been intimated to him by Parliament, threatening that in case of refusal, he should be forced to come upon worse terms; the Chancellor being thus necessitated to come to that Council, did undauntedly, and with such wariness behave himself, as not at all wavering from the King's service, but moderating those who were swai'd by passion, and interest, did by his wisdom much advantage the Court-affairs; but though it was known he did the King good service there, yet it was not thought fit that the unlawful Authority usurped by Male-contents should be authenticated by one that was honoured with so conspicuous a charge; he was therefore sent for back by a Capuchine Fryar, whom he presently obeyed, going out of *Paris* in a Priests habit, and came to their Majesties the Third of *September* at *Campaign*, where he was very much welcomed; but the seals remained with the first President.

A novelty worth the relating happened in *Brisack*, for the better knowledg whereof we must take the business a little higher, and search the

the beginning. In the beginning of the year 1650, did Monsieur *Eclack* Governour of *Brisack* dye, a man of great fidelity, and honour. Monsieur *Charlevois*, who commanded a Regiment of Ten Companies there, and was the Kings Lieutenant, sent the Major of his Regiment to acquaint the Court with it, and assured their Majesties that no novelty should succeed in the Fort, till they should send another Governour, which he did believing that the Court would send none. But about the end of next *February*, the King chose Monsieur *Tiliadet*, Camp-master, and Governour of *Beampames* to be Governour of *Brisack*, which when *Charlevois* heard, who hoped to have been chief Commander there himself, he treated with Colonel *Eclack*, Nephew to the dead Governour, who Commanded a Brigade of *Germans* in that Town, by which treaty they bound themselves to joyn together, and not to admit of any Governour. They forthwith sent Monsieur de *Blois le Shelle*, one of *Charlevois* Captains, and Cousins, to tell *Tillier*, the Secretary of State, and *Tiliadet*, that he should not be received into that Government, the Cardinal, who about the same time was with the Court in *Burgundy*, hearing this, sent Messieurs *Bausant Fruart*, and *Millet* to *Brisack*, to wish *Charlevois* to obey the King, and to receive *Tiliadet*, and writ to the Marishalle's *Guebrian*, who had great power with *Charlevois* to will him to obey. *Charlevois* listened to these Gentlemen, and to the Marishals Wife, and resolved to receive the said Governour: upon promise that he would not innovate any thing in the Garrison, and that he would keep his Brigade in the same condition it was in; which was granted him by Letter from the King. Colonel *Eclack* finding that *Charlevois* had confer'd with the said Gentlemen, contrary to agreement, was displeased; *Charlevois*, that he might be of greater power in that Fort, perswaded *Eclack* to go to the *Switzers*, for which he had a Thousand pound sterling paid him. Soon after, *Tiliadet* went from *Paris*, and came to *Brisack* in *May*; *Charlevois* received him with all the Regalities due to a Governour, they lived Four or Five Moneths very well together. At last *Tiliadet* proposing to reduce *Charlevois's* Brigade from Ten to Five Companies, intending to put the other Five into his own Brigade, and so to be stronger than he; *Charlevois* laughed at the proposal, and shewed the King's promise, that no innovation should be made; but *Tiliadet* persisting in his design, *Charlevois* acquainted his friends at Court, wishing them to acquaint the Cardinal therewith. *Charlevois*, who thought the Cardinals pleasure had been not to innovate any thing (though the truth is he intended to reduce them from a Thousand to 750 Foot, and to add the overplus to *Tiliadet's* Brigade, so to keep them equal) took courage, and declared he would not yield to the Governours desire; whilst things went thus, the Cardinal withdrew from Court; wherefore *Charlevois* suspecting that *Tiliadet* might conspire his ruine, by making him be detain'd by the first Troops that should come into *Alsacia*, resolved to secure himself from surprize, and acquainted his friends with it who were at Court, desiring them to preserve his concerns with the Queen, assuring her of his fidelity, and desiring her to withdraw *Tiliadet*. Her Majesty finding that *Charlevois* his Authority in *Brisack* was greater than *Tiliadets*, resolved to remove the Governour, as she did, to *Bezancon* in *Burgundy*; but *Charlevois* knowing that some Officers of his Brigade adhered to *Tiliadets* interest, put them out of the Fort, together with some of *Tiliadets* particular friends, and kindred, amongst which his Nephew the Baron of *Serigliack*.

Wherefore the Queen knowing that *Charlevois* was a Creature of Marishal *Guebrians* Wife, wished her to admonish him of the respect, and loyalty

6521. Loyalty he ought unto the King, which she did, sending Monsieur *Rotra* to him to acquaint him with their Majesties minds. *Charlevois* seeming to correspond to the good opinion which was had of him, writ to the Queen that he would keep within the bounds of duty, and that the Marishal's wife, his Patroness and Benefactrix should be his caution. He also writ to the Marishals wife to assure her of his fidelity and obedience, desiring her to answer for him. But the Court considering afterwards that *Brisack* was not safe during the troubles of France, they went about to make it secure. Wherefore knowing what the Marishals was able to do, the Queen sent her to *Brisack* to content *Charlevois* with 10000 Crowns sterling, and every Captain with a thousand Crowns; besides a whole pay to all the Garrison. *Charlevois* had no mind to quit that Place, hoping by means of the troubles of France to fix himself there, wherefore he forgot his promise, and his gratitude to the Marishals wife, finding out cavils to retract the agreement; and at the same time that he sent to assure the Court of his fidelity, and to desire the Marishals to engage for him; he sent also treat with *Conde*. The Marishals wife went from *Paris* to see these orders performed, and sent *Rotra* before to dispose *Charlevois* to accept of the proposals, who when he came to *Brisack*, found his mind altered, and not answerable to what he had said in his last Letters; wherefore he returned to acquaint the Marishals with it in *Montebilliarde*, who not discouraged, went to the Fort, where he met her with all obsequiousness two Leagues out of the Town, she endeavoured to reduce him to his *Devoir*; he seemed to be willing to secure her, and to depend upon her; but in effect was averse, and found difficulties in all the proposals: But that he might not appear contumacious to the Court, nor make that Lady suspect collusion, he said he would never accept of any Governour, unless he were of the house of *Guebrian*, or her self, in which case he would be ready to submit; and to receive all her commands: she who desired only to secure the King, proposed the Marishal de l' *Hospitall* for Governour, who was void of all exception, but *Charlevois* stood firm to have one of her family, or else her self: so as finding him inflexible, and that he went about to thrust her out, she went to *Moret* near *Fontenbleau*, where she spoke with *Monsecon*, who travelled to and fro for the Cardinal, by whose means she informed *Mazarine* of all that had passed. The Court was at this time at *Poitiers*; and the Cardinal, who though he were now out of the Kingdom, minded still the Kings service, writ to the Queen, that she might rely upon the Marishals, whom he knew to be affectionately zealous to the Kings service: wherefore full authority being given her, she returned to *Brisack* she found *Charlevois* ready to render her all due respect, but having advised with his Officers, he cavild at the Kings Letters, saying, those were not convenient provisions for a government, and added that his confidants would not give way that the Marishals should enter upon that charge, but that for his own part he was her eternally obliged servant, and alwaies ready to obey her commands; yet at the same time sought how to be rid of her.

The Marishals discovering *Charlevois* bad meaning, advertised the Cardinal therewith by Monsier *Le Toache*, who presently detained *Le Coste*, and *Hernart* two of *Charlevois* Captains; whom he had sent to the Cardinal to negotiate about the affairs of that Government, which he did to prolong time, and that these men might not return to *Brisack*, to counsel *Charlevois* amiss, the Court sent orders then to the Marishals to take *Charlevois* Prisoner, and seize upon him dead or alive, wherefore she making use of the love which he bore to one of her Gentlewomen, feigned to go recreate her self out of the Town, and agreed with *Siron*, who was then at *Brisack*,

Brisack, to be at an appointed place, and to arrest him, the hour being come when they were to take Coach, the Lady seemed somewhat ill disposed, and wisht them to go without her. *Charlevois* went out in the Ladies Coach, with the said Gentlewoman, which *Fernent* and *la Toach*, thinking upon nothing but his amours. *Sicon* made him Prisoner, and not being able to bring him to *Nancy*, as was designed, being the *Lorrainers* were beyond the *Rhine*, he carried him to *Philipsburgh*, which proved prejudicial as shall be said.

This the Ladies blow, was not only remarkable for it self, but for other consequences; for had not he been taken, that important place would have been lost for *Charlevois* had agreed with the Duke of *Orleans*; the Arch-Duke of *Flanders*, and the Prince of *Conde*, to sell it to the Duke of *Lorrain* for 100000 Crowns to himself, and 10000 sterling to the Garrison, for performance whereof, *Fuges* the Dukes General, staid only for money to disburse.

The news of *Charlevois* his imprisonment being divulged, his friends and family in *Brisack* began to rage; the Garrison rose, running through the Streets, the Lady ran hazard of life; nor had she escaped, had it not been for the love which many of the Soldiers, and inhabitants bore to the memory of her late Husband Marishal *Guebrian*, being told that they meant to detain her there, to exchange her for *Charlevois*: Wherefore having taken fitting orders, and brought the Kings affairs to such a posture as she should be able to do his Majesty more service elsewhere. She went to *Basil*, a Canton of the *Switzers*, and sent *la Touch* to Court to let them know what was done; wherefore the Cardinal sent his Nephew Count *Moret* to her with Letters Patents to the Governers; whilst the Lady was in *Basil*, a conspiracy was made against the seditious Officers, to put the Fort into the Kings hands, by three *Italians*, which being discovered by a *Frenchman*, they were executed.

Charlevois being come to *Philipsburg*, instead of being kept safe, whereby he might have been brought to treat with the Marishals upon the first propositions; he was suffered to walk freely up and down the Streets; for being in *Alsatia*, where Count *Harcourt* was Governor, and who had often desired the Government of *Brisack*, but had still been denyed it, Monsieur *Moireux*, a servant of his, thinking this a fit opportunity to make his Patron obtain what he so much desired, treated of himself with *Charlevois*, that if he would promise him to put *Brisack* into *Harcourts* hands, he would set him at liberty, and *Harcourt* should protect his interests. *Charlevois* agreed hereunto; so as the aforesaid *Moret*, and Monsieur *Besemaux* going to *Philipsburg* to treat of an agreement, they were denied entrance, as if they were the Kings Enemies. Count *Lerny*, who commanded that Town, and who together with *Moirous* had treated with *Charlevois*, went to *Brisack*, whether he came just as the aforesaid three *Italians* were executed. The treaty being thus broke which was introduced by the Marishals, she made War against that Garrison, with the Kings Forces that were in *Alsatia*, under Lieutenant General *Rosa*, re-inforced by 1500 Foot, and 200 Horse sent by Marishal de la *Ferte Senetre* by order from the Cardinal, and by 600 Horse more which the Marishals had raised; wherefore those of *Brisack* being straitened, offer'd to come to composition so as the Forces might retreat from those parts.

The Court which was then troubled with Civil Wars in *Guienne*, and being to provide against that which was kindling about *Loire*, and in *Paris*, least the Garrison of *Brisack*, might bring in the *Lorrainers*, or *Spaniards*; dissembled, and gave way to the agreement, set *Charlevois* at liberty, and re-

1652. re-placed him in that Government. *Harcourt* was this mean while in *Guienne*, more intent than ever according to his wonted valor and fidelity, to the War in those parts. The report that what *Count Lerm*, and *Moirons* had done, was by his consent, occasioned those who sought to bereave the King of so gallant a Commander, to give out, that he being disgusted for having been denied that Government, and the Title of Marishal General of the Armies; knew of the treaty, and had approved of *Charlevoix* his articles; insinuating into him, that the Court not being well pleased with his proceedings, had ordered to have him made Prisoner. Though this was false, yet the least shadow of suspicion prevailing in so nice a business, the Count feared some hard measure; Wherefore when he had settled the King's Authority in *Guienne*, he by their Majesties leave went for the Court, where he would have appeared, had he not received advertisement again, that orders were given out to stop him on his way! Wherefore he changed his course, and went to *Brisack* with only Five of his followers, protesting that he did it only to secure himself, and that he might the better justify his actions; but the Cardinal knowing him to be a Prince who was infinitely jealous of his honour, knew he would never do any thing that should blur the Reputation which he had won by so much valor and fidelity; and that he would do whatsoever his Majesty should command him, wherefore he applied himself not too hotly to the business, and the treaties were proceeded in leasurely, as shall be said in the ensuing Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The NINTH BOOK.

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The Parisians begin to resent the Miseries of War; with the King's Return, have divers Meetings in the Pallace-Royal, and Town-House. They send several times to his Majesty, to desire him to return to Paris. Mareschal Turenne removes his Camp from Ville Neuve St. George, and goes towards the Martine. The Duke of Guise being freed from Imprisonment in Spain, comes to Paris. Conde and Lorraine with their Troops march into Champagne, and their Proceedings. The King returns to Paris, with general Applause, Reunites the Two Parliaments; passes some Decrees, and banisheth divers Counsellors. The Duke of Orleans will not see the King; he goes to Limbours, and from thence to Blois: Uproars continue still in Bourdeaux; where the Olmire predominates. The Spaniards continue the Siege of Barcellona: The French make many attempts to relieve it, but in vain. Marquis St. Andrew's Forces revolt, and goes towards France: The Proceeding of the King's Army in Guyenne. Marquis Plessis Belliere sent by the Court to Catalonia; his Attempts, and Proceedings in Guyenne. Barcellona Capitulates with Don John of Austria, and Surrenders. Cassall is threatened by the Spaniards: The Duke of Mantua presseth the Court of France for Assistance: He Negotiates with the Spaniards and agrees. Count d'Argenton endeavours to disturb him, but in vain; Forces are brought before the Town, the French are driven away, and the Town is put into the hands of the Duke its Master: The Courts resentment for the loss of this place. A Treaty between Poland and Sweden in Lubeck. Count Quince is sent into Piemont: Treaties with the Dutches of Savoy, whose Embassadour is received in France, as those of Crowned Kings. Cardinal Retz is Imprisoned. Mazarine returns to France. The rise of the Wars between the English and the Hollanders; and what occurs between those two Nations.

THE Armies this mean while faced one another near *Ville Neuve St. George*; the Princes intended to straighten the Kings Camp so as they might force it to rise, and might fight it; and being more in number might destroy it: The Kings men stay there though they suffer much, thinking to weary out the *Parisians*; to reduce them to their duties, and to make them drive all Forreigners out of the City; yet nothing of moment is done, for both sides proceed warily. So as the Count-

try being over-run on all sides by the Souldiery, *Paris* is the only place which is incommodated, none being sure to Traffick without the Gates, though with Guides or Passports; without danger of being plundered or slain.

It was resolv'd on the First of September in the Town-house, to send to their Majesties the two Sheriffs, six Common-Councillors, three Quaternieri, four Citizens of every Quarter, and two of every one of the six Corporations of Merchants, whereupon Monsieur *Pierre* the Kings Solicitor was sent to Court, to procure Passports for the said Commissioners. The Clergy of *Paris* were also desired to send Commissioners to Court, to desire his Majesty to return to his Metropolis, and *Mazarine* being gone, Cardinal *Retz* took that occasion, to receive the Cardinals Cap from his Majesty, and caused himself to be chosen the Clergy's chief Commissioner; the Commissioners were twelve Canons of the Church of *Nostre Dame*, four of *St. Chapelle*, many Curats, and two of every Church-Commonalty. He arrived at *Compiègne* on the 10th of September, with a great Attendance, he made an Eloquent Oration to his Majesty, exhorting him to return to *Paris*, but the true Motive of his going, was said to be, to gratifie the *Parisians* in their desire of his Majesties return, and to be the mediator thereof himself, so to win the merit of so universal a good, and making advantage of *Mazarine's* absence, renders himself necessary to the Court; but in a particular Audience with the Queen, he strove to excuse and justify himself, that he never had any thought of being chief Minister of State, as had been laid to his charge: Her Majesty after having civilly received him, replied, *That she held him to be of too high a spirit and understanding, not to have had such an intention; that she had never listned to those popular Speeches; since that Employment depending only upon the King, and her, neither of them had ever had any such thought, there was therefore no need of his justification on that behalf.* The Cardinal being sufficiently answer'd, and finding himself to be thought a cunning companion, sought by all means how to become considerable, to which purpose he applied himself chiefly to two things, the one to insinuate himself more into the favour of *Orleans*, that he might rule him as he list'd, the other to marr all secret Treaties of the Prince of *Conde* with the Court, which was privately manag'd by Monsieur *Goucourt*, and *Aiselin*, by intelligence with Marquess *Mortmar*, working it so as that *Conde* might abandon *Paris*; and *Orleans* be the sole head of that party; whereby he thought to keep *Mazarine* away, or to reap his ends, which were to put himself into such a posture, as that he might keep his Employment, and reimburse the Monies which he had spent in these Troubles, whereby he had incurr'd a great Debt.

The Kings Answer was generall as formerly, That he was ready to come to *Paris*, when the Enemies to the common good were driven out. This was the Courts Maxime, to excite the City against the Princes, who though they laboured to make men believe that the Amnesty at *Pontois* was but a piece of cunning, it was notwithstanding accepted of by the generality, not only in *Paris*, but in *Bordeaux*, though the Court being far off, and the Princes of *Condy*, Prince of *Conti*, Dutchess of *Longueville* and others being in *Bordeaux* prevailed by their presence, and authority in that City: The new Council of the *Olmiers* resolv'd, That the Parliament should not accept thereof, without the Prince of *Conde's* consent.

The *Burdellois* were the more obstinate herein, because the Kings Army wanted a General in *Guyenne* when *Harcourt* was gone from thence, hoping according to the intimation given them by *Marsine*, to recover the

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Towns lost by *Condy's*, especially since the King's Forces were grown so luke-warm, as they suffer'd *Marsine* to do what he would. Wherefore it being requisite to provide a new Chieftain; the Command of that Province was committed to the Duke of *Candale*, the only Son to the Duke of *Espernone*, a young, lively, and generous Prince, and very valiant. *Marsine* advanc'd in the mean while to take the Castle of *Jeloux* in the Province of *Albret*, within three Leagues of *Bazas*, and entring the Town, which had neither Walls nor Garrison, he assaulted the Castle, which was yielded up unto him the first day, upon Discretion, Monsieur *di Carbonieux* remaining Prisoner there. He left a Garrison there Commanded by Monsieur *de la Magdalene*, Captain of *Conty's* Brigade, who holding Intelligence afterwards with Monsieur *Trassy* the King's Commissary, was discovered by his Lieutenant, and wounded twice by him as he sought to escape through a Window, and was shot to Death by order from *Marsine*: He then besieged the Castle of *Chateau di Masnes* in the *Sandas*, wherein the Mistress being absent who was Wife to the Marquess of *Villa frank*, it was notwithstanding for some dayes defended by Monsieur *Trajane*, till having no hope of relief, he was forced to yield. Here was much good Household-stuff of *Espernouns*, and above 10000 Sacks of Corn, Monsieur *St. Micant*, Governour of *Bazas* was left Commander thereof, *Marsine* went then to take *Mas d'Agenois*, a City seated upon the *Garonne*, above *la Reolle*, not far from *Marmanda*, begirt with Walls and Towers after the ancient fashion, he assaulted it bravely, but it was stoutly defended by Monsieur *de la Barre*, till not being able to sustain a second assault for want of Men, it was taken by force, many of the Souldiers and Citizens being slain, and not a few of the Prince his Men, amongst which Monsieur *Ligier*, a *Guirats* of *Bordeaux*. Being putt up by these prosperous Successes, *Marsine* past over the *Garonne*, took *St. Basile*, and hearing that *Marmanda*, and *Agen* were ready to compound, (for after *Harcourt* was gone, all the people thereabouts were at their wits end) he advanced thitherward: Monsieur *Galapian* shew'd him how easie it was to prevent the King's Men, by taking the aforesaid two Cities; but this Opinion was not followed, but that of Monsieur *Bavias* prevailed, or rather particular interest, which invited him towards *Perigord*, a rich Country, and not ruin'd by War: He came before *Sarlat*, a Town in the bottom between two Mountains, one League distant from *Dorgona* a great River, where having made a breach in the Walls, he could not notwithstanding make an assault, being hindred by a subterranean Cave, from whence several Soldiers sallying out the Enemy was repulst, and the place would have been preserved, had not the Citizens been divided among themselves, but many of them inclining unto the Prince's party, they forc'd the others to come to an Agreement, and receive their Garrison, which *Marsine* left there under Monsieur *Lavagniacq Onderdieu*: He advanc'd from thence with his Horse, and got good Contribution from the neighbouring parts. When *Candale* was come with the King's Forces, he repulst the Enemy, *Marsine* being gone towards *Perigord*, so as the Forces being divided were the more easily destroy'd. This Prince made much progress, wan many of his Father's Enemies by his generosity, and got estimation at Court.

At this time Duke *Mercure* kept in *Provence*, as Governor thereof, but without *Angolesme's* dismissal, who was the true Governor, who by Order from the King was made Prisoner in *Bern* by Monsieur *Guilotiera*, and brought to the King's Camp before *Montrond*. The Duke had promis'd the King to go no more to *Provence* without his Majestie's leave, and to stay at *Paris*, but pretending to go to his own lands, he was detain'd by the way,

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1652. it being thought that he meant to go to *Tolon*, the chief Haven of that Province, to foment the Sedition which was begun there; which imprisonment, joyn'd to the diligence used by *Mercur*, reduced *Tolon* to obedience, and rendred the whole Province peaceful. *Angouleme* was Prisoner about three Months, but the Queen being assured by the Dutchess his Wife, and by Duke *Joyeuse*, of his good intentions, he was set at liberty in the beginning of *October*, and was by his Majesty permitted to tarry at *Paris*, and at the Court, keeping still the Letters Patents of Governor of *Provence*.

When Cardinal *de Retz*, and the rest of the Clergy's Commissioners had delivered their Message to their Majesties at *Champaigne*, the aforesaid *Pierre* was sent back with the Answer, which was this:

That his Majesty bearing still a good affection to his good Town of *Paris*, and being well assured of its sincerity, was exceedingly grieved to hear how it had been oppress'd, particularly on the 4th of *July* last, when all things were perverted which he had applied to make his good intentions known; Firing, Massacres, and other strange things being practis'd to divert his faithful Subjects from their duties; lawful Officers and Magistrates being banished, the Governor Provost of Merchants, and others forc'd to flee for safety of their lives; in whose Places the Authors of these Outrages were put; that new Sheriffs were chosen contrary to the King's Prohibition; Taxes laid upon the People, whilst those of the Country-Towns were barbarously plunder'd; that his Majesty had done what was possible, yea, many things to the prejudice of his Dignity, to restore them to their former Liberty, and to preserve them from the miseries of War; affording the Princes honourable means to lay down their Arms, and to return to their due Obedience; instead whereof they had made an Assembly of the City (the Chief Magistrates whereof had neither lawful Title nor Character) under a specious pretence of demanding Peace to delude the People, when they themselves refused it, and declared they could not accept thereof, though the Conditions were the same that they desired: that thinking of nothing less than of laying down Arms, they had called a *Spanish* Army to *Paris*, with which they joyn'd theirs, intending to maintain their violent usurped Authority, and to divide the poor Subjects Substance amongst themselves: that they had given a sinister Interpretation to what he had done, and did do for preserving the Lives and Liberties of his Officers, and Magistrates, that he long'd to see that noble City in that splendor, and abundance it was in the first years of his Reign, to re-establish Commerce, and his Parliament, and to honour it with his Presence, not only for his own content, but for that of all his good Subjects; that the mean while his Majesty would be well satisfied to see a good many Officers, and Inhabitants visit him: but considering that the Body of the City was then commanded, guided, and compos'd by the Adherents of those Princes, who contrary to Custome, were come into the said Assembly, to hinder any thing that might not make for War: That he ought not to Authenticate any thing that was done in their presence, specially in that of *Beaufort* and *Broussell*, who were the chief Authors of all the present Disorders, that therefore he declared that Assembly to be null, invalid, and unlawful, and consequently he could not grant the desired Passports; but that he would grant Passes for any particular men that were desirous to see him, were they either lawfully chosen Magistrates, or other publick Officers, Merchants or Citizens, who should be graciouly listened unto in any thing they should represent.

Pierre returning with this Answer to *Paris*, where all things grew worse, not only in Commerce, but in Damage suffer'd by the Neighbouring parts by the depredations of both Armies, now that the season of sowing Corn, and

and planting Vines came on, wherefore they began more openly, and with more fervour to resume treating with the Court by means of the Cardinal *de Retz*, *Chasteauneuf*, and other persons who desired *Conde's* ruine, no less than *Mazarine's*.

The Duke of *Orleans* seeming to have the same sense, and weary of these Combustions, reiterated his desire of quiet to *Anville* and others, and on the 20th of *Sept.* writ to the Queen, That having to his great joy by *Marquess Joyeuse Sambert* understood, how graciouly his Majesty was minded to Peace, he thought himself bound to assure her by these Lines, that he and *Conde* did passionately desire it also: But that though the first Object of his Prayers to Heaven ought to be the welfare of the State, yet he protested that the inclination which he always had perfectly to honour her Majesty, was one of the chief Reasons thereof, and that nothing could ever happen, should alter the zeal and respect, whereby he declared himself her most obedient Servant.

At this time *la Corte d' Aydes* resolv'd to go to *Pontois*, in conformity to his Majesty's Orders; and his Majesty's other good Servants sought how to withdraw themselves out of the slavery of the *Frondeurs*: At last the Bishop of *Amiens*, Father *Bertaut* a *Franciscan*, and divers others who shall be hereafter named, held an Assembly on the 24th of *September*, consisting of about four or five hundred men in the Palace-Royal, where the Counsellor *Charles Pneuost* appear'd, who was totally upon good terms with the Court, and presented the Assembly with a Letter from the King, wherein his Majesty said, He had a great desire to return to *Paris*, but that he could not do it so long as its seditious Masters were there; wherefore he propounded, that all faithful Citizens should take up Arms, should throw straw away, put Paper in their Flats, go into the Streets, and cry, *Vive le Roy*, and jointly possess themselves of all the Chief Places of the City, drive out the Disturbers, and fall upon as many as should oppose their Design, which being done, he would then return. The Chief Authors of this Assembly, after the aforesaid Bishop of *Amiens*, Father *Bertaut*, and Counsellor *Pneuost*, who had the whole management of the Business, were, Monsieur *Barby* the King's *Maistre d' Hostel*; *Luines*, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Metz*; Monsieur *Borgon*; Monsieur *de Fay*; Messieurs *Bidal*, and *Villars*, both of them great Silk-Merchants; Monsieur *Brun*, Merchant of *Tapistry*; Monsieur *Farin*, the King's Secretary; Monsieur *la Mare*; Monsieur *St. Michael*, all which had many who sided with them. All these declared, that they had no other design in this their Assembly, than to find out the best means how to bring the King back to his Metropolis, which was upon the brink of ruine, without his Majesty's presence: They took a Solemn Oath to observe religiously all resolutions that should be taken, and therein if occasion should serve, spend their lives and livelihoods; taking upon them to defend, each of them in particular, and all in general, who should be injured by the contrary Party. The same Oath concluded, that they had no other end in this their meeting, but the Glory of God, and the Re-establishment of the King's lawful Authority after the manner of his Predecessors.

Though not above four or five hundred men met in this Assembly, yet had they many Adherents, and the six Corporations of Merchants concurr'd with them, most of the Colonels of Quarters, with almost all the Commissioners of the Town-house, their true end was to let the people see that there was in *Paris* a strong Faction for the King, and to oblige the Duke of *Orleans* to grant Passes to the Commissioners of Merchants, and of the Colonels to go to Court, and treat with his Majesty, which was refused as prejudicial to the Interests of the Princes. This Solemn Oath being taken, some one propos'd the Cardinal of *Retz* for the Head of this new Party; but those who

1652. who considered that this was proposed only to make him necessary at Court, and to bring him by degrees into the chief Administration of Government, opposed it mainly, saying, That they ought to receive no other Head, but he who should be sent and chosen by his Majesty.

The Princes, and all their Faction were much astonish'd at this News, fore-seeing the down-fall of their Designs, and began to think how to reduce disorders, and how to keep off the currant which was coming upon them. Marechal d'Estampes went with Orders from the Duke of Orleans to the Palace Royal to dissolve the Assembly, but in vain. Madamofelle thought to go thither her self in person, to break off these Negotiations, by her presence, and authority; but when she considered that her Reputation might be concerned therein, she forbore doing it; and she was wise therein, for the Assembly had prepared a bunch of white Ribbon for her, instead of Straw which she wore.

Thus the Morning of the 24th of September was spent, the Assembly was adjourned till the next day, when every one was charged to bring with him as many friends as he could get. The same day Monsieur de Pois, one of St. Mark's Knights, (an Honour which he received at Venice, for some Service done to that State) was sent to acquaint their Majesties how the Loyal Inhabitants were affected, touching their return to Paris; he followed the Court, which was then gone from Marine to Mantes; from whence he was sent back with such Instructions as shall be said hereafter.

The first good Effect which this Assembly produced was, That Councellour Broussell knowing that the place of *Provoest di Merchants*, which was conferr'd upon him by the violence and fury of the people, was unsubstant, resolved voluntarily to lay it down, lest he might be forc't to do so: He declared that since this was a Reason which kept the King from returning to Paris, he parted the more willingly with it, the two Sheriffs, Gervas and Orry, who were put into the place of the others by Orleans, were advised to follow Broussell's Example, but would not, saying, *They were lawfully chosen, being loath to lose that Honour*; but upon second thoughts, finding that they must be forc't to relinquish it, said, *They were ready to forgo it, when they should know it to be the King's Pleasure*.

The next day Monsieur Vieux, the first Sheriff, and Pierre the Kings Attourney, were sent from the Town-House to the Court, to keep the business on foot, and to manage their Majesties return; which these in the name of the Publick, beseeched them to do, the more to authorise and authenticate their Resolutions. The Parliament of Pontois Decreed in favour of the aforesaid *Provoest*, and of the whole Assembly in the Palace-Royal, taking all those that were come, or that were to come into the said Assembly into the King's protection; prohibiting all Men of what condition soever, to acknowledge Beaufort for Governour of Paris, Broussells for *Provoest di Merchants*, or Gervas and Orry for Sheriffs; and ordered these upon pain of Rebellion not to exercise their Offices: It commanded moreover, That no Victuals, or Ammunition should be brought to those who served under the Princes against the King.

This Decree was read, and published in Paris on the 27th of September: And a Manifesto of the said Assembly was also fixt upon every Corner of the Streets, the Contents whereof were, That the good Subjects and Servants of his Majesty assembled in the Palace-Royal, had no other end, but to re-establish the Peace of the City, which could no wayes be had but by the presence of their lawful Lord, and by driving away Forreigners, and the disturbers of publick Peace. To this Manifesto was annexed an Edict made by

1652. by the King at Compeigne on the 7th of the said Month, which contained, That his Majesty being informed that his good Subjects in his good Town of Paris, did continue their good Intentions to his Service, he did permit all, and every of the said Inhabitants, and in case of need, did command them, to take up Arms, joyn together, and possess themselves of such places as they should think fit; fight those that should oppose them, imprison the seditious, and to do whatever they should think fit, to establish quiet, and intire obedience to the King; and to cause the said City to be governed according to antient manner by lawful Magistrates, under his Majesties Authority, who granted them full Authority to that purpose.

In pursuance of these good Intentions, it was agreed by the six Corporations of Merchants, to choole ten out of every Company, which were Clothiers, Grocers, Mercers, Skinners, Goldsmiths, and Bakers, and to send them to the Court, not only to witness their faithful Service to the King, but to desire his Majesty to return to Paris. The Assembly met again on the 26th at the Pallace-Royal, wherein the Resolution of the aforesaid Merchants being represented, they Treated of nothing but how to Guard the City, that no more Forreigners might be admitted thereinto, nor that no Victuals or Ammunition should be sent out to the *Confederates* Camp; whereunto the Collonels were desired to look; and the Assembly was adjourned till the said Merchants Commissioners should be returned from Court, whereby they hoped they should acquire Peace. The same day Cavalier Pois returned from Court, with a new Amnesty granted by the King only to the *Parisians*, excluding the Parliament and Princes, who by sinister Interpretations had abused the former.

He also brought a Letter from the King to the Collonels, with expresse Orders to guard the Gates well, not to let any of the *Spanish*, *Lorrain*, or Princes Armies enter, nor to suffer any Victuals or Ammunition to be sent out to them; to search all Towns where any of the adverse Souldiers might be lodged, and to put them out of the City, to the end that every one doing their duties, nothing might be left which might keep his Majesty from returning; assuring them, that he would particularly consider what they should do herein.

The Princes, and Parliament, hearing of all these Proceedings, the very day that they met to Treat of the Duke of Beaufort's Duel with deceased *Nemours*, they were not a little troubled, and the more for that there was no answer yet come to the Letter which Orleans sent to the Queen; though Duke Anuile had sent word it was well received, and that it should suddenly receive a gracious Answer. They Treated upon the prejudice which their Party might receive by these publick and secret Conventicles, tending to Sedition, and how they might be remedied. But all things meeting with many difficulties, they pitcht upon sending Talone, the Advocate General to Court, to reassume the Treaty of Peace, and all Meetings were forbidden, and the carrying of Paper or Straw about people. And *Messieurs*, *Manjere*, and *Lefue*, were deputed Commissioners, to inquire who were the Authours of the Assembly in the Palace-Royal, some were of Opinion to send for the *Provoest* to give an account to the Parliament, for having assisted in the said Assembly, but it took not, the major part thinking that it was too nice a thing to be toucht upon.

This mean while Monsieur de Vieux and Pierre, came to the King at Mantes, whither it was removed from Champeyny, as well for the inconveniencies which the Court began to feel there, as that it might be nearer Paris, for the better encouragement of Treaties: The Deputies delivered their Commission, shewing the universal good will to his Majesty's Service, and to the re-establishment of and restoring of his Authority. They were graciously

1652. gratiously received by his Majesty, and were sent back on the 28th of September to Paris with this Answer:

That his Majesty approved the Resolution taken by the Commonalty to establish the ancient Orders, and of bringing every one to their due Obedience; He praised the Decree made in conformity to his Commands, of not suffering any Victuals, Arms, or Ammunition to be carried out to the Enemies Camp; and of not permitting any of the adverse Forces to come into the City: He said also, He was very well pleased to hear that Brussels had willingly laid down the *Provost de Merchants* Place, wherein he had intruded against Law, and to the prejudice of the Legitimate Possessor; but as for the pretended Sheriffs, who made it still lawful to execute those Offices, pretending to quit them when they should know his Majesties pleasure to the contrary; they could not but know, that their Election was greatly displeasing to him: wherefore he again commanded them to forgoe the said Places immediately, upon pain of such punishment as was due to Rebels, and disturbers of the Publick Peace. As for his return to Paris, the pith of his Answer was, That when his Enemies should be gone out, he would suddenly return thither: He concluded, That as he was much satisfied with the Expulsion made by the Commons House of those who were entred thereinto unduly, and contrary to his Majesties intention; so he could not approve, but did think whatsoever should be done in the said Assembly, whilst the Rebels and their Adherents should be there.

Whilst things went thus at Court, they forbore not to solicit the effecting of their intents at Paris, and the Parisians troubles encreasing still, by the continuance of the Spanish Forces about that City; part of the Duke of Wirtemberg's Baggage was sackt in the Street St. Honoré, whilst the Conductors of them were busy in carrying *Vine Muscade*, and Spanish wine from the Taverns to the Confederates Camp, and strickt Order was taken that no more of the Army should enter, whereat the Parliament and Princes were much astonished, finding that their power grew less and less; and they were yet more amazed, when they saw their straw out-done by the white Hatbands, and Girdles which were worn by many of the King's Friends.

The Assembly at the Palace-Royal being advertised that Beaufort's Guards were to convey Bread, *du Pois* with *Gandry* Captain of the Guard at Paris, to throw away his straw, as a mark of Sedition, and to take white Ribbon, the Loyal Colour; and threatened that he should be assaulted if he did not, for the Assembly had resolved to attack those who wore no white Ribbons, or Paper, and this was to begin at St. Martins Gate, where his Guard was to be: These words prevailed, so as not only this Captain, but all his Soldiers put on white, and drunk the King's Health, and *Mazarine's*, and made Monsieur *Paugrimaux* and Beaufort's Guards do the like; who as they would have gone out at the Gate were hindred by *Chassan*, *Ligny*, and *du Pois*, who told them, they were not to pass without Passports from the King, or his Generals; and that they might be known to be the King's Servants by wearing white. *Paugrimaux* answered, That he had the Princes Pass: Answer was made, They doubted not that, but that they must drink the King's health, and return back, which they did in their Hats, for want of Bowls. Beaufort hearing this, got on Horse-back to hinder it; but understanding the other Gentlemens resolution, he forbore. This beginning was followed by great and happy advantages to the King's Party, many others vying who should follow the Example. The King being satisfied with these demonstrations, Commanded on the 29th of September, that passage should be open for carriage of Corn, Wine, Wood, and all other Necessaries for the livelihood of so numerous a People. The Answer that he afterwards gave to the Merchants Commissioners was:

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1652. That his Majesty was very sensible of the new testimonies of Affection and Fidelity shew'd by his beloved City of Paris; that for his return to Paris, he would say no more to them than he had done to the Commissioners of the Town-House, a Copy whereof he gave them. He only added, That they needed to send no more to him for Peace, since he had already granted it by his Amnesty, declared in his Parliament at Pontois. The Form or Words whereof were, It became not Subjects to censure, since the most Guilty found therein Pardon for all their Faults; but that they were to apply themselves to those who caused the War to continue; because they thereby reaped advantage; that they were only to complain of them, since his Majesty had without any condition granted what was desired; yet they, going from their words so solemnly given, disposed still of the Royal Authority to the great prejudice of his Majesty, and of his State; keeping themselves joyn'd in Arms to the declared Enemies of the Crown, contrary to their promise: keeping the Chief City of the Kingdom in continual apprehension, by continuing Violence and Sedition, whereby the French were sackt and ruin'd by Strangers. Wherefore all men being concern'd in putting an end to such disorders, He hoped they would use their endeavours to put Paris into her former condition, notwithstanding the Enemies to Peace. He ended his Answer with a desire of a Testimony of their good intentions, and as that which was more necessary than any thing else, that they would re-establish the *Provost de Merchants*, and the Sheriffs who were driven away, to their Places; which when it should be done, he would send such Orders as he intended should be observed by the Town-House; assuring the Merchants of his satisfaction, goodwill, and Patronage.

The Chief of this Commission was Monsieur *Pratin*, Ancient Consul of the City; who spoke first of sending the Soldiers away, desiring his Majesty to favour Paris with his presence, and to give Peace unto his Kingdom; assuring his Majesty of the Parisians Loyalty and Obedience. When *Pratin* had done, Monsieur *Brun*, a Mercer, declared the affection of his heart, mingling tears and sighs with his words, protesting that he was ready to sacrifice his life for his Majesties Service, and that he spoke for a hundred thousand men that were of the same mind: Yea, turning to the Queen who was present, he desired her to move the King to satisfy his People with Peace.

The King appeared very well disposed thereunto, and to give his Subjects all the satisfaction they could desire. Then Monsieur *Perichon*, a Mercer, and a Master of *L'Hostella de Dieu*, represented the publick Miseries, the great number of sick people, the small Revenue, that the Houses in the Countries were plunder'd, the Farmers ruin'd, that there was no remedy for all these evils but his Majesties presence at Paris: All the rest spoke to the same purpose. The King reply'd, He would shortly give them all satisfaction: and Monsieur *St. Tor* with them all to withdraw; and they were conducted by Count *Nogent* to the Convent of the Franciscan Friars, where they were lodged and defray'd.

These passages did greatly move the Princes, Parliament, and all that Faction; and finding that Paris was alter'd, and desired Peace, which destroy'd their designs, they apply'd themselves to think how they might beat the King's Army, and become Masters of the Field, which was thought to be the only means for them to keep in Paris.

The Duke of Guise labour'd his freedom in the Spanish Court, and after several Treaties it was offered, That if the Queen Regent of France would change all the Prisoners she had upon the account of Spain, they would set the Duke at liberty. Guise acquainted the Christian Queen herewith, humbly desiring this favour from her Majesty; who, though the number of the other Prisoners were above 4000; whereof were some of Quality, willingly exchanged them all for the Duke; and would have exchanged as ma-

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1652. ny more, had she had them, to ransom a Prince, who had with such hazard of life, and at so vast expence, done so great Service to the Crown. Reciprocal promises passing; by Order from the Queen, the Duke of Orleans lent the *Baron Verdierne*, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with power to make the Exchange, or else to offer the 500000 Crowns, which the *Spaniards* owed France, for other Treaties concerning Prisoners: but the Business being delay'd some months by reason of the long way, and the above-said Novelties hapning the mean while, as also the freedom of *Conde*, *Conti*, and *Longueville*, the *Spaniards* went from their words, thinking it not fit to send back the Chief of the House of *Guise*, who was so obliged to the Queen: Wherefore they declared, that *Conde* being at liberty, they would proceed no further therein, unless he were first acquainted with it, and should like it.

This was cunningly done, to free the Duke from Obligation to the Queen, and to make him side with *Conde*, who began then to Treat privately with *Spain*; and the *Spaniards* thought it better for them, that the Duke should have his freedom without any Obligation to the Court, and should turn to *Conde's* party, then the exchange of so many Prisoners.

Conde, who at that time had got the exchange of the Government of *Guienne* for that of *Burgundy*, indeavoured also to get the Government of *Champagna*, held by *Conti*, for the Government of *Provenze*; found that no man could be well established there, without winning the good will of the friends of the house of *Guise*, who having formerly had that Government had won so much upon those Inhabitants, as no other Governour could ever please them. *Conde* making use of this occasion, sought to make the Duke favour him in working this his desire, by making him hope for liberty, if he would be a means that his friends in *Provenze* should declare for him.

The Duke soon found the triok, which was, That *Conde* might make use of this present conjuncture, to work his own ends, which when he should have obtained, he would mind his liberty no longer; wherefore he dextreously made his friends and servants be desired, not to declare for the Prince, till he were at liberty. To which purpose all the Dukes friends desired *Conde* to beseech his Catholick Majesty, to declare that he would free *Guise* if *Conde* should desire it.

In this interim the aforesaid accidents happened; and the Prince going to *Bordeaux*, sent Monsieur *Lenet* into *Spain* to Treat of joyning his Interests with those of the Catholick King, which *Conde* did much desire; and upon this occasion *Lenet* had leave to go *Segovia*, and to see, and speak with the Duke.

Many Proposals were made between them, at last *Conde* was perswaded out of meer honour, wherein he thought he should suffer much, if he should refuse a favour to a Prince, who was his friend, which would cost him but a word.

The Prince being thus resolved, beg'd the Dukes liberty of the Catholick King; and yet he retarded it for some Months, to see if when it should be known, *Guise* his friends in *Provenze* would do his brothers business; but failing therein, for they all resolved they would first see the Duke at liberty, he indeavor'd it in earnest. The *Spaniards* being allured by the same hopes, easily granted it, and resolved to deliver up the Duke into *Conde's* hands, and sent him with usual Guards to *St. Sebastian* in *Biscay*, where he stay'd a while, according to the *Spaniards* Custom, who alwayes spin out time, when they think they may get any good by delay.

The Duke, though a Prisoner, and not likely to acknowledge his Liberty from

1652. from any but *Conde*, forgot not his gratitude to the Queens good Intentions towards him; and therefore told *Marschal Grammont* freely (who was Governour of *Bearne*, and *Bayonne*.) That he might assure their Majesties of his Fidelity, and that he would never upon any whatsoever consideration undertake any Service, which should linke him to the *Spaniard*; with whom he was ill satisfied, as having broken their word, and that they would free him only for their own Interest.

He was afterwards brought from *St. Sebastian* to *Bourg*, where he was delivered over to the Prince; he resolved to go streight for *Paris*, intending to recompence the Prince, by interposing with their Majesties in making his Peace at Court; but to the misfortune of all men, he found the Court so far advanc'd in Treaties with the *Parisians*, and *Conde* so engaged with the *Spaniards*, as he soon failed in his hopes.

He declared himself eternally bound to the Prince, and that he would serve him in any thing, if he would forego the Interests of *Spain*, refusing (much to his praise,) whatsoever was offer'd him by the *Spaniards*, or by the Prince who affectionately embraced him.

The Court seeing him in *Paris*, and that he convers'd much with the Prince, feared lest he might ingage on the Prince's side, as the *Chevalliere* his brother had done. *Abbate Oudeci* indeavor'd to keep the Duke from doing so; which was needless, for he found him wholly devoted to the Kings Service. He went afterwards to *St. Germain*, where he was grateously received by their Majesties, and made one of his Majesties Privy-Council.

But to return to *Mazarine*, and to the Court: When *Mazarine* was come to *Sedan*, and gone from thence to *Bovillion*, three Leagues out of *France*, there were those, who indeavor'd *Orleans* his reconciliation to the Court. *Cardinal Retz*, and *Chastenneuse* were perswaded, that if his Highness were once with the King, he might by degrees get into his favour, and reassuming his place in Council, they should not be left out; wherefore by the consent also of the Duke of *Lorraine*, *Marquis Lambert*, of the House of *Foyense*, was sent to Court, to introduce the Treaty.

The Queen, and Court, who apply'd themselves not only to *Mazarine's* return, but also to provide for their own safety, could not consent that *Orleans*, who was altogether a friend to *Conde*, now joyn'd with the *Spaniards*, should have any thing to do in the Government. *Conde* who was engaged with *Orleans* by promise of Marriage between his Highness Daughter and Duke *Anguene*, thought that although he were left out of the Treaty, he might yet in time by *Orleans* his means, make his Peace, so as these being nice respects, and reflecting much upon the wildome of the Agents, that was found to be bad counsel, which exposed the Government to the arbitrament of others, which in an absolute Monarchy will admit of no Companion.

It was conceived that the Prince had no minde to make his Peace then; for his great Soul being in love with glory, which was not to be sever'd from his Valour; and from other hopes given him by the *Spaniards*, designed at the same time to make his Name famous, and to get good store of Money from the *Spaniards*; and that if he should fail of the appointed payments, he might at all times make his Peace with the King upon advantageous Terms; and that injoying the Wealth gotten by War, which far exceeded what he lost in *France*, he should make the World know, that Troubles being the advantage of a Souldier, they ought never to be fore-gone by one who professeth Arms.

These Treaties being over, the Princes and Parliament stood still upon the

the point, That the Amnesty granted by the King, and pardon for all that had been done the last five years, was not as was desired, to wit, not general and without condition; but that it reached only to the *Parisians*, bearing but little respect to the Princes and Parliament: they therefore pretended that his Majesty should give ample, and unretractable Authority to the Duke of *Orleans*, to frame another, without any exceptions, and that it should be Authenticated by his Majesty in the Parliament of *Paris*, whither the Councillors that were gone to *Pontois* should come. Many meetings were had about this, his Royal Highness writ some Letters to Court: Duke *Anville*, and Marquess *Joyeuse* negotiated with the Privy Council; and did many other things which would be too tedious to relate: But the Court finding that it would be prejudicial to the King's Authority, Passports for the Parliaments Commissioners were absolutely denied, so as Affairs remain'd intangled as before.

The Parliament being met on the third of *October* to hear what News Marquess *St. Lambert* brought, who was return'd from Court: Two Boatmen were imprisoned, who cry'd, *Vive le Roy, e Mazarino*, and many more were led to the *Conciergerie*, and Process was ordered to be made against them; and it was said that this was done of purpose by some that gave them money, that they might move the people to Sedition: This being brought to Court, and that the Parliament continued to proceed against some of the Assembly in the Palace-Royal, the King with his Council pass'd a Decree on the fifth of *October*, Whereby, *He annull'd all the pretended proceedings of the Parliament of Paris, which were, or were to be publish'd; imposing severe punishment upon such Commissioners, or Judges as should act any thing further therein; and commanded all his Majesties People in Paris, to see his Orders executed.*

The King's Army lay this mean while at *Ville Neuf St. George*, much straitned by the Princes Troops and those of their Confederates, being more than they in number, and were in danger to be beaten out of their Quarters, and fought with in their Retreat; for not only many of their men, but many of their Horses perished for want of Victuals, and Forrage: The Court was much troubled hereat, fearing some sinister accident; for the Victory consisted in that Armies abode near *Paris*, whereby the endeavors which made for the King were fomented.

The Princes, who knew the importancie hereof, and that if the King's Army were preferred, all their Plots were ruin'd, did what they could to overcome it by Famine; but the neighbourhood of *Paris*, and the sickness which befell *Conde*, *Wurtemberg*, and many other of their Chief men, (which may truly be attributed to an effect of Divine Providence) caused the ruine of their Party. Together with these sick Princes, *Lorrain* and *Beaufort*; and almost all the Chief Commanders were come to *Paris* with a considerable number of their best Soldiers, for fear of some Conspiracy amongst the Inhabitants, and to advise upon what was best to be done in this the Peoples tottering condition, who were weary with the length of these troubles. *Turenne*, a no less wise than valiant Commander, after a short consultation had with his Collegue *Ferte Seneterre*, resolv'd to get out of these Straits, and to remove his Army elsewhere, where it might be safe, and have whereon to live.

The 4th of *October* he pass'd his Baggage and Artillery by night over the *Seine* by a Bridge of Boats; by break of day his Army rose in such order and silence, as they pass'd undiscovered by the Enemies Sentinels.

Turenne was the only General that was left in the enemies Camp, who being aware of *Turenne's* march, though too late, sounded to Horse, and put his

his Army in order to follow, and fight him. But *Turenne* being shelter'd by the River, got soon to *Corbeil*, a place which was guarded by the King's men, where crossing the *Seine* upon a Stone-bridge, he escap'd danger with much honor, and quarter'd upon the *Marne*, between *Meaux* and *Lagny*, raising Victuals from all the neighbouring parts, for the maintenance of his Troops. The Princes were mightily amazed at this, *Conde* in particular was scandalized, complaining of his Officers carelessness, saying, *That had he been well, he would not have lost so favourable an occasion.* But what is past being past remedy: On the 7th of the next Month, the Prince's Army advanc'd to the head of the Suburbs of *St. Antoine*, and for the defence of the City, incamp'd near *St. Vincents-Castle*. The King and Court went from *Pontois* to *Mantes*, that they might pass over the *Seine* there, and so come to *St. Germain*, intending to come to *Paris*, when things should go as it was hoped they would do.

The *Parisians* were resolv'd to withdraw themselves out of those miseries wherein they were plunged; and being all of the same mind, accordingly as Fortune forsook the Princes, they sided with the King: wherefore *Conde* finding the storm ready to fall, bethought how to save himself and his Army, by removing quickly from *Paris*; and because by his going away, and the King's return, the good of *Paris*, and the Cardinals return was foreseen, many sought to follow the Cardinals re-rising Fortune; and some of the Prince's Friends began to wheel about, and particularly Count *Chavigny*.

Being much vext in mind at these changes of Fortune, *Chavigny* fell sick, and died on the 11th of *October*; and this was the end of *Lyon de Bontelliere*, Count of *Chavigny*, aged 44 years; one who at 19 years old was admitted into the King's Council; and at the age of 21, and 24, was made Secretary of State, and in 1642 had the care of all the important affairs of the Crown committed to his charge; and when *Lewis* the Thirteenth died, was made Plenipotentiary at the Peace of *Munster*: He was quick-witted, of a lively spirit, ready counsel, and ambitious of Glory and Greatness.

The Parliament and Town-house met often touching the present occurrences, and all good men being grieved to see the poor Country people so wasted by the Souldiers, especially by the *Lorrainers*, who left nothing unransackt, divers Commissioners were chosen in the Town-house on the 9th of *October* to go again to Court, and to desire their Majesties to return to *Paris*. But because the King intended not to admit of publick Addresses from that Assembly which was held illegitimate since *Beaufort*, pretended Governour of *Paris*, contrary to his Majesties Command, was there; it was propounded and agreed upon in Parliament, That *Beaufort* should be desired to renounce that Place willingly, and so not obviate that Peace which was so generally desired.

The Duke, who was absolutely absolved by Parliament for having slain *Nemeurs*, was willing to do it, and gave it back to *Orleans*, from whom he had received it. The Militia of *Paris* also was resolv'd to have Peace, to which the presence of the King being requisite, they chose 250 persons, to present their Duties to his Majesty, and to desire that he would honour his good Town of *Paris* with his Return. The Colonels acquainted the Court herewith, and desired wonted Passports, which were soon granted, and the King writ unto them to come to *St. Germain* on the 14th of *October*, where he intended to be that night. Besides this Letter written to all in general, he writ to every particular Colonel, wherein he thanked them for the good will they shew'd to his Service; he also writ to the Commonalty, willing them to call a general Assembly in the Town-house, and to put the *Provost de Merchants*, Monsieur *le Fevre* and the Sheriffs *Guilot*, and *Philip*, again in their places.

1652. Conde finding by these novelties that his abode in *Paris* would be to no purpose, and that all were resolved to receive the King, and peradventure to affront him, resolved to haste his departure; in pursuance whereof the Duke of *Lorraine* took his leave of the Duke of *Orleans* on the 11th of *October*, and went towards his Army, which was not far off. But as he went out of *St. Martin's* gate, the Guards stopt him, as not having a Pass from the Commonalty, and some of them imputing all the Miseries of *France* to his fault, would have imprisoned him, till such time as his Forces should be out of the Kingdom; and till he should have given satisfaction to the parts adjacent, for the wrongs which they had received by his men; but this was not done in respect of the Duke of *Orleans*, but he had a thousand injurious Words given him. The next day he went out by his Highness Authority; two days after parted Conde, *Wirtemberg*, *Rochefaucault*, *Tarantol*, with many Gentlemen, who would follow the Prince his Fortune; and as he went through the Streets, he was heard to say, *That the Parisians hoped the King would return, but that should not end the War*. He marched with his Army towards *Reims* the chief Town of *Champagna*, thinking to winter there.

At his departure he left a Manifesto in Print at *Paris*, wherein he avowed all that he had done was for the Publick Good, and particularly for the *Parisians*; exhorting them not to trust the Court, and to believe that he by force of Arms would constrain them to Peace, and to make all due satisfaction.

Paris being thus abandon'd by Conde, and by all the chief Officers of his Army, the aforesaid Colonels, and Officers went to *St. Germain's*, accompanied by above 200. Citizens; they halted at *Ruell*, being the half way, where the first Colonel Monsieur *Sene Chastanville*, received Letters from Secretary *Gueneгаude*, saying, *That the King would be at St. Germain's, on Thursday-night, and that they might come thither on Friday-morning*, as they did. They were met at the Park-Gate, by Monsieur *St. Tote* Master of the Ceremonies, with four of the King's Trumpeters, who brought them between the two Castles, where they lighted, and went to the Lodgings that were provided for them: They then had Audience of their Majesties, where the aforesaid *Sene* kneeling down with all the other Commissioners, having in a handsome Oration represented the general desire of his Majesties Presence; assured his Majesty in the Names of them all, of sincere Loyalty, and of intire Obedience, with their plighted Faiths, that they would be all ready, upon all Occurrences to spend their Lives and Livelyhoods in his Majesties Service. That they desired him not to refuse this favour, but to suffer himself to be perswaded by the Tears, and Sighs which proceeded from their cordial Desires, protesting, That he should find nothing but due obsequiousness, and perfect propension to perform the parts of humble and faithful Subjects.

The King himself answered them, *That during Life he would remember the Service they did him upon this occasion; that he desired them to be always assured of his good Affection; that though what those had done, who had revolted against him, might have made him go some whither else, yet since they were so desirous, he would go speedily to Paris; and that he would let the Provost des Merchants, and the Sheriffs know what he thought fit to that purpose*.

The Queen added, *That she had always loved Paris, and to live there; that she never doubted the Citizens Loyalty; that she would always seek to keep the King in the good Opinion which he had of Paris, and in his resolution of coming thither speedily*. After this the Commissioners were carried to a Sumptuous Dinner, provided for them by the King; Dinner being done, they took their

1652. their leaves of their Majesties and returned to *Paris*, where the people hearing what had been said unto them, flockt about in the Streets, and welcom'd them with great Jubile.

Before his Majesty went from *Mantes*, he answered the Duke of *Orleans* his Letter, which Duke *Anville* delivered him, touching the amendment of the Amnefty, which was to this purpose, That his Majesty desired not a new Declaration from him, but would be satisfied if he would make good his word, which he had so often given, of laying down Arms, and lending Forreigners to the Frontiers, so to free *Paris*; that his Majesty had no more to do, having published a general Amnefty, and such a one, as the most Seditious could not add any thing unto it, for their safety, nor yet pretend that it might be registred in *Paris*, since it had been already done in the Parliament at *Pontou*; so as his Majesty having anticipated his desire, there remain'd nothing, but that the Duke should perform his promise, that his desire of having Passports sent him was superfluous, since it tended only to gain time, till the *Spanish* Forces commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg* were come to *Paris*, to joyn with Conde's men, and to hold the people in hand, till another Army of *Spaniards* commanded by Prince *Lig-ny*, might come into the Kingdom, whereby they designed to keep *Paris* in slavery still, and keep his Majesty from thence. He concluded, That he hoped by God's assistance, to preserve his Subjects from all mischief; and exhorted him to return to his Obedience.

When the said Colonels were gone, the resolution of the Courts returning to *Paris* was variously disputed in the Privy Council, those who feared that some scandalous novelty might fall out yet, there being many Malecontents still there, said, The people were not to be trusted, who forgot what they had promised, upon any novelty; that therefore they should consider well, lest they might fall upon new Rocks. The Chancellour, *Guarde de Seaux*, *Tilly*, and almost all the rest were of this Opinion, saying, *That they ought never to believe, where they had once deceived; nor think to find truth in those who had been so foully false*. But Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who had a chief hand in the Government, and who as a Forreigner desired what might be most serviceable to their Majesties, wisely weighing the prejudice which might be received, by suffering favourable occasions to escape their hands, was for entering *Paris* without delay, for driving the prime Seditious out; and as the Princes had made use of the popularity to strengthen their party, so the King ought to serve himself of the same to overthrow the contrary faction. *Turenne* was of the same Opinion; who considering that the parts about *Paris* were totally ruin'd, and the King's Army consequently but ill maintain'd, said, *It was requisite, to be Masters of Paris, in respect of the abundance of all things there, and that without that City, the King might be called a Prince without a Crown*. This Opinion was embraced.

In pursuance hereof, the Marechal de *L'Hospital*, the Provost des Merchants, and the Sheriffs, being restored to their places, went with the said Colonels into *Paris*, to the great satisfaction of the people: Those of the contrary party, indeavoured to keep them from coming into the City, saying, *That they would find but little safety there, amongst a people that hated them*. And *Orleans* said in particular, *That he not being able to promise them any thing, they ought to think what a hazard they should run*. But these Threats did no good, for being informed how well the people were disposed to receive the King, they were also assured to be made welcome.

The Marechal de *L'Hospital* presently took possession of the *Bastile*, and of the *Arsenal*, putting out *Louviers*; and order was taken through all the Corners and Streets of the City, that the people might rest quiet. His Majesty

1652. Majesty ordered his Parliament at *Pontoise*, to meet on the Two and twentieth day afterwards, at the *Louvre*, where he intended himself to lodge; and the King of *England*, who lived in the Cardinal's Palace, withdrew himself, he moreover writ to the Commonalty, that his Majesty would make his Entry the same Two and twentieth day; that therefore Souldiers should be removed from the Gates, and that all Inhabitants should exercise their Professions; which was speedily done, and all the Guards were taken off. Mademoiselle was made acquainted that the Duke of *Anjou* being to lye in her Lodgings at the *Louvre*, she was to leave them; which she unwillingly did, retiring to the House provided for extraordinary Embassadors in the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, near the Duke her Father's House.

On Monday Morning the Parliament met; whither *Orleans*, *Beaufort*, *Eftampes*, and other Lords met; President *Nesmond* told them, He had received a Letter from the King, and that the like was sent to every particular Councillour, willing them to be the next Morning at the *Louvre*, to understand his Majesties will touching the particular Affairs. *Orleans*, and twelve other Councillours, said they had received none, which they seemed to resent much, and were greatly abashed, finding that their ends were utterly ruin'd: the business was debated. The King's party being call'd to speak their Opinion, were for the Parliaments Meeting in the Gallery at the *Louvre*: Those who had received no Letters, knowing thereby that they were in disgrace, opposed it, shewing how harmful such a president might be to the privilege of Parliament. *Nesmond* said, The King might keep his Parliament in what place of *Paris* he pleased; alledging that the like had formerly been done in the time of *Henry* the 2d. and *Henry* the 3d. He moreover said, That the *Camera delle Vacations* had resolved to carry the Cloth of State, and the King's Seat of Justice into the same Gallery, and that it behoved them to obey, the major part agreeing herein; They resolved to be the next Morning by Sun-rising at the place appointed in red Robes. Yet the Councillours *Mausnier*, and *Refuge*, were appointed to acquaint the Chancellor, and *Guarde Seaux*, how prejudicial this would be to the King's Service, and to their Authority.

The same 21 of October their Majesties, and the whole Court went from *St. Germain* towards *Paris*, whither about noon came the Chancellor, and *Guarde de Seaux*, and after them, the Presidents *Noyon* and *Cognieux*. The King din'd at *Ruell*, in the Dutcheffs of *Aiguillon*'s Palace; where he was nobly entertain'd by the said Dutcheffs; from hence he sent Count *Nager*, one who was very zealous in the King's Service, to acquaint the Duke of *Orleans* with his Majesties coming, and to wish him (as from himself) to meet, and complement his Majesty, assuring him that he should be graciously received. The Duke was strangely surpris'd, not thinking that the King would come so unexpectedly to *Paris*, where the unquiet disposition of those yet remained, who had so much outraged his Authority. He answered the Count coldly, That he *took eight days to give his Resolution, since he could not do it without acquainting the Prince of Conde with it, with whom he was engaged in friendship*.

The King being come to *St. Cloud*, and hearing no news of the Dukes coming, sent the Duke to say the same thing unto him. His Highness was much beset with two weighty considerations; on the one side he was troubled to think he must deny to pay his due respects to his Nephew the King; on the other side he feared to fail in his friendship to the Prince of *Conde*, which might make the World doubt whether he did it out of necessity, or out of any other respect. At last he resolv'd not to go; and it was thought he did it by the advice of the Cardinal *de Retz*; who thought if the Duke would tarry in *Paris*, he might

might enable him against the Court, by many who depended upon him.

The mean while, the Marechal de l'Hospitalle, the Provost de Merchants, the Sheriffs, and others, who were met in the Town-House, prepared to meet the King with all Magnificency, and to Welcome him, as became faithful Subjects to do. They met his Majesty with a great number of civil People, besides Magistrates, and Officers, and returned that night with him to *Paris*; 'twas late ere the King arrived, for he linger'd by the way, expecting *Orleans* his coming, not thinking it fit to enter the City whilst he was there, or that he would promise to go out the next morning, for it became not Regal Dignity that he should tarry there, without seeing his Majesty.

He was met by a great number of people, without the Gates, of all Conditions; above 300000 persons came to see his Entry; which he made on Horse-back, accompanied by the King of *England*, Prince *Thomas*, by a great number of Princes, Dukes, and Marshals of *France*, and other Lords, who were then in the City.

The Queen came after the King in Coach, together with the Duke of *Anjou*, she entered by Port *St. Honore*, and went by the Cardinal's Palace, where the King of great *Britain* lighted from Horse-back.

His Majesty was met at the *Louvre*-gate by the Cardinal *de Retz*, together with a great number of Prelates; at night Fire-works, and Bon-fires were made, the Bells rung, Cannons went off from the *Basilic*, and *Musical*; and you might read Joy in the Faces of all honest men, for this return, whereby that City was quieted, which had been so much disturbed, and so it did succeed, for his Royal Presence dissipated all turbulent Clouds, as doth the Sun. Some Malecontents said, notwithstanding, that the Court came to *Paris* only for refuge; That *Conde* might return who had a great Army; that the design was to raise Impositions, that therefore it behoved them to keep in Arms; and to keep better Guards than before, for the King beguirt the *Louvre* with Guards, and his Army lay not far off. The night of the King's Arrival, Monsieur *Savin* was sent to the Duke of *Orleans*, to will him from the King to retire to his House at *Limours*. He answered somewhat sharply, and *Beaufort*, who was present, said, That he should contain himself within his Quarters. But they considered again what *Orleans* had best to do, some were for his not obeying, but that he should tarry in his House at *St. Germain*'s Suburbs, from whence he could not be so easily driven out by the King's bare Guards; for it was thought the people would not take up Arms against a Prince so near a kin to the King; and besides many *Parisians* depended yet upon him, and upon others of his Party, whereof Cardinal *de Retz* was one, and who was much favour'd by the *Parisians*; he insisted, that if all the well affected people would repair to those parts, they might withstand the Court, by the help of the Inhabitants of the Suburbs, and that making *Conde* return with his Army, and with the *Spaniards* and *Lorrainers*, it might be, that the King unwilling to live amongst such confusion upon the foundation of Citizens, who were subject to change, might return to *St. Germain*, or else that the business falling to a Treaty, wherein *Retz* might become necessary to the Agreement, he might be well with the Court, and assist by *Orleans* might be taken in to have a share in the State Government, which was his main end.

The Duke would not follow this advice, but resolv'd wisely to obey, and to withdraw the next Morning to *Limours*, accompanied by *Beaufort*, and *Roban*, and many others of their Party. His Daughter Mademoi-

1652. *selle* went also out, and lived at *Fargeaux*, a Castle of hers, by the *Loire*, towards *Briare*.

It was happy for the Court that *Orleans* would not agree, and that he withdrew from *Paris*, for the King being now in full Authority, and the Duke refractory, and out of *Paris* with all his adherents, happy events might easily succeed.

The same day the Parliament met at the *Lowure*, all save those who had not received particular Letters from the King, which were the Presidents *Balleuile*, *Thau*, and *Violes*, the Councillours *Brousselle*, *Salement*, *Gemon*, *Periale*, *Arifack*, *Croiss*, *Fouquet*, *Marchant*, and *Martinau*; and all of them having their places in the great Hall, near the King's Lodgings, the King being underneath his Cloth of State, said, *His* Guard de Seaux, should acquaint them with his will, who after a short, and Eloquent Oration upon the present Occurrences, acquainted them with Four Declarations, the Re-union of the Two Parliaments, the general Amnesty, the Prohibition that the Parliament should meddle in nothing but in things Civil and Criminal, according to Law, and the Names of those who by the King's orders were to withdraw, which were the fore-named, who had received no particular Letters from the King, to whom Councillour *Bitaux* was added, who by mistake had a Letter sent him, all these were willed to withdraw, as also *Beaufort*, *Roban*, *Rochefaucant*, *Bromailles*, *Bulley*, *Peris*, the Domesticks of *Conde*, and of the Dutchess of *Longueville*, President *Perault*, the Wives, Children, and Domesticks of all that served then under the Princes, and in any Towns held by them, as well in *Guienne* as elsewhere, who were not to return to *Paris* without the King's leave, it being laid to their charge, That they were those who had always subverted the Parliament, and made the People seditions. Express Orders were also made against all things contained in the third Declaration.

The Queen of *Orleans*, and the Dutchess of *Cheveraux* went the same day to visit the Dutchess of *Orleans*, who said in *Paris* by reason that she was with Child, to whom *Cheveraux* said in the Queen of *France* her Name, That her Highness had leave to stay in her Palace, or to go whither she pleased.

The Dutchess was very much affected with the novelty of this Action, and answered modestly, *That she could not abandon the Duke her husband, and thus not being able to do otherwise, in the condition she was in, she would be carried to Mons. Armi*, but she did not so, for she had express Orders from her Husband, not to hazard her self being so near her being brought to bed, as she was some few dayes after, of a Daughter.

Prince *Thomas* went to visit her, and said, *That he was never of opinion that the Duke should go from Court, whereunto if he would have come, he should have been received with all possible Affection by their Majesty*.

But because it was not thought fit to suffer so conspicuous a Prince to remain an Enemy to the King, Duke *Anville* was sent to him to *Limousin* on Wednesday, to Treat of Agreement, wherein the King desiring that *Mazarine* might be comprehended, nothing was done. The Duke was resolved never to be reconciled to him, nor never to come at Court whilst he was at the Helm of Government, for all things else he would have complied with the King.

A while after Secretary *Tillere*, and some others, went to visit him over, but they could not prevail, at last, having acquainted *Conde* with what had pass'd, to whom he sent Camp-maister *Godovins*, and being answered, That he agreed with him in all things, it was agreed, That he should go quietly at *Bloffe*, that he should lend for his Forces from *Conde's* Army, and

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1652. *joyn* them to those of the King, on Condition that they should not be employ'd against the Prince, to whom professing himself a friend, he could not fail him in any whatsoever condition. The Duke's Affairs being thus adjusted, he perform'd what was agreed upon, and withdrew himself wholly from the care of the World, applying himself to live quietly, and free from trouble. *Beaufort* retired to *Vandosme*, and all the others that were banish'd went to their Country-houses, mightily grieved, and much more mortified that *Mazarine* should triumph over their Miseries.

President *Nesmond*, and Councillour *Pedan* propounded the meeting of the Chambers of Requests, to think how they might protect their companions, who were in disgrace, saying, *They would rather quit their employments, than suffer such a prejudice*. But the major part being of another Opinion, the Chambers met not, and *Nesmond* being sent for to Court, received a sharp reprehension, accompanied with some Threats, which were afterwards put in execution, for he and *Pedan* were exil'd, as well as the rest. Some were unwilling to go from *Paris*, but were forc'd, for fear of greater violence, only *Broussels*, being old, and poor, and wanting a Country-house, went not from *Paris*, but kept conceal'd there, fomented by his Neighbours, who did not only desire him not to go, but promised to defend him against all Violence: He constantly affirm'd, He feared nothing, for he was guilty of nothing, that if the Court desired his Life, let them take it, for he valued not Life now, that he had one foot in the Grave, which commonly gave life to good Mens praises. These Expressions wrought upon the hearts of many Men, whose minds were not yet quiet.

Many people, and in particular the Letters of Lodgings came before the King, whereof there are an innumerable number in *Paris*, telling his Majesty, That they had got nothing during his Majesty's absence, wherefore they desired his Majesty that he would absolve them from what was due by them to their Land-lords, at our last *Lady-day*, and Mid-summer, Their Land-lords oppos'd it, affirming, That that was their Livelyhood, and that their Allegations were false, for most of those that complained had got more in the time of War, than in Peace; Wars making all things lawful in troublesome times.

The King had respect to their Demands, and granted six Months abatement to all that let Lodgings, and to all Artificers, who could not work, for want of venting their Ware, but as for those who during the War, had made advantage of their Merchandise, as Bakers, Butchers, Armourers, and such like, he declared, That they should pay. Orders were afterwards given for the Civil Government of the City, for to assure themselves of *Paris*, was to please the people, which having succeeded happily by their means, who govern'd when the Court was under Hatches, it was little less than miraculous, to see their fury cease so soon, of themselves, and to see the feorn of a multitude mitigated, who boasted, That they would maintain their extravagancies, though the *Frondeurs* were broken, though the Parliament should be obedient, the boldest sort of people confounded, and though his Majesty should Triumph more by Justice, and Innocency, than by Force and Power.

Whilst Affairs went thus at *Paris*, extravagancies continued in *Bourdeaux*. The Council of the *Olmiera* had amongst other things, pass'd a Decree, That all Castles, and Towers in places near the City should be slighted; and particularly that the Walls of the Castle of *Budost* should be thrown down, which was seated on high upon the Banks of the River *Chiron*, which coming from the *Sanda*, falls into *Garonne* over against *Cadillac*; this place being environ'd by strong ancient Towers upon the Walls;

1652. Walls, was surpris'd by a Captain of Horse, of *Baltazar's* Regiment, who put it and himself afterwards into the King's Service.

The Prince of *Conty* to favour the Councilour *Spagner*, took upon him to preserve it, to which purpose he desired the favour of the *Olmiere*, who met often to advise whether or no they should gratify *Conty*, some for the year, some for the nay; but having no mind to content *Spagner*, nor yet to displease *Conty*, they sought how not to satisfy the one, and yet not discontent the other: but as it often proves that the occasion proves worse than the effect, they unadvisedly fell to dismantling the Walls of the Castle of *Plaisance* in *Bordeaux*; and to commit divers incivilities in the City. *Conty* was surpris'd at the Rabble's strange and licentious darings; but finding the peoples rage grow too hot, he sought how to assuage it, spinning that out at length which he could not hastily procure, at last he did a little moderate their fury, and kept the great Tower from being demolished.

The Parliament, though *Frondeurs*, were no less astonish'd at the *Olmiere's* rash attempt; whilst Command being sweet, they thought it hard that their Authority should be eclips'd by the popularity, which they formerly had worshipp'd: They therefore thought it good to dissipate this new union as soon as might be, which by unlawful pretences went about to derogate from the Parliaments Authority, and to strengthen themselves by the Authority of the Princes, who to become grateful to the people, sought to satisfy them; so as the great *Frondeurs* grew more incens'd; and not contented with an Assembly, wherein every Sabbath-day the Finances were treated of, and where *Gurguel* was Chair-man, they listned to Proposals made by more mature, and well-minded Citizens, and agreed how to surprise the place of the said *Olmiere's* meeting, which sometimes was not very well guarded. At this time Father *Berteau* a *Franciscan*, was at *Bordeaux*, sent thither by the Queen, who was often seen with the Rector of *St. Peters*, who was well affected to his Majesty's Service, and revered by all Men for his singular Piety.

He shew'd him how great a shame it was; that the scum of People should give Laws to so famous a City, so full of gallant Free-men, how that neither for Conscience nor Honour they were not to withdraw themselves from lawful Obedience, and to submit to the yoke of Slavery: all the Councilours were almost of the same Opinion; either for that they were weary of their past extravagancies, which had brought them to a Precipice, or for that they envy'd the increase of the *Olmiere's* Authority, which drew unto them the liberality of the Princes, and *Spaniards*. They therefore conspired to destroy the *Olmiere*; whereof the chief men were, *Duraste*, *Villars*, *Girant*, and others. *Maifot*, who at first was a great *Frondeur*, acquainted *Blanc*, *Marvesine*, *Turang*, and *Mirate* with the business, they agreed all to get as many arm'd Men as they could into their Houses, wherewith to surprise the Publick House. This *Maifot*, by his Wives means, who was very devout, had an inkling of some things that he was to do by the Rector of *St. Peters*, and Father *Berteau*: He was likewise promis'd to have the Parliament Re-establish'd with advantageous Conditions, if he could reduce *Bordeaux* to its former Obedience. But he, who had an unquiet spirit, glib tongue, talking indiscreetly with every Citizen, afforded matter of a suggestion, which was made by some of the *Olmiere*, (whereof *Land Barrasino*, and *St. Angelo*, were two) to slay the chief of that Council at a Banquet, which was to be made them by *Jurate Robert*; *Maifot* promis'd them 1500. double *Pisfolets*, to be paid unto them by *Rux*, a rich Citizen, if the business were effected.

One thousand five hundred Men were therefore placed behind the publick House,

House, to make themselves Masters of it, and to cry through the Streets, *Vive le Parlement*, and were to carry the heads of the chief *Olmiere's*, who were to be slain at the said invitation, upon the heads of their Pillars. But *Land*, and *St. Angelo* accus'd *Maifot*, before the Prince of *Conty*, who causing him to be brought unto him by *Villars*, told him, *He had observ'd his Practices*; *Maifot* said, *He would prove himself to be an honest Man*, and went to the Hall of Justice, where being questioned by *Saulx*, the Vice-*General*, touching what he and others had plotted against the life of the Prince of *Conty*, to betray the City, he answered, *That for his part he never attempt'd against the Prince his person, he put it to the Vice-*General's* Conscience, whether he had ever dream'd of any such thing, or no; but that he did profess, that so free his Country, and the Parliament from being oppress'd by the *Olmiere*, he had conspired, and had listn'd to Proposals which were made of killing the chief Men of that Faction*: Having said this, he was led to the Common Hall, where, fearing that the enraged Multitude might kill him, the Prince of *Conty*, left the Captain of his Guard there with divers Souldiers. The good Citizens were sorry to see disorders increase, so as advising dayly amongst themselves what they were best to do, they could find no better way, then to seem as if they would joyne with the *Olmiere's*, and so coming into the Common Hall, under colour of Friendship, to drive out the *Olmiere's*, and then do as occasion should serve: Upon this occasion above a hundred of the ablest Merchants met upon the Exchange, making as if they did so to subscribe the Lianion; but at the instant of effecting it, they were betray'd by their Consuls, who acquainting the Princes with the Plot, *Conty* was sent by them to hinder it, but he being confus'd amongst the indifferant Multitude, *Conty* himself got on Horse-back, and by his presence made the Merchants return to the Exchange, whether Monsieur *Lemer* coming, he began to drink the Prince's Health to the people, and appeas'd the Tumult.

The Consuls who betray'd the Merchants, discover'd that the Rector of *St. Peters*, had the chief hand in these Affairs, accusing him moreover of having made a Sermon a little before to the people, exhorting them to put an end to their vexations, by reconciling themselves to God, and the King, who offer'd Peace. The *Olmiere* were so incens'd hereat, as they went one night to his House to make him Prisoner; when they came in they found him on his knees, praying before a Crucifix, and without any respect taking his Writings from him, they deliver'd him to *Villars*, to carry him to prison: His Servant going into the Street, acquainted some of the chief Inhabitants with it, who sounding to Arms, all the neighbourhood join'd themselves, the *Olmiere* ran away, and the Rector saved himself, and kept himself a while concealed; not slackning his good intentions, nor forbearing to Treat sometimes with one, sometimes with another, secretly, how to bring his Country to Peace, and to make the Princes either to accept of the King's Amnesty, or to go elsewhere.

Marfinc return'd this mean while from *Perigord*, (having quarter'd his Forces there) as well to remedy this Novelty, as to keep the *Duchess of Longueville* from going from *Bordeaux*; for she falling out with the Prince her brother, was about to withdraw, and to accept of the Amnesty. The occasion of these distasts, were, for that *Conde* had suffer'd *Guinet*, *Marigny*, and other of his Favourites, to use licentious Actions, and Words, which were prejudicial to her Authority; taking the Government of Affairs from her, and her brother *Conty*, which did in right belong unto them.

In this interim the Court had sent the Marquess of *Chambert* to *Bordeaux*, Son to the late General of the *Burdouin*, who was slain at the Action before

1632. before *Lisbourne*, whose presence, both in Memory of his Father, and for his own worth, was thought might have been acceptable to the people. He did notwithstanding insinuate himself into the *Oliverists*, and found credit with them, as the Prince of *Condé* growing jealous that he might make himself Head of that Faction, to the prejudice of his Authority, though he seemed willing to depend upon him, did under colour of honouring him, offer him the Command of a Brigade in the Country, and good Winter-Quarters, that he might keep him from *Bombles*; and the same time framed a Complaint against him by the means of one called *Pesche*, one of the chiefest of the Seditious, whom the *Oliverists* accused him of Treason; *Chamberlain* who thought himself wrongfully calumniated began to make an uproar; whereupon *Condé* taking pretence that such contentions ought to be obviated, made *Chamberlain* retire, and the Princes, and *Oliverists* began to manage their Affairs with more circumspection; their distrust of the people did afterward so encrease, as that the Princes were more intent to keep themselves from Conspiracies, than to manage War against the King.

But to return to *Catalonia*, those of *Barcelona* desired to do somewhat which might facilitate their desired succour; wherefore they resolved to fall upon the Fort *Rey*, which the *Spaniards* had built upon *Montejuick*. *Don Philippe de Pindse* was destin'd hereunto, who put himself in order presently, and taking 400 Commanded Foot along with him, and 200 Horse, went privately out on the 10th of July by night, and undiscovered by the Enemy, entered the Mountain, from whence joining with Cavalier *Austrin*, and Monsieur *Perron*, he advanced, having forced the Palisadoes, past the Ditch, and made so gallant an Assault, as the *Spaniards*, unable to resist the force, they were forc'd to yield; at the noise whereof the Horse which were quartered at *Sans* beat to Arms, and Squadronized themselves near the Fort *St. Francis*. The *Catalonians*, who were march'd out with 2000 Musquetiers, and 600 Horse, made their Foot retreat to Fort *Montejuick*, and their Horse into the Trenches; which the *Spaniards* observing, and arguing some weakness, or stratagem by this sudden Retreat, they advanced to from whence the *Frenchmen* were gone, whereby dividing the Fort from the City, they fiercely assaulted it, which Cavalier *Austrin* defended valiantly, and was slain there; Seignior *Jayot* succeeded him, defending himself no less valiantly, repuls'd the Enemies second Assault, and forc'd them to retreat with some loss. But they kept their first Station still, where whilst they should keep, they were likelier to take it by Famine, than Force, for they within had but one days Victuals.

Marschal *della Motta* being very sorry to hear that his men were retreated from their Station, before he had provided necessaries for them, and there being no other way to save it but by opening the Pass, and conveying in Victuals, he resolv'd to do it himself: And though he was not yet well healed of his wound, yet he caus'd himself to be carried in a Chair to Fort *Montejuick*, and sent away twenty Souldiers, with each of them a sack of Bisket on their backs, that they might relieve it on the side next the Sea, whilst Marquess *Marcelly* should endeavour to get in on the other side with 500 Horse. But the *Spaniards* being advertised of all things by such *Catalonians* as were their friends, they doubled their Guard where *Marcelly* was to pass, and placed a good Body of Foot on the other side of the Mountain, to keep those from entering on the other side, who carried the Bisket, the Marschal Commanded Captain *Leonardo*, a *Catalonian*, to see whether he could get in with 20 Horse, with each of them a sack of *Biscot en croupe*: But the Fort having neither bread nor water, Capitulated before he came, to surrender upon

upon good Warlike Conditions, which were not observed afterwards. For some *Spaniards* giving out that there was a Mine within the Fort which was to play, the Horse fell upon these poor people, and not listening to any thing, slew some of them, took some Prisoners, whilst but a few escaped by those craggy Mountains. When that was heard at *Barcelona*, it put them all in fear, as well for the extravagancie of the News, as for the moan which was made by the Parents of the dead; the loss was great, which had it been foreseen, and had the Fort been Victuall'd, the Passes might have been kept open, and the City maintain'd. But were it either negligence or treachery in the *Catalonians*, who as it was known afterwards, held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, the Error was unexcusable, for it ruin'd all the rest.

Cervera was in no less danger than *Balleguer* had been, but the Ammunition and Artillery of the *French* being in that Town, Marquess *St. Andrea* went thither, and fortunately preserved it: But because it was impossible to preserve the Fort *St. Peter* in his absence, he by Order from the Marschal caus'd it to be burnt, and went himself to *Villa Franca*, where he could not tarry for want of Bread.

The General resolv'd again to make a general Assault upon the *Spanish* Camp, he acquainted *St. Andrea* with it, that he might draw near the Line, in order hereunto *St. Andrea* came on the 9th of August to *Palave* not far from the Enemies Camp; but finding neither Victuals, nor any thing that was promis'd him, fit to make an Assault, after he had tarried there three weeks, he undertook to Assault *la Montagna St. Jerolimo*, being recruited with 1500 armed Country people, and 400 Pioneers. He appointed to do it by night, on the 4th of September; but did not do it: For the Governor had not brought his men to the place appointed in a fit time; so it was desert'd: and it was well it was so, for those of the City had not receiv'd the Signes of his arrival. The next day he gave out Orders to all in Writing, and his Forces march'd that night towards *St. Reale* to fall upon the *Spanish* Trenches on that side: But the Horse that were led on by Monsieur *d'Allegre* loitered so long, as the last Squadron came not thither till it was day, when those that were upon the Guard at *St. Reale* hearing the noise, gave an Alarm: *St. Andrea* finding the day draw near, made the Assault, and his Foot falling headlong on, won the Line near a little fortified House, where the *Spaniards* repuls'd the *French*. Some silly People would have taken the Fort that was near the House, but were forc'd to retreat.

The *French* kept the Line they had taken till it was day, thinking that those of *Barcelona* should have come out according to Agreement; which they did not till the Sun was up: when the *Spaniards* finding there was no danger of losing the Fort, fell upon those that were come out of the City, and beat them back to the Town Gates, with the loss of some Officers, and divers Souldiers; so *St. Andrea* was forced to return to his former Quarters.

Cavallier *della Fortiera*, a well-experienced Seaman, was already gone with his Ships, without attempting to relieve the City, nor would he tarry three days till the Assault might be given; so as the *Spaniards* might easily land some Souldiers out of their Ships, and use them, which they to their advantage did.

The Court of France was no less troubled with the keeping of *Castile*, in *Manferraz*, a Place of greater importance, than of *Barcelona*; the *Spaniards* who know how to make use of favourable conjunctures, prepar'd at the same time to fall upon that place, which wanted Money, Victuals, and Commanders in Chief. The King writ to Marschal *della Motta*, to lend *St. Andrea's* Forces presently to *Piemonte*, not having then conveniencie to provide for

1652. for it elsewhere, but so as he might leave *Barcellona* in a posture not to be lost for some time: towards the relief whereof the same *Ferriere* had 15000. double Pistols given him, wherewith he was to Rigg out Twelve Frigates, whereby to bring all things necessary to the besieged City, wherewith little Barks entred ever and anon with some Victuals, from the neighbouring Coasts.

This order for marching into *Piemonte*, was kept concealed from the superintendent *Alligre*, but being smelt out by the Officers, they thought it was done to copen them; wherefore they together with the Commander of the Cavalry desired that they might come out of those miseries, which were grown insupportable in *Catalonia*, threatening to do it themselves, if it were denied them. Monsieur *Alligre*, (not the aforesaid superintendent, but another of the same name) who led the Horse in their March towards *Gariga*, treated hereof with St. *Andrea*, and protested together with the Officers, that they would tarry in *Catalonia* no longer then the 15th of September, relying upon Promises which had been made them, and they spoke as if they were jealous that this St. *Andrea* held Intelligence with *La Motte*, and cared not though they should all perish, who were now reduced to 500. Horse, and 200. Foot.

They therefore came to *Gariga*, where the Horse-Officers had often Meetings with the Foot, to Treat how they might be gone without *Andrea's* knowledge, who being therefore inform'd by the Horse-Captains of *Boisack's* and *Rivale's* Regiments, sent for the Commander *Ferra*, and for a Commander of Prince *Maurice of Savoy*, who were his particular Friends and Confidants, and desired them to keep his Souldiers obedient, and those of *Boisack*, and the others of his own Regiment, which were more in number, and more considerable. These promis'd to do their best, but went from their word the next Morning, saying, *They could not force the will of the other Officers, and Souldiers, who were extraordinarily incens'd.* *Andrea* went to *Alligre*, and desired him to keep his Forces from departing till the 15th of that Month, as they had promised, that he might give notice thereof to *La Motte*, who was in *Barcellona*; who with much ado, said, *He would.*

St. *Andrea* returned to his Quarters, and whilst he was about to go to *Gironne* to Treat with the superintendents *d'Allegre* and *Pinose* how the Forces might be diverted from their Resolution, *Alligre* with divers other Officers came in hast to him, to acquaint him, that the Souldiers would not be quieted, but went from their Word: the General made them contented to tarry three dayes, and he went himself to a certain Castle to speak with *Pinose*, by whose Approbation he sent Monfr. *Clerg*, superintendent of the Victuals, to receive the King's original Letters from superintendent *Alligre*, that he might shew them to the Souldiery, and convince them that the Orders were conditional, and not such as they imagined: He carried a Commissioner of Horse, and another of Foot, to be Eye-witnesses that he did not this to deceive them, but that things might go well.

The Marquess gave out, that it would be two dayes before he would return, but he dispatch'd his business so as he return'd the same night, which made the Souldiers believe he meant to stop them, wherefore about mid night they went towards *Gironne*; St. *Andrea* being mightily discontented hereat, went presently to *Gironne*, carrying his Equipage with him, because he knew not where to leave it safe. The Inhabitants hearing that the Souldiers had revolted, stop him in the City, saying, *That he being a Hugonot, it might be he held some Intelligence contrary to the King's Service.* He was much troubled hereat, not so much that he was cross'd in applying remedies

1652. dies to this evil, as that he was branded with a Title that the *Huguenots* had no ways deserved; for during all these Troubles, none had been more obedient and faithful to the King than they. The Marquess supposing that *Alligre* had been the occasion of all this Disorder, sent an Order to him in Writing, to discharge him from meddling any more in Command, and to forbid the Officers to obey him.

But since being stop't in *Gironne*, he could not by his presence bring such Remedies as were necessary to stop an incens'd and jealous People, and fearing lest the Souldiers might commit some Insolencies in their march to the Country people, the revenge whereof might fall upon him, he the next night slip't down the Wall, and went away, leaving his Baggage, and divers Officers in the City, and marched towards his men, who were advanced three Leagues; he found his own Regiment not far off, which tarried for him. From whence he sent a Trumpet to *Gironne*, complaining of their usage, and demanding his Baggage, and the freedom of his Officers, and Servants, or else he would be revenged. The Baggage was presently restored; they excus'd what they had done, and asked pardon for it.

The News of this sudden and unexpected Revolt of the Forces in *Catalonia*, which happened when the Court was in the greatest disorder, did not only discompose the Besieged *Barcellona*, but all other Places that were for the King; and did much afflict the Court, and finding the loss of that Place irreparable, and therewith the like of the whole Province, the preservation whereof had cost *France* so much Gold, and weakened the best Forces of her Armies, but to take some order for this, the King desired Marquess *Plessis Belliere*, Lieutenant-General of St. *Onges*, to set aside all other things, and march with some of his Forces presently into *Guienne*, and joyn with *Harcourt*, and go from thence to relieve *Barcellona*, unless the Count should like better to go thither himself, and leave the Marquess to Command the Forces in *Guienne*.

As soon as he had received this Order, he went to *Rochel*, to take his leave of the Duke of *Vendosme*, who was come thither a little before with his Fleet, and having acquainted him with what Orders he had received, the Duke prest him much to stay, till an Express should return whom he had sent to Court. But the Marquess being unwilling to be put to give an Account of any bad Accident which might happen by his delay, took his leave of the Duke, and marched thitherward. And hearing by the way that *Harcourt* was gone from *Guienne*, he sent to Court to know in this case what he should do; and the mean while advanced to *Aubeterre*, the Master whereof had a little before turn'd to the Prince's Party. Being come near to *Perigorde*, he heard that *Marfin* was come to oppose him with all his Forces, to stop his passage, and to fight him. The Marquess, though he were inferiour to the Enemy in Horse, would not give back, but resolved to meet him, and give him Battle: He quartered near a place called *La Valette*, from whence he march'd to *Rochbeaucourt*, where he forded the River, and prepared to fight; which as soon as *Marfin* heard, he presently retreated to *Lisbourne*, leaving the whole Country free for the King's Forces, except some Towns and Castles whereinto he had put Garrisons to incommode the Enemy in his march.

Brantome, a little City well fortify'd with strong old Walls, seated upon the *Drogne*, and which as yet had received no Garrison, but pretended Neutrality, sent Commissioners to the Marquess, desiring him that he would permit her to remain Neuter still; but he answered, *He came not to capitulate with the King's Subjects; that he would treat them as such if they would obey, otherwise he knew what he had to do.* Whereupon they sent to present him with the Keys

of the Gates. So on the 18th of September he past the River *Lisse* without obstacle, under the Castle *Bories*, which yielded as he past by, as did also *Lez demesie*, though it were Garrison'd by the Prince's men; and meeting here with *Marquels Sausbeuf*, Lieutenant-General of *Guienne*, and with *Monsieur Cregui*, with 400 Horse, he forded over the *Drogona*, he then called Count *Ilabone*, *Marquels Sausbeuf*, and the other Officers of the *Guienne* Army to Council, Whom he acquainted with what Orders he had received, and desired part of their Forces. They excused themselves, saying, They were not sent to him, but to *Harcourt*; That the Regiments, which were to go, were not specified; nay, that his Orders were to take only such as had their Winter-quarters paid, whereof they had received little or none, and that they had received no other Orders from his Majesty since *Harcourt's* departure; wherefore he might do well to send to Court for more precise Orders; as was forthwith done. That moreover he should wish *Monsieur Tracy*, in *Mont Alban* to provide Monyes to pay the Souldiers in *Catalonia*; and that in the interim he would go about to reduce all those Towns to their Obedience, which were in these convulsions revolted.

Which things being agreed upon, *Plessis Belliere*, marched on the 24th of September to *Beaumont*, which had refused to receive in *Marquels Sausbeuf*, which he took, from thence he sent to another little City (which *Sausbeuf* had besieged three or four days) wishing the Inhabitants to yield, and to drive out the Prince's Garrison, which they prepared to do: But a Captain who commanded there, withdrew with 50 Foot into the Belfrey, saying, That he and all his would die there, rather than yield: Wherefore they blew it up, burying all that were in it in the rubbidge, except the Captain, who though he were covered six foot deep with rubbidge, was taken out alive and seven other Souldiers.

This Example terrified most of the Towns which were in Rebellion, so as one after another, they all swore Allegiance.

Yet *St. Pastour* a little ungarrison'd Town stood out, which made *Plessis Belliere*, send Cavalier *Cregui* thither, with part of his Horse to reduce it, but were it either that those Townsmen had dealt hardly with the King's Souldiers when they retreated from the Siege of *Villa Nova Agenois*, or that they themselves had indammag'd the Neighbouring parts, they refused all offers, kept them out, threatening to shoot if they came nearer. The next morning *Plessis Belliere* went thither himself with 400 Foot, 200 Horse, and two small Guns. He used fair means first, but in vain; after three or four shot of the Artillery, some of the affrighted Inhabitants came forth to demand mercy, offering to open the Gates; but as they re-entred the City, one of the Heads of the People with some others, made opposition, and began to shoot at the King's men, which obliged the General to dig a Mine under a Tower, whereat the Defendants being terrified, their Courage failed, and they call'd for mercy, which they obtain'd; only the Chief of the Seditious was hang'd.

The same day that *Plessis Belliere* went to *St. Pastour*, Count *Ilabone*, and *Marquels Sausbeuf* went with some Horse to *Lauson*, to know if the Master of the Place had received a Garrison of the Princes; at which time *Monsieur Monpullion*, one of the contrary Party, was come thither with a considerable Body of Horse besides the Garrison, who hearing of the coming of the King's men, fell upon them at unawares, and forced them to retreat.

This News coming to *Plessis Belliere* just as he parted from *St. Pastour*, forced him to make use in his passage of Castle *Montbahus*, situate upon a rise of some consideration, whereinto those of the neighbouring part had removed all their moveables; this Castle belonged to the aforesaid Count *Lauson*;

son; who hearing what was past, made *Plessis Belliere* acquainted with the wrongs which he had received by what had befallen his Town; saying, That he was the King's faithful Servant, and that the fear of *Marquels Sausbeuf*, who was his particular Enemy, had forced him to receive in the Prince's Garrison; to witness the which, he offered to put out the said Garrison, and in case the Commander thereof should refuse, he offered to open him a Gate, provided that he would protect him from *Sausbeuf's* threats; and he did really drive out the Garrison within two days; and the General gratioously put him in possession of his Castle.

All the Troops marcht from thence to *St. Basil* near *Marmande*, wherein were the Regiments of *Conti* and *Galapian*, who had been worthily to be praised, had they done that for their King, which they did against his Service; for they defended themselves stoutly, and had never yielded had not necessity forced them; after having sustain'd the Siege twelve days, this place being taken, the King's men past over the River, and marched towards *Mont Alban*, where the Souldiers were to receive their Pay, and then to march for *Catalonia*.

This was what was done in *Guienne* after *Harcourt's* Retreat, and whilst *Barcellona* was daily more and more straitned, and re-iterated her desires of succour, whereof she needed the effects more than the hopes, which were continually given her: But Force wanting through the iniquity of the time, which put all in confusion, all things languished. Wherefore the Spaniards, who knew all this, did not only continue this famous Siege, but employ'd themselves in the taking of divers Towns which the French had in that Principality. They took all the Towns which stand along the Sea, from *Palamose* to *Barcellona*, thereby bereaving the besieged City of that small relief which was brought from thence by night in little Boats, as hath been said.

When it was known in *Barcellona* that the Court had given order that the *Guienne* Army should march into *Catalonia*, it was thought fit by a Council of War, that *Don Juseppe Marguerit*, with divers other *Catalonians* should go into *Roselion*, where by their valour and knowledge of the Country, they might facilitate the relief from France: In order whereunto, he went on the Second of October in a Feluca out of the Town, and past with no little danger through the Spanish Fleet by night, and came to *Begur* near *Palamose*, from thence he went to *Armentera*, to find out *Marquels della Farai* Governour of *Roses*, and Baron *d'Ales*, Commander of the Cavalery, to confer touching the Victualling *Roses*, which was in great need thereof. From whence he went to *Girona*, whither *Marquels Mortara* was come, where he tarried three days, to convey some Victuals into *Roses*, as he did, and then went with Baron *d'Ales* to *Perpignan*, thinking to have found *Plessis Belliere* there, that they might jointly endeavor to relieve the afflicted Country. But he was quite discouraged when he found he was not there, nor heard no news of his coming yet a while: yet in this his coming thither was good, for he discovered that *Thomaso Bagnol*, Governour of *Roselion*, under colour of besieging his Enemy Doctor *Sagara* in *Sardinia*, had raised a Militia in that Country, intending to betray the French, and to surprize *Perpignan*.

When *Marguerit* was gone from *Girona*, *Marquels Mortara* came thither and took it without much opposition, as also all the other Castles and Towns thereabouts; wherefore *Barcellona* having no hope of relief, and compell'd by Famine, *Marquels della Morta*, by consent of the Governours, and of all the Commanders, on the Eleventh of October agreed with *Don John of Austria*, upon these Articles, which we will here recite; since it is a City of such im-

1652. portance; and in the loss whereof so many other consequences did concur, as for what may hereafter happen, it will not be displeasing to relate upon what Conditions it returned to the obedience of its first Master.

His Highness agreed, That the Marechal de la Motte, Lieutenant-General to the most Christian King, together with all the Lieutenant-Generals, Camp-Marechals, Officers and Soldiers, and all other Persons of whatsoever Nation, Quality, or Condition, who would willingly follow the said Garrison, might march out unmolested with their Arms and Baggage; to wit, the Foot with Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullets in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, with six Pieces of Artillery, three great ones, and three little ones, such as belonged to the King of France, with three thousand weight of Powder, three thousand weight of Lead, four thousand weight of Match; and that the Souldiers of whatsoever Nation that had gone from one side to another, might not be molested: As for the Horse, They were to march out with Trumpets sounding, Colours display'd, Arms and Baggage, Warlike Ammunition, with all Horses and Mules that had been taken, without it were such as had been taken 24 hours before the Capitulations should be subscribed.

That all Persons of whatsoever Birth, Quality, or Condition, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular might be permitted to go out with the same Equipage; journeying with all Moveables, Goods, and Baggage, without molestation, nor that any one should pretend to recover any of the said Moveables, Confiscations, or things taken, till within 24 hours of subscribing these Articles; and that such as could not carry their Goods or Moveables along with them, might leave them to be sold by whom they pleased within six months, and have a Passport for conveying the monies safely into France, or elsewhere, where the owners should be; and also that they might call in any Monies or Debts that they had in Bank at Barcellona, or in any other place within six Months space. That the Marechal la Motta should cause it to be proclaimed 24 hours before he marched out, that none should carry out any Moveables which were not his own, or did not belong to some of the Company; and that if any fraud should be found herein, they might be recovered within the aforesaid six Months. That all the Inhabitants of Catalonia of what Quality or Condition, that would retire into France, might enjoy the same Conditions with those of Barcellona.

That all Prisoners of all sides which were taken after the War began in Catalonia, should be set free without Ransom, to wit, those that were in Catalonia, Rosfignion, or Cordona.

That his Highness should agree, That any French Barks, or those of any other Nation that were in the Haven, or Wharf of Barcellona, might sail out when their Masters should please, and go into France uninjured: But on condition that they should not carry away any Artillery or any Warlike Ammunition, save such as above said: That the French and those of other Nations should go out by St. Anthony's Gate; that they should go the first day to St. Fileau, the second to Martereile, the third to Pieere, where they should tarry one day; the fifth to Igolaude, the sixth to Capoux, the seventh to Calat, the eighth to Linalinge, the ninth to Pont, where they staid one day; the eleventh to Folke, Monmagaltre, and Couilly, the twelfth to Coques, the thirteenth to Pouplo, the fourteenth to Sot, the fifteenth to Libournes, the sixteenth to Esteris, where they might tarry one day; the eighteenth to Louer, the nineteenth they were to pass over, Sailack, or Piere Blanca, and to go into France: That the Commander of these Troops might make his Marches longer or shorter as he pleased: That he should have a Convey of an 100. Horse, to bring them to the Bay of France; and that his Highness should furnish both Horse and Foot with Victuals and necessary Monies for their Voyage.

That no Officer, nor Souldier might be detained for Debt; Carriages, Mules, and Horses might be provided for the Cannon, Baggage, Ammunition; for such

as were Sick or Wounded; and that the Sick, or Wounded that should be left behind in Catalonia, should be sent into France when they were well.

That Marechal de la Motta, the Lieutenant Generals, Camp-Master, and aforesaid others, going out of Barcellona with their Arms, Ammunition, and Baggage by Port St. Anthony, the Spanish Army should be put into Battalia, on the side of the Gate Lanye, and that his Highness should have Notice of this, the night before; that the Hostages for performance of publick Faith, should be sent to Roles, and delivered to the Governour, or to him who should Command in his absence, who should keep them, till he should be assured by Letter from the Commander of the Garrison in Barcellona, that all the Forces were arrived in France; and that the Governour of Roles should acquaint the Governour of the said Garrison when the said Hostages should be come; which were to be Don Carlo d' Aragon, one Horse Captain, and two Captains of Foot.

That the Hostages, when these Articles should be perform'd, should be sent into France by the Rode-way that leads to Rosfignion, with a Passport and Guide; as also all Prisoners that were in the power of the King of Spain in Catalonia, their Bread, and Tappe being paid for by the King of Spain till they should come into France; and as for the Garrison of the Castle, and City of Cardona, it should join with that of Barcellona, at Callis.

That as soon as these Articles were subscribed, the Souldiers of the Garrison should be furnished with Bread for as long as they should tarry in the City; and that they should March out on the Twelfth of October, and that though within that time the Town should be Victuall'd either by Sea or Land, the Articles should notwithstanding be observed, unless it were a Royal Succour, or the quantity of 10000. Quarters of Corn.

That no Warlike Ammunition should be taken from the Magazines: That Marechal de la Motta should cause all the Artillery that were in the aforesaid places, as also those that were in Montegivick, or elsewhere, belonging to the Catholick King, to be deliver'd unto Don Joyan Pallavesino, General of the Spanish Artillery.

That his Highness, and Marechal de la Motta, should promise to observe and keep all these Articles, without any reservation.

Affairs being thus adjusted, about 2700. French and Swisser's Foot, all choise and veteran Souldiers, and 800. Horse, with 700. Catalonian Foot, Marcht out of Barcellona the next day after Dinner, and about 200. Officers, and Voluntiers of that City, and Principallity; they went by the way appointed, towards the Perineans, to go for Rosfignion, which they did, observing their Articles punctually.

The Crown of France was very sensible of the loss of this City, which was followed by many other Towns, and almost by that whole Principallity; in the preservation whereof so much Treasure; and so many People had been lost.

The taking of Barcellona fill'd the Spaniards with vast pretences, and made them aspire after greater things. By this loss the French were the more incited to revenge, and to raise greater Forces to maintain the punctilio of Honour.

The taking of Barcellona was at first sight a sweet bit to the Spaniards, but of bitter digestion; for they did not only consume the flower of their Militia in so long a Siege, but spent so immense a sum of Money; as the gain might be rather held destructive, than advantageous; for the Catalonians being naturally bitter Enemies to the Castilians, the latter were obliged to keep their Armies entire, to guard themselves rather against their own Subjects, than against their Enemies; and as Catalonia was judged by many, to be

1652. one of the worst acquisitions that ever the French made, so was the recovery thereof ascribed by many to the ruine of Spain.

Whilst Affairs past thus in Catalonia, *Plessis Belliere* was come to *Agen*, whither Monsieur *Tressy* came to speak with him, and promis'd to see the Forces paid that were design'd for Catalonia according to the Court's intention, and soon after Orders being brought by Monsr. *Nevile*, one of the King's Gentlemen, who camethither on the 5th of November, those that were to March were immediately divided from the rest, and the Marquess marcht with those that were design'd for Catalonia, who had part of the Pay that was due, paid upon the place, and were promis'd the rest at their coming to *Mont Alban*.

There was much ado to make them resolve upon this Voyage, the Captains and Officers met together, and writ things of dangerous consequence to the Generals, but at last *Cavallier Crequi*, and Marquess *Bellefons*, who were to be Field-Marschals of this Army, having assembled the Officers, spoke so fairly to them, as that they quieted them, and perswaded them to follow them chearfully, so as they might be paid, as they were promised, before they should go from *Mas Verdune*, whither they march'd all, save the Regiments of *Champagna*, and *Lorrain*, who obstinately said, *They would rather be cut in pieces, than March*.

That of *Champagna*, came notwithstanding some few dayes after, and joyned with the rest at *Mas Verdune*; from whence it was afterwards sent for back by the Duke of *Candale*, who commanded the Forces of *Guien*, when these were gone.

These Souldiers staid at *Mas Verdune* eight or ten dayes, expecting Pay, but for all the diligence that could be used, they could not be wholly paid off, for want of Monies; which made the Souldiers begin again to murmur, yet the Commanders used such efficacious Speeches to them, as they resolved to go on over the River at *Mas Verdune* on the 20th of November.

During their abode here, *Plessis Belliere*, that he might loose no time, went with Marquess *St. Luke*, to *Beaumont*, and *Grenade*, which till then held for the Princes, he made them demolish their Fortifications, turn over a new Leaf, and turn'd out some of the most Seditious: So continuing his March he went to *Carcafoun*, and taking order for refraining the Souldiers Licentiousness, he came on the first of October, to *Segean*.

This little Body of an Army, compos'd of many several Regiments, made about 1200. Horse, and 3000. Foot, at *Segean* he met with *Mercuré's* Regiment, which was sent thither to incommode *Leucara*, and to hinder the In-roads of *St. Aunais*, which was revolted over to the Princes: the very day that he camethither, he heard that the *Marschal de la Motta* was to come thither, having made an Agreement with *St. Aunais*, who was much confounded at the News of the arrival of these Forces. The Marquess went to meet the *Marschal*, and after some discourse upon the present Affairs, he went towards the waters of *Beherue*, for Cure of the Wound which he received in Catalonia; and advis'd the Marquess to go to *Conflans*, and drive the Enemy from thence, and to possess himself of all the Towns, and Castles which the *Spaniards* held there, which *Plessis Belliere* did punctually observe, though his intention was to enter *Lampourdan*, and relieve *Roses* which wanted Men, and Victuals.

The Army entred into *Conflans*; *Thomas Bagnole*, a Rebel commanded some Souldiers there for the King of Spain, as he had formerly done for the King of France, he seem'd as if he would dispute the Pass at *Terne*; but instead of doing so, he left his Men in Garrison in *Corbera*, *Rhodes*, *Ria*, *Lock*, and in other places advantageously seated, and with much ado,

saved

1652. saved himself on foot through the Mountains, leading his Horse in his hand.

The French presently besieged *Rhodes*, which held out for four or five dayes, for the *Spaniards* did desperately defend it, and being brought to extremity, and not able to get such Articles as they desired, five or six of their chief Commanders saved themselves over the Wall by night, and got to the Mountain: They furiously assaulted the Town, storm'd, and sackt it, the Garrison which was 300 natural *Spaniards*, and 50. Horse, got into the Castle, that they might come to some composition, but wanting all conveniences, they yielded upon Discretion, and were all made Prisoners of War. Those of *Boule*, and other neighbouring places, ran rudely in to plunder, and notwithstanding all the French Commanders could do, it was impossible for them, to keep them from firing the Town, when the Forces were gone, so great was their hatred thereunto.

The Army went from hence to *Prades*, and *Bagnolle*, withdrew to *Villa Franca*; *Corbera*, *Ria*, and *Jock* were taken, and all that little Country was reduced to the King of France his obedience.

Plessis Belliere, and *Bellefons* went to discover *Villa Franca*; to do which, they were forced to grapple hard with those craggy Mountains two or three dayes, they went with 250. Horse, and 300. Musqueteers, by continual narrow and hard wayes, by which no Horse was ever known to go; the pitiful *Bagnolians* thought to dispute the Pass in several places, but were ever put to the worst by the French: Their last Squadron was gathered by *Bagnols* in *Oletta*, consisting of about 400, they were led on by one *Gras*, a man of much fame amongst them, the taking of this place would certainly have been very hard, had they not bargained, and had not their Commander been slain at the first firing, the French Foot advanced courageously, the Enemy were afraid, and were chased down the Mountain, at the bottom whereof they thought notwithstanding to get into *Oletta*; but the French got thither so soon, as they had not time to get into *Bagnols*; instead of relieving them, as he had promised, was the first that went away with some Foot. The French staid two dayes at *Oletta*, not hearing any News of the Enemy, all those of the neighbouring Villages, came in to render Obedience, and to swear Fealty to France. *Plessis* visited Castle *Niers*, famous for what had been formerly done there, this Castle belonged to *Bagnols*, who had abandon'd it, after this having found out the Avenues to *Villa Franca*, he returned to from whence he was come.

He could not assault this place at this season, which was so cold and rainy, that he would have lost more than half his Army, besides, there were many Souldiers in the Town, with sufficient Provisions to defend it, nor could Cannon be brought thither, he therefore returned to *Prades*, from whence he sent account of all things to *la Motta*, who having taken his leave from the King, was already gone from *Bellerue*.

Cavallier Crequi was this mean while advanced with a great party of Horse, to convey 500. Foot into *Roses*, which he luckily did, though the Enemy had built some Forts about it, after which the King's Forces being still more incommoded for want of Victuals in the Country of *Conflans*; and nothing else being to be done, by reason of the bitterness of the Weather, without apparent danger of wasting all the Army to no purpose, *Plessis Belliere*, with the consent of all the Field Marshals, resolv'd to Quarter his Souldiers that Winter in *Languedock*; where he had order to tarry, together with Marquess *Bellefons*, to watch over the preservation of *Roses*, and the other Towns upon that Frontier, and his abode there, was to purpose; for hearing that there was a Bark laded with Corn, belonging to

some

1652. Some Merchants which lay at *Agde*, he used means by the Bishop of that City, and by his own Credit, to convey the Bark of Corn into *Rosès*; which afforded the Garrison means to wait for the relief of Men and Monies, which was sent them a while after from *Provence*, to preserve it from being betray'd by one *Gahot*, as shall be said in its proper place.

But because the loss of *Cassalle*, a place maintain'd so many years by the Crown of *France*, at the expence of so much Money, and loss of so many men, Was this year added to the other misfortunes of *France*, we will resume those Affairs a little higher, that they may be the better known.

It is already sufficiently known why *Charles* the First, Duke of *Mantua*, put *Cassalle* into the King of *France* his hands; and it is also known, That the *Mantuan*s not being well pleased with the *French* mens too high carriage of themselves, made them bear with what was not answerable to their expectation. The business went on therefore without any notice-taking, till by reason of Civil Wars, that Crown began to be less fit for Foreign Affairs, the *Spaniards* making use of the same Conjunctions, made great progress in *Flanders*, *Catalonia*, and in *Italy*, whereby they became dreaded. Wherefore Duke *Charles* the Second of *Mantua*, found himself bound to have a care of preserving that place which he had recommended to the Protection of *France*.

Affairs standing thus in the year 1651, the King of *France* Commanded Count *Argenson* to go immediately as Ambassador from him to *Venice*; in order whereunto *Argenson* took his Journey in the beginning of *May*; but soon after his Arrival at *Venice* he died of a Fever.

His Son succeeded him in his Embassy in *November*, and in his passage negotiated in *Piemont*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*; but as soon as he had had publick Audience, he returned to *Mantua* to manage the Agreement between that Family and *Savoy*.

It is long since known, that the Treaty at *Chierasco*, was the chiefest cause of discord between these two Princes; *Savoy* did always demand the performance thereof, which *Mantua* always opposed: Yet this Treaty was confirm'd by many other Treaties which were had afterwards; and is much strengthened by the last Treaty which was held at *Munster*.

The Emperor, and King of *France* are bound to maintain it by Arms; so as *Mantua* can hardly withdraw himself out of it, yet till now; by reason of his near Alliance with *Cesar*, he hath staved off the blow, and kept *Savoy* out of possession, which he continually prest for: At first the *Mantuan* Agents said, the Emperor could not give it, because the Christian King had not done what he was by the same Treaty obliged to do, to wit, he had not paid the Money which was promised on the behalf of *Savoy*.

This made it be believed that Duke *Charles* would end the business; and to this purpose *Argenson* had order, That as soon as he should be come to *Venice*, that he should go and let *Mantua* know, that *France* was ready to make payment, so as he would yield to *Savoy*'s pretended Investiture: The Ambassador perform'd his Order about the end of the year 1651, but he found *Mantua* to be otherwise minded than he was said to be in the *French* Court.

The Dukes Answer was, That the refusal which he made at the Emperor's Court, was not to the end that they imagined, but that he was resolved never to yield to the Treaty of *Chierasco*, till he had been righted for the great wrong which had been done him; yet he would advise with his Council how to give his Majesty all possible satisfaction. Not long after Marquess *Francisco Rolando della Val Montferino*, the Dukes Chief Minister of State, went to acquaint the Ambassador with the Dukes resolution; which was, That his Highness did not oppose the desired Investiture so much for the non-payment of the Monies due to him by the Treaty

Treaty of *Chierasco*; as for the prejudice he should receive in the Execution thereof, that he had oft-times made his Reasons known, and made his Protections at the Meeting at *Munster*: And this was all the Ambassadors could get concerning this. The *Mantuan*s offer'd many things to find some way to an Agreement, but never could hit upon any; for it was of too great consequence to part from the Treaty of *Chierasco*, whereof no one point was to be altered.

The Ambassador was contented to carry the Copy of the Orders, and the Proxy which the Duke had sent to his Agent at *Vienno*, to oppose the business which was in hand. *Argenson* was not only sent for the above-said business, but for another thing which did much trouble the Court of *France*; which was, to keep *Cassalle* from falling into the *Spaniards* hands, promising to restore it to the Duke upon some Conditions, viz. To remove all the *French* out of it, to put a Garrison of *Swizzers* into it, which were to take an Oath to the King, and to the Duke; That his Majesty should pay half the Garrison, the Duke a fourth part, and that they should endeavour to engage the other Princes of *Italy* for the rest, to the end that they might all have a share in the preservation of that place, which was of such importance for the Common Liberty. All these Proposals were agreed upon, and they would have been fully effected, had it not been for the Disorders which hapned in *France*.

The Ambassador being returned from *Mantua*, desired the Commonwealth to contribute to the perfecting of the business, and received great demonstrations of good will towards the quiet of *Italy*, But withal, how impossible it was for them to mind the preservation of other men's Estates, he being to defend her self without any assistance from others, against so potent an Enemy as the *Turk*: Wherefore the *French* not being able to rely upon the *Venetians*, Affairs were suspended. *Argenson* writ to the Court, that they must begin some new Treaty to put the place into the Duke's hands, to keep the *Spaniards* from besieging it. But the King's Council found it not necessary to do so, and their home Disorders made them not mind foreign Interests.

This mean while the *French* Forces parted from *Piemont*, as hath been said, with Marquess *St. Andrea Monbrun*, which was followed with the loss of *Trino*, and *Crescentino*, which facilitated the like of *Cassalle*. The Duke of *Mantua* did again and again desire the King of *France* that he would put on some resolution for the maintenance and preservation of that place, which wanted Victuals, Men, and Commanders, and in such a condition, as though the *Spaniards* should want sufficient Forces for such an Enterprize, they might notwithstanding think upon it now, that *France* was so weak. Wherefore he cunningly held the *Spaniards* in hand, that he might afford the *French* time to accommodate their Home Affairs, and to relieve *Cassalle*, or to restore it handsomely.

He made his desires first known by *Girolimo Pirandi*, a Gentleman of *Montferrat*, his Agent in *France*, when the Court was at *St. Germain*; where the Cardinal weighing the importance of the business, caused presently 15000 Doubleloones be assigned over, to the end that Victuals being thereby provided, and the Militia paid, the City might not need fear the Enemies attempts; but through the misery of those times, the Payments were so neglected, and diverted, as *Cassalle* languished still more, and the *Spaniards* were daily more encouraged: *Pirandi* did therefore reiterate the same desires, to whom the Duke sent express Messengers when the Court was at *Pontis*; where the Cardinal caused another Assignment be made, besides the first of 8000 double Pistols, and another in *Compeigny* of 10000. But of all these three Sums there was much ado to get 2000. For the Cardinal's Persecutions being now at the height, and he ready to go out of the Kingdom, they

§ 1. were rather desirous to cross his Orders, and to make his Government appear ill, than to think of the Kingdoms concerns.

Duke Charles found where the shoe wrung him, and therefore thought fit to provide for his own Affairs; and some Proposals of Agreement being made between him and the King of Spain when he accompanied his Sister into Germany, which his Highness had refused, he wrought it so with his Aunt the Dowager Empress, and with the now Regent, his Sister, as that the Emperor held the Spaniards so in hand, as that either the French might recruit Cassalle, or else that they might resolve to put it into his Highness's hands, who was the lawful Master thereof.

The Spaniards listened willingly hereunto, and promoted the Treaty with the Duke of Mantua, by the interposition of Prince Bozzolo, and of Father Don Augustin Guazzone Somasco.

By reason of this backwardness which appeared in the Duke, Argenson received Order to return again to Mantua, to discover the Duke's real intentions, and once more to offer at effecting the Treaty of Chierasco. The Duke kept constant to his Negative; but that he might not recede from his constant observance of his Majesty of France, but give him what satisfaction he could, he sent him a Breviate of the Reasons he had to oppose that Treaty, and answered the King's Letters with great respect.

The Ambassadour would have entred upon Discourse touching what was said of his Highness treating with the King of Spain by means of the Empresses, and upon the Marquess of Caracene's threats, upon his refusal to treat; wherefore he spoke thereof to Marquess de la Vall: Who assured him, *There was no Treaty by his Master with Spain; and that if there should be any, it would only be to re-invest him in Cassalle.*

The Ambassadour was surpris'd at this Answer, and added; *That the Duke his Master would run great hazard in trusting the flatteries of his antient Enemies, and greater shame for having thrown off France at such a time; that he was sure the Spaniards would never meddle with Cassalle, without the good will, nay, without the request of his Highness.* But all this prevailed nothing with the Marquess, who desired to see his Master free, and absolute Master of his Dominions, which made it be suspected that he held Intelligence with the Spaniards.

The Ambassadour in the Marquess's absence, resolv'd to feel the Duke's Pulse, upon what he had discours'd with Marquess de la Vall; he went to visit the Duke, and plainly acquainted him with the jealousy he had of treating with his State-Minister: He told him, *That it was publicly said, that there were Treaties in hand to drive the French out of Cassalle: That he could not conceive what advantage his Highness could receive thereby: That he feared some particular concernment might make him side with the Spaniards against his own inclination and real good: And that if Marquess de la Vall had been wrought upon by the Spaniards, it behov'd his Highness to correct him for it.*

The Duke answered, *That he had no Commerce with the Spaniard, that he had made no Agreement with them, and that if anything should happen, he would acquaint him presently with it; that he was not ignorant of what Obligations his Family had to France which he should never forget; but that he hoped his Majesty would not take it ill, if he should use all possible means to keep Cassalle from being lost.*

The Ambassadour reply'd, *His King had set his heart too much upon this City, to suffer it to be lost; but that his Highness ought to have a care that he lost it not, out of too great a care of preserving it; that the frequent conferences of Marquess de la Vall with Prince Bozzolo, and divers other Spaniards, promis'd but little good; that he beseech'd his Highness not to be deceived; to look into his Affairs with his own eyes, and to prevent all inconveniencies which might arise from a rash resolution.*

The

The Duke took all well that the Embassadour had said, and did again assure him, *That he would be always gratefully devoted to the King:* Thus Argenson returned to Venice, from whence he inform'd the Court of all that had pass'd; and how that divers Cabals had been held to re-enter into Cassalle, which had been treated upon with all secrecy by Prince Bozzolo, and Father Guazzone; adding, That the Spaniards desired nothing more than to bring the Duke over to his party, to stave him off from the protection of France; to recompence him with exchange of Territories, and to re-integrate him for what he should loose in France; that the business was near at an end, and stuck only upon the Duke's pretensions, who would enter free, and absolute Master into Cassalle, as he was before the War; and desired to be helpt by Monies in some sort or other, to maintain the Garrison; and chiefly not to break with the King of France.

The Duke, when the Embassadour was gone, reflected more upon what had been by him said, and found much to his grief, that the Court of France had an ill opinion of his actions, whilst he knew that they tended only to the preservation of what was his own, without any prejudice to that Crown, where he intended to keep his antient good correspondence.

Nor did he less wonder, that not only France, but Italy should judge amiss of the Marquess de la Vall's Actions, and that he held Intelligence with the Spaniards; and thought to abuse him with passionate representations, since he knew that the Marquess was only concern'd in his Service, and minded nothing but the making him absolute Master of all his own Towns, being he (who contrary to what was given out) stood stiffest against the Spaniard's Proposals; wherefore he humbly presented his constant Devotion to his Christian Majesty, and to his State Ministers, and sought to take from them the bad Opinions which might be insinuated into them by his envyers, and by those that loved not the Marquess.

And because the Governour of Millan, after having had conference in Serravalle, with Marquess Spinola, and other of his Catholick Majesty's Agents, had carry'd the Spanish Army into Montferrat, and taken Pontestura, Corniolo, Ozano, Bossengnano, St. Georgio, Ocimiano, Mirabello, Borgo Ticinetto, and Frascine, whereby Cassalle was blockt up on all sides, so as after a long want of Monies, the Garrison was reduced to great extremity, the five Swisser's Regiments ready to lay down Arms, and be gone, the French but few, and not in a condition to do Service: the small Montferrat Militia went out to get Victuals for the Camp, the whole Garrison grumbled, and were ready to put the Town into the hands of any that would give them advance Money, or their Arrears; Jona Clava, who with some others had Muniti'd Cassalle, could provide the Garrison no longer with Bread, as they had done, nor yet particular Gentlemen, who had maintained it with Corn for five Moneths, the Duke renew'd his desires to the Court, and propounded that if by reason of their Civil Wars, they could not send in convenient Relief, they would be contented that it might rather fall again into his hands upon requisite caution, than to the Spaniards, who protested, that if they could get it from the French, they would never restore it to the House of Mantua. St. Andrea did at the same time hold the Spaniards in hand, with Hopes, and Negotiations, to keep them from falling upon it by force, to afford time to the French to settle their Affairs, and to relieve it.

President Mirandi made these Proposals, but finding the business was still delaid, and that there was no means to bring back the Governour of Cassalle, Marquess Monpessat, who was in France, without being furnish'd with Men or Monies, went to the Court himself, and propounded, That if they would

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1652. make Marquess *Tavanes* Marechal of *France*; and General in *Piemont*, he should at his own expence within a Month space, raise 3000. Foot, and 1500. Horse, and relieve *Cassalle* with them.

This Proposition though it appeared fair, yet was not accepted for divers reasons, and perhaps, because the Marquess was Brother to Count *Tavanes*, who fought for *Conde*.

The Dutchess of *Savoy*, who was no less troubled than the *French*, that *Cassalle* should fall into the *Spaniards*' hands, solicited the *French* by her Embassadour the Marquess *Abbate of Aglie*, to come to some speedy expedient, protesting, That otherwise his Highness would be forced to seek an Agreement with *Spain*; and the sent Marquess *Villa* to *Cassalle*, to offer Monsieur *St. Angelo*, who commanded there, to send him in 400. Horse, *St. Angelo*, fearing that the *Monferrians*, who were not great friends to the *Piemontesse*, would not be well pleased with this, and not daring to accept the offer without the King's order, refused it, which caused some scandal, and murmuring in the Court at *Turin*; which grew greater when it was known, that Marquess *di Penes*, Governour of *Pinaralle*, who had order to send 800. Foot of *Tauli's* Regiment to *Cassalle*, excused himself for the present, pretending that he could not conveniently weaken that Garrison, whilst the *Spanish* Forces were so near.

The *Spaniards* who were fully advised of all that past, and who feared that any the least success, which should be put into *Cassalle*, might make head against their Forces, which were not in a condition of making that Enterprise, but by reason of the *French*-men's weakness, continued treating with the Duke, and told him freely, That unless he would joyn with them, they would take *Cassalle*, since the *French* were not in a capacity to relieve it, by reason of the War, which was now in its greatest height, so as to avoid losing it, there was no means left for him, but to joyn with them, drive out the *French*, and enter himself into his City.

The Duke, who's whole aim was to save that City, and to be therein independent, as well from *Spain*, as *France*, proceeded warily therein, for it was a nice business, and not confiding wholly in the *Spaniards*, he carried the business so as if he would gratifie the one party, and not disgust the other.

At last the Governour of *Millan*, fearing lest delay would hurt his Designs, sent Marquess *Verullino Picconte*, one as valiant in War, as wise in managing State Affairs, with order to find out the Duke at *Rouera*, and to continue Prince *Bozzolo's* Negotiation, and to end it, as was done, for the Marquess overcame all difficulties, and ended the Articles, which were kept secret, though diversly reported: But it was true that the Duke was suffer'd to put 2000 Foot, and 300 *Mantuan*-Horse into *Cassalle*, and 1500 *Monferrians*, who were raised out of the Militia of the Country, all under *Don Camillo Gonzaga*, Brother to Prince *Bozzolo*, all these were by means of the said *Gonzaga*, and of *Conte Ottavio Brabanti*, received into the City. *St. Angelo* was forced to capitulate, and to put the Citadel into his Highness's hands, who placed a Garrison there of his own Souldiers, not depending upon *Spain*; and the Empress obliged her self to furnish the Prince her Brother with Monies to maintain the Garrison, with which Monies he was furnished by the King of *Spain*, by Agreement made between them (as said the *French*) as an expedient by which the Duke might excuse himself to the Court of *France*, as not having concluded any thing with the *Spaniards*.

Count *Argenson* being advertised of what past at the Court of *Mantua*, and that Marquess *Picconte* had concluded the Treaty, and that the *Mantuan* Militia was preparing to march, acquainted the King into what extremity the

1652. the Affairs now were brought; and considering that by reason of the Troubles which the Kingdom was in, so speedy a remedy could not be taken as was requisite, he acquainted the Common-wealth with the bad condition which *Cassalle* was in; He told them, That their Senate would lose more thereby than *France*; and that if they should quit so weighty a Concernment, it would be no wonder if his King should also think upon what toucht him nearest; that he would be much displeased if the *Spaniards* should take *Cassalle*; but that their Common-wealth would find the ill effects.

The next day, before the Senate had resolved what answer to give the *French* Embassador, the Marquess *de Fuentes* Embassador from *Spain* came before them, who desired them that they would permit him to give them an account of those Proceedings: He acquainted them with the Dukes and the King his Masters resolutions, he endeavour'd to make his Masters intentions appear clearly to the Senate, and to free them of all jealousies.

The Senate answered the *French* Embassador, That the Common-wealth had had long War with the greatest Enemy of Christendom, wherefore they could undertake nothing in the troublesome conjuncture they were in, howsoever they would contribute their good will to the preservation of *Cassalle*, to which purpose they would do all good offices with the interested Parties.

They told the *Spanish* Embassador, That as his Catholick Majesty had always witnessed his desire of Peace, so the Common-wealth was confident he would do still, to the entire tranquility of *Italy*, so much desired by the Senate: But that they could not mind him, that his King should do well to consider before he drew on worse humours, and renew'd a fierce War in *Italy* in a time when the Common-wealth was incommodated with the Common Enemy of Christendom. They also by their Agents spake to the same effect to the Governour of *Millan*, but the *Spaniards* forbore not to prosecute their Designs, pretending not to let slip an occasion so propitious to their Interests; believing that the business would not end as it did.

These Treaties with *Mantua*, and this advancing towards *Cassalle*, though they might give an Alarm to all the Princes of *Italy*, there being none who did not think but that the *Spaniards* would put a Garrison into that place, and that the *Mantuan*s would not have govern'd their Affairs so advantageously, and to their much Glory, as beyond all mens expectation they did, yet by reason of an inckling that was had of an Agreement which would not be prejudicial to any, every one stay'd expecting the event.

Argenson knowing that he could not work upon the Common-wealth, further than to make her intercede between the Parties concern'd, thought fit to write a Letter to the Duke of *Mantua*, wherein since it may be thereby known what the *French*-mens sence was, it will not be amiss to relate the Letter; which was as followeth:

Most Excellent Sir:

I Have received so many favours from your Highness upon several occasions, as it is very fit in some sort to make my acknowledgments; which I cannot do better than upon this occasion: I beseech your Highness to read it with as good a heart as it is written.

I take my self to be bound by the Employment, wherewith I am honour'd, and by the confidence which your Highness hath put in me; I will pay these two Duties with sincerity: and I shall tell you that *France* is not concern'd herein but as it relates to your Highness; wherefore it is a Service which I pretend wholly to you Sir, wherein I am sure to please the King, since his friendship to your Highness considered, he will

1632. will be pleased that I inform you aright, and I passionately desire that your Greatness may receive advantage thereby.

All Italy is full of the News of Treaties between your Highness and Spain; I do not here discourse upon the manner how, neither do I desire to find out whether they be in your own Name, or in that of the Empress; but be it what it will, 'tis your Interest that is handled, and your Territories that are Treated of: 'Tis positively said, that your Highness hath concluded what was propounded to you in your Voyage to Germany, and consented to what you then so vehemently denied, to wit, That you will forgo the Friendship of France, renounce the great Estate you have there, drive the French out of Cassalle, and willingly assubject your self to the Spaniard. Four considerable things which ought to be well weighed.

I doubt not but that those that have made your Highness put on these Resolves, have cloaked them with fair appearances; but they must be founded to the bottom, and your true and real Servants cannot permit that your Highness be so surprised.

As for the first Point, Of foregoing France; Your Highness may do well to consider, whether it will be your advantage to deprive your self of such a leaning-stock; you think no more peradventure upon the vast Obligations you owe to that Kingdom, and may peradventure have forgotten that had it not been for the King of France his Protection, you had neither had Mantua, nor Montferrate. Examine, I beseech you, how much you will suffer in your Reputation by so easily abandoning a Party, from whence you have received such assistance? by renouncing their Friendship, who in your greatest necessities spared for nothing to sustain you; and declare your self against a Nation, so often called in to relief, whereof it never failed. Doth your Highness peradventure think that the Spaniards will confide in you, when they shall find so sudden a change in you; say they should not observe their Promises, whither would you flee for refuge.

The Fame of the surprisal which your Highness intends to make your self in Person, makes all your Party suspected: Do you think that the King will not interrupt your Designe? and if it succeed not, how unfortunate will your Highness prove? you will be abandoned by both, because you can be useful to neither.

France will upbraid you with ingratitude; Spain will be aware of your weakness; Italy will accuse you of somewhat more than misfortune in this your sinister event. In what esteem will your Highness be in throughout all Europe? who will restore you to that City which you would willingly lose?

These are general reflections upon your State and Honour; and in the next place be pleased to reflect upon the state of your Domestick Affairs.

If your Highness break with France, you must resolve to lose all your Territories which you possess there. I know the Spaniards will promise you Dominions in the Kingdom of Naples, and that those who shall treat with you, will not fail to propound intire satisfaction upon this important Article. But mark, I pray, what you leave, and how little the Reward is which you are promised. Your Highness loseth a large succession of the best Towns that are in France, and wealth sufficient for a Cadet of your Family; on the contrary you are offered Possessions, the true value whereof is not known, in a Country which you little understand, the possession whereof is as little safe, as is the Catholick King's Authority in that Kingdom; those who have been forc'd to be paid in those Monies, may give you a better account of it. Your Highness may enquire of the Prince of Parma, how he hath been treated, and by the little I have said, you may resolve.

For what concerns driving the French out of Cassalle, I well know that is the Cause of your Highness change, but beware it cause not your ruine; the Spaniards have so often attempted in vain to take it, as at last they despair to compass their end by force; now they will use their cunning to bereave you of it. And whilst they pretend to repossess you of your own, they intend to take it from you; could they have

1632. have done it of themselves, they would not invite you to joyn with them: But because they know their own weakness, they will fortifie themselves with your Highness Credit in that City, and think they may easily make themselves masters of it, when it shall be in your Highness hands. You consider not that their chief aim is to make the French distrust you: Consider what violence they used at first to invade the Marquisate of Finale. Think how they Treated the Proprietories. See what they have done to preserve Sabionetta, and Piombina, and believe they are alwayes of the same mind. They think Injustice glorious, so it may serve their Greatness. They have neither Faith, Word, nor Sacrament which they do not violate when concern'd. Your Highness must not think they will alter their former Policy for your sake. Your Highness is upon the very brink of falling into their Tyranny. You lose your self insensibly, and will not be able to get out so easily as you get in. I will grant they may let you enter into Cassalle, but are you sure they will suffer you to tarry there? Will not you be forc'd to have recourse to them often for maintenance for your Garrison? Who makes such haste to recover a thing, will not so easily part with it. I have often protested to you on my King's behalf, that his Majesty expects only a favourable conjuncture to do it. The birth of the new Prince which God hath granted unto your Highness, may serve for a new security.

I speak with the freedom of a Frenchman, accompanied with the Zeal of a passionate Servant of your Highness, as a man wholly unconcern'd. I write these lines out of gratitude, for the many Favours I have received from your Highness, and I write them for the good of all Italy, whereunto that of Mantua is strictly annexed. I humbly beseech your Highness to accept of my good will, to reflect a little upon these discourses, and to believe that I am, &c.

But all this wrought no effect; the Duke's Answer to the Letter was full of respect to the King, complaining, That the present conjuncture of times had thrust him upon this resolution, to save Casal from being lost; and he thanked the Ambassador for the good will which he had shewed to Mantua.

The Duke sent away the Marquis Don Camillo Gonzaga with the Mantuan Militia, and divers Gentlemen his Subjects towards Casal; and the 23th of September writ from Rivere a Letter to the Judges, Officers, Ministers and Subjects of Casal, and of the state of Monferrat, the Tenour whereof folowes:

Faithful and Beloved, &c.

Since the Divine Majesty was pleased to call Us unto the Government of Our Dominions, We have not applyed Our Self with more sollicitude and care to any thing than to the procuring of the Quiet of Monferrat; grieving for those Miseries you have for this long time with so much constancy suffered for complying with your Duty towards Us, but the Condition of Affairs hitherto have not enabled Us to perform a thing so just and with so much Passion desired by Us.

We have notwithstanding never omitted to improve any opportunity which Time hath offered unto your advantage; and having heard what was for several Months past publicly reported, That the Marquis Caracene was to march with the Forces of his Catholick Majesty unto the prejudice of that Our Fortress, We were most earnest Suitors to his Christian Majesty, That he would be pleased to send with all expedition Money and Forces for the security and defence thereof; or that his Majesty would in his great Wisdom pitch upon some Expedient which might hinder that Place from falling into other hands than Ours, according to the Consignation made thereof by the Duke Charles Our Grandfather, unto his Majesty's late Father of glorious Memory: And perceiving that Our Application produced nothing but promises and hopes, We were willing not to be wanting on Our part to give all demonstrations possible of Our continual Respect and Duty towards that

1652. that Crown; and being sensible of the difficulty in sending necessary Supplies during the present Troubles of that Kingdome, We have exceeded both Our own Power, and that of you Our wellbelov'd Subjects in maintaining the Garrison there for a long time, to our no small damage, and the total exhausting of our Treasure: And we could heartily have wish'd we had been able to make a larger demonstration of our affections, but finding our selves unable longer to support the charge, and our apprehensions of the Marquess Caracene (who drew near to the said Fort with his whole Army) daily increasing, We did by advice of our Council perswade him to decline all wayes of force, and to be content that we might enter and possess it with our own Subjects: And his Excellency being satisfied in the Justice of our Demand, We resolv'd (before the executing of it) by an expresse Conrrier to the Court of France, to second our former Applications thither, with remonstrating the imminent danger in which Cassale then stood, humbly beseeching his Majesty, That in case a more fit Expedient could not readily be found out to prevent those mischiefs, we might with his Majesty's good liking take course our selves for our Indemnity, by placing there our own Forces, with the exclusion of all others: And we have in the mean time Treated with the said Marquess touching the Terms upon which 'twas to be executed, and have received sufficient assurance from him, that in case we find no opposition, he will permit us freely to enter and enjoy it; that he will suddenly draw off his Army from Monterrat: and that in case of opposition, he will employ the Forces of his Master in compassing so just an end.

We were resolv'd in order hereunto to have come Our Self in Person, confiding principally in your fidelity, and the devotion you have unto Our Service, whereof We have had so many trials; if after the favour of a Song granted to us by the Divine Majesty, (which adds unto Our Obligation for preservation of Our Dominions, and must encrease your zeal in the co-operating towards it) we had not fallen into a Tertian Ague, from which although we are at present (God be thanked) free, yet we are not in a condition to perform it, without apparent danger of a Relapse; and doubting that a longer delay may bring with it some irreparable prejudice, we have resolv'd to send thither Don Camillo Gonzaga our Kinsman, to whom (by reason of his singular worth) we have entirely confided the dispatch of this Affair, whereof We have thought fit to give you notice, that you obey and assist him in all things he shall think fit and conducing thereunto, as you would do Our proper Person.

And we have hereby thought fit further to give you notice, That as we shall on all occasions make demonstration of our bounty and gratitude to such as shall upon this pressing occasion comply with their natural obligation to our Service; so we shall without mercy use the extremity of a rigorous Justice towards all those who forgetting their Loyalty shall shew themselves herein ill affected towards their Sovereign Lord, and careles of the Honour of their Country.

The Dutcheffs of Savoy having notice of this, and that Sault's Regiment which was at last commanded to march from Pinarol into Casal, had been ill treated by the Spaniards, so as of 800 Foot, there were but 40 that entred; They endeavour'd with 1500 Horse, and 2000 Foot, to succour it; and the Forces drawing near the City, which is seated by the Po, under the Conduct of the Count of Verma General of the Horse, the Marquess Monte his Lieutenant General, writ into the Town to have provision made of Barks to pass the River; and that such of the Inhabitants as were devoted to the French, should put themselves into a posture for the assisting of the Enterprize.

But those of Monserrat suspecting that the Savoyards entred once into Casal, might during the French broyls seize the Town and keep it for themselves, refused to furnish any Barks, hindred them from drawing near the Town, and were the occasion that the Spaniards pressing the Citadel with-

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our intermission with their Approaches and Artillery, the Baron de St. Angelo who commanded there, was forced to a Capitulation, which was made the 21 of October, with Honourable Conditions, putting the Cittadel it self into the Duke of Mantua's hands, who placed therein a Garrison of their own Souldiers, to the derision of such as imagined, and would needs afterwards affirm, That not the Mantuans, but Spaniards were Masters of it.

The Governour of Milan observ'd Religiously what he had promised to the Duke, inso much as his Highness having thought it convenient, that for the safety of the place a German Garrison should be placed in it, drawn out of such as served under the Spaniard, being first discharged, and after taken into his Highness Service, with an Oath to be faithful to him, Caracene refused to consent unto it, suspecting that 'twould be thought a collusion between them: Neither would he permit any of his Souldiers to enter the place, nor go himself into it, but in company of the Duke himself, who came thither some few dayes after.

The Generals of Savoy having not found in those of Monserrat that inclination towards them which they imagined, and knowing there was now no means for saving of Casal, that they might not lose all that preparation, resolv'd to attempt the recovery of Crescentino, before which they came the 13th of October, and in seven dayes carried the place, because the Spaniards being engag'd before the Cittadel of Casal, could not relieve it.

The news of this loss flying abroad, and the fame being not in Italy alone, but also throughout all Europe, That the Duke of Mantua being joyn'd with the Spaniard, had deliver'd into their hands that most Important Place, gave no small Jealousie to those who feared the Spaniards greatness, and made the Duke to be ill thought of in the Court of France, where they censur'd his Actions with much bitterness, and threatned upon the first occasion to make their resentments known by an exemplary punishment.

The Duke of Mantua notwithstanding protest'd, That he complied with all due respects to France, and with all submission fit to demonstrate his devotion and gratitude towards that Crown, and protest'd, That he would still continue obsequious and dutiful towards the most Christian King. But his Professions were not in France regarded in such manner as he expected, and having therefore published upon this occasion a Manifesto in the Month of September this very year, just before his agreement with the Spaniard, it will not be amiss to set it down, that so upon comparing thereof with the Declaration made after by the French, when the Lord Pleffs Besanson was sent unto the Princes of Italy, the Prudent reader may be able to make a judgment touching the whole matter. The Manifesto was as followeth:

THE Obligations wherein the House of Mantua stands bound upon several occasions to the Crown of France, publicly owned by my Predecessors, and which I have inherit'd together with my Dukedome, have alwaies maintained in me an inviolable affection towards his most Christian Majesty, promising unto my self by his Royal assistance a most powerful Protection, whereby my State of Monterrat, and my Town and Citadel of Casal should be defended from loss or prejudice, and at last restored unto me with the same freedome as they were for their preservation and defence deposited into the hands of the late King of glorious Memory by the late Duke Charles my Lord and Grandfather. And although that Country hath for many years last past been daily ruined, not only by the Quartering of Souldiers, but also by the plunder of my poor Subjects, pillaged continually as well by the Forces of Piedmont united unto those of his Majesty, as by the Armies of his Catholick Majesty; the one upon pretence of defending the Country; and the other with design to drive their Enemies out of Italy, and particularly from a Town so considerable for its neighbourhood unto the State of Milan, and thereby free themselves from the con-

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1652. continual jealousy it gave them; yet having always constantly refused the Propositions and offers made unto me upon several occasions, I have rested firmly confident of the just Intentions of his most Christian Majesty, and that I should with his good liking, and without the interposition of any other, obtain from him that which belonged unto me, without any dismembering of the Country: but forasmuch as after having several times represented unto his Majesty the urgent and pressing necessities of my Towns altogether unprovided, and the condition wherein they stood, being exposed unto the danger of falling under the Command of any who should have designs upon them, my Applications full of duty and respect have brought no other return from his Majesty, but remote hopes of feeble Succours, which could bring no security unto the places: whether it were by the advice of some person affected inward my Family, or some other particular consideration, or by reason of my ill fortune, the Kingdom being then engaged in other Interests, which were perhaps esteemed to be of greater consequence. After I had reiterated my Addresses, and petitioned by my Agents in that Court to have some speedy supply, or that some other expedient might be thought on for my preservation, since just means were not wanting to do it gloriously, and with immortal Reputation to the Crown of France, I resolved to give new proofs unto his Majesty of my affection and zeal unto his Service, by maintaining the Garrison many Months at my own charge: But this expence becoming insupportable to my Revenues, very much diminished, and to my Subjects who are totally destroyed, and did continually sollicite me to take some course for easing of those burdens under which they have long groaned; and perceiving that my suspicions were increased by a new march of the Spanish Army into the Field, besides the report spread abroad that they would certainly attempt the place, the Governour of Milan being discouraged to it by reason of the weakness of the Garrison, the taking of Trino a place very important towards the facilitating of the Enterprize, and the intestine Troubles therein France was involved, which rendered him secure from a diversion thence; I suffered not my self to be for all this overcome with fear, or gained with those Propositions and Promises were made unto me, but sent an express Courier to his most Christian Majesty, beseeching him that he would please to order either some speedy supply of men and money, or take some other resolution suitable to the necessity, or that otherwise he would not take it ill, I should my self take such Expedients as might be best, to gain the possession of the place for my self, who am the lawful Sovereign thereof, to the exclusion of all others, and keep it with a Guard of my own Souldiers; so as it might not longer be exposed unto the danger of falling into the hands of the Spaniard, or others, who may have Designs upon it; the which they have sufficiently demonstrated, not without being listned unto (as I am certainly informed) and their success therein would have proved to my irreparable damage, besides the other wrongs and injuries I suffer, which are not of small importance, but are acted contrary to the good and just intentions and the great disservice of his Majesty. Finally, Seeing my self reduced to an extreme and pressing necessity, and to avoid the greater evil, I have endeavoured to persuade the Marquess Caracene to grant me together with a Cessation of Arms, the convenience of taking the possession of that Place and City, with the exclusion of all others who assented thereunto; and that I might with ease and without let compass the Design, offered me in case of opposition all the Forces of his Catholick Majesty, that I might with more security compass my intention, engaging himself not to enter into those Places upon other occasions, and that in case he were necessitated to it, that he would leave them freely and without reserve under my absolute command.

And forasmuch as the Season doth advance, and that the said Marquess the Governour presses and protests that he will lose no time of this Campagne, being unable (by reason of the sickness wherewith I am much weakened, and of that which the Arch-duchess my Consort, fell into since her lying in) to go in person as I had resolved, I have been forced to make use of Don Camillo Gonzaga for execution of this Design,

1652. Design, to whom by reason of his near Relation, being of my House, and of his Valour and Prudence I have entirely trusted the execution of this important Design, whereby I have at the same time provided for my own Preservation in the peaceable possession of my Dominions, for the ease and relief of my own Subjects, and the general repose of Italy: Protesting nevertheless, that I shall notwithstanding still preserve (as I have ever done) an inviolable affection towards his Most Christian Majesty, and endeavour with all industry to give Testimonies thereof to the whole World, hoping in his Majesties goodness, that when he shall be pleased to make reflections upon the present state of Affairs, he will not upon this occasion lessen his good opinion of, and kindness towards me, which I so highly prize and value. And I doubt not, but all that with sincere eyes and minds disinterested shall consider the resolution I have taken, and shall examine the before-mentioned important Motives which have induced me to it, will perceive they were no less just than necessary, and will find no occasion to blame me, that in the extremity of my Affairs, I have rather chosen to give a Remedy unto my Misfortunes, than to augment them, by declaring myself an enemy unto a Neighbour Nation more powerful than my self (and whose Dominions do divide mine) at a time when they offered to assist me.

The Duke then came to Casal about the end of October, where he staid till Christmas following, at what time he returned to Mantua; drew off the Mantuans, and left there only those of Monferat, with some French who were married in the City: the Marquess Don Camillo returned to Bozolo with great glory, having highly merited from the Duke: the Marquess de la Val staid some days at Casal to give such Orders as were necessary, as General of the Duke's Forces; and conferred the Government of the Cittadel upon the Marquess Sigismund Gonzaga, and that of the City upon the Count Orsazio Brambati, Son to the late Count Francisco, who had so worthily served the house of Mantua, until his death at Paris, whilst he was Extraordinary Ambassadour there for the Duke. After the departure of which Brambati, who was by his urgent Affairs called home into his own Country, there was placed to Command in it, first the Marquess Bonifacio Fassali Casalese, and afterwards Count Giouanni Emili Veronese.

There followed also the change of divers of the Officers and Ministers, some of them being brought away to Mantua, and in their places several others sent to succeed them.

The Duke after gave an assurance unto the Ministers of France, That as soon as the Country of Monferat should be restored unto the pristine state, and put into his peaceable possession without disturbance, he would renounce the 3000 Crowns monthly which the Emperess was obliged to furnish him for payment of the Garrison, and would maintain them at his proper costs; which he did, for taking away of all colour or pretence the French might have formed upon that point unto the prejudice of his Declarations, it being a thing certain that he had no imagination to let go that noble Town out of his hands, which rendered him considerable to all Italy, and valued both by the one and the other Crown, and these were always the true thoughts of the Marquess de Val, with whom the Spaniards (notwithstanding they dissembled it) were in truth highly dissatisfied.

But all these Declarations of the Duke and his Ambassadors were little worth, because things being represented in the Court of France different from what they were, the suspicion had so much force, that things were sinisterly interpreted neither could the Kings Ministers be satisfied with the loss of a place of that importance, and which gave so much lustre over all Italy to their Authority.

The other Princes of Italy were in a manner all of them jealous that Casal

1652. would finally fall into the *Spaniards*' hands, and were therefore sorry the *French* had not in time provided for it, which it was said they might have done with a small matter; if they had not applied themselves rather to persecute Cardinal *Mazarine* and overthrow his Designs, than provide for the concerns of the Crown. And these Jealousies and Apprehensions were much increased by the Report was spread, That the *Spaniards*, after beating the *French* out of *Casal*, negotiated earnestly a Peace with *Savoy*; insinuating into the minds of the Ministers there, that the King of *Spain* would restore *Versellis*, drive the *French* out of *Pignaroll*, and the Cittadel of *Torino*, adjust their differences with *Mantua*, and probably Marry the Infanta of *Spain* unto the Duke of *Savoy*, whereby they endeavoured to gain that Family, and chasing the *French* beyond the Mountains, to restore Peace unto *Italy*, and their own Authority unto the Pristine Splendour.

These Treaties were listened unto by those of *Piedmont* with no small attention, and the rather because they suspected that (the most Christian King, being engaged in a Civil War, and not able to contribute unto the defence of *Piedmont*;) the *Spaniards* might with ease be able to make some powerful Invasion upon them, so as if they deferred the remedy until another time, they should perhaps find no means to compass it.

The Court of *France*, and most particularly the Cardinal, was highly jealous of this Treaty, who being mindful of the prejudice it might bring to the King's Interests, in case the *Spaniards* (having secured all things in *Italy*;) should employ all their Forces in *Catalonia* and *Flanders*; laboured with all industry, as well by means of the Ambassadors *Servient*, as of the Abbot of *Aglie*, who was well disposed towards *France*, to uphold the *Savoyards* in hope of a ready and secure Assistance; and the Cardinal having a great credit and confidence with the House of *Savoy*, his only word prevailed more than all other means to overthrow the Artifices of the Enemies unto the Crown of *France*; but in regard the late time troubles gave them not liberty to furnish Supplies as the Affairs required, that he might have the Court of *Piedmont* constant to their Union with *France*, he encouraged them with putting *Verna* and the new Town of *Asi* into their hands, and with the Honour of Treating their Ambassadors after the manner of those sent from Crowned Kings at their first Audience of his Majesty, and that the Guard should receive them in compleat Armour, which was a thing long pretended unto, and much desired by those of *Piedmont*.

Besides these Honours the Count de *Quince*, a bold Cavalier, and one ready for the executing of all Designs, was sent thither with the Title of General of *Piedmont*, who, being in *France* with Title onely of Lieutenant General, that he might command in chief accepted this Employment, which was before refused by many others, not for hazard of their persons (because the *French* Cavaliers are generally bold and daring) but for Interest sake, as doubting that by reason of the divisions in the Kingdom, they were not like to receive Money, which is the Life and Soul of all Affairs.

This Count came to Turin the 6th of December, accompanied with a good number of Gentlemen of Quality; and amongst others the Marquess of *Riche-lieu*, Brother unto the Duke of the same Name, who having consummated a Marriage with Mademoiselle *Beaumont*, and representing to have done it contrary to the liking of his Relations, went into *Italy* with an intention to break it, but the Design took not, because the Queen being unwilling the Lady should be abused, declared the Marriage valid, and treated her publicly as Marchioness of *Richelieu*, to which the Marquess after some few Months acquiesced, and returned to Court.

Quince was shortly after followed by a good body of *French* Horse, and quit-

quitting the Court went into *Piedmont*, by which recruit the minds of those in *Piedmont* were quieted, and the Designs of the *Spaniards* grounded upon the Civil Broils in *France* were broken.

In the mean time the happy News of this Success touching *Casal*, being brought the 16th of November unto the Catholick Court, *Le Desma* was the next day Sung in the Royal Chappel, and the same day towards night their Majesties accompanied with the Dutches *Margaret* of *Mantua*, and all the Grandees of the Court, went to our Ladies of *Atochia*, to give due thanks for the accomplishment of a Design, which had ever before been fatal to that Monarchy, and may be said to have been the sole impediment unto the fortune of the *Spanish* Arms; although perhaps 'tis probable the troubles of *Italy* will not so end, because the *French* being inforced thereby unto a greater care of the Affairs of *Italy*, it may so happen that the humours declining one where, will elsewhere gather, and be followed by those ruins in *Lombardy*, which are used to be the consequents of a change in people.

They thought after (according to the wonted generosity of that great King) upon the demonstrations of esteem and gratitude due to the Marquess *Carracene*, who by Arms and Policy had accomplished an Affair of that importance, and they considered also the Merits of the Marquess of *Mortara*, who after so much suffering, and hardship in a Siege of Fifteen Moneths, had restored *Barcelona*, and *Catalonia* unto the Monarchy, but the rewards were below the expectation, because *Carracene*, who pretended to the Honour of a Grandee, could not obtain it, (the number of persons of merit being so great, that making one, it was necessary to confer that Title also upon many others,) by reason whereof, the first Minister being more sparing in the conferring of that Dignity, than was the late Lord Duke his Uncle, it was forborn, honouring him instead thereof with the charge of a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, a Dignity conspicuous, and of much esteem amongst them.

To the Marquess of *Mortara* was granted an increase of some yearly Rent, and to both hopes of larger acknowledgments hereafter in time convenient.

There was in the mean time a fierce War between the *Cossacks* and *Poles*, whereupon many fore-seeing what prejudice might thereby happen to the Kingdom, (engaged also in a War with *Muscovy*;) when the Truce with the Crown of *Sweden* should be expired, and Hostility renewed with that Kingdom, (powerful by a numerous Militia enured to War, and rich in Money, amassed together by the Plunder of the Empire;) desired to interress three neutral Potentates in the Treaty of Peace between the *Polanders* and *Swede*, that in a Meeting to be appointed in some indifferent place, they might be Arbitrators touching the Equity of what was in dispute between them; these were the most Christian King, the Republick of *Venice*, and the States of *Holland*, who willingly undertook the Charge, and appointed for the place of Conference the Hans Town of *Lubeck*.

Poland dispatched thither four Plenipotentiaries, persons of Quality, the principal of which was the Count of *Lessenches*, and each of them having a distinct Train, appeared with a noble and splendid Equipage.

Sweden also sent four of theirs, the principal of whom was the Lord of *Rosenfeldt*, with an Equipage nothing inferior to them.

The King of *France* sent for his Extraordinary Ambassador and Mediator the Lord of *Chenets*.

The State of *Venice* the Cavalier *Michael Morosini*; and the United Provinces three of their Deputies.

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* dispatched thither a person of Quality his

1652. his Kinsman, who not being able (by reason of a Sickness happened to him) to supply the place, there were surrogated in his stead three of his confidants, who became altogether useless there, by reason of some Ceremonies pretended to by the Elector equal to that of Sovereign Princes, whereby they remained excluded from all Conferences or Visits from any other than the *Polanders*.

The Cavalier *Morosini* Ambassadour from the Republick of *Venice*, was then in *France*, and by the arrival of the Senator *Giovanni Sagredo* his Successor at Court, ended his Employment, with the entire satisfaction of his Majesty and his own Prince, towards whom (although *France* were at that time grievously afflicted with an Intestine War) his Majesty gave testimony of his gratitude by extraordinary Presents, and affectionate Expressions of his esteem.

As soon as he had notice of the safe Conduct for the Plenipotentiaries of the Crowns, he left *Paris* the 22th of *September*, and after a troublesome Voyage came to *Lubeck*, with a Train of Threecore persons, which he increased there, that he might not appear inferior to any in the Splendour of his Retinue, as he was equal to them in his knowledge.

The Baron of *Chenut* followed him some few dayes after, and about the beginning of *December* all parties being met at the place appointed, (although the *Hollanders* were not yet come) they entred upon the matters that were Preliminary to the Treaty.

The first Pretension of the *Suedes* was, That they would by no means enter into a Treaty, unless *Poland* would raze out of their Writings, and Commissions, the Title of King of *Sweden* before used, and would also reform their great Seal, by leaving out the Three Crowns, which are the Arms of *Sweden*.

The *Polanders*, by perswasion of the Mediatours, agreed to raze it out of their Commissions, having first made a Protestation apart, wherein they declared the same was not to prejudice their right; But as to the Seal the same being the particular Arms of the King's Family, not of the Kingdom, this pretence was by the Arbitratours esteemed very slight, and therefore *Morosini* together with the Deputies of *Holland*, who arrived there about the end of *January*, 1653. (because the *French* were of the *Suede's* party) endeavoured of themselves to perswade the *Suedes* that they would quit the same, and fall upon the Treaty; but they being positive to have the Commission changed with the omission of the Title, and the reformation of the Seal, the matter stuck so as no perswasion of the Mediators was able to advance it, whereupon the Affair becoming desperate, because the *Polanders* could not alter their Instructions, without a new Diet empowering them to do it, the business fell, and in the Month of *February* the Meeting was dissolved, without coming to any resolution.

The *Suedes* shewed themselves little desirous of this accommodation, because they hoped (seeing *Poland* engaged in a great War) to find a time more favourable to their Interests; that they might either make a Peace upon their own Terms, or breaking it, advantage themselves extraordinarily, during the weakness of that Kingdom.

The *French* adhered unto their sence (for which they were much blamed) whereby 'twas manifest it concerned them the *Suedes* should continue armed; that in case the face of Affairs should alter, and the *French* Arms should gain any advantage over the *Spaniards*, the Emperour (standing in doubt of the *Suedes*) might not be able to assist them.

The *Polanders* therefore parted for their own Countrey, and the like did all the other Plenipotentiaries, and Mediators, only the *Hollanders* staid

staid some days after, having received Orders to negotiate with the *Hollanders*, and draw them to some Declaration in their favour against the *English*.

Mean while the Ministers of *Spain* were not negligent in their prosperity, but prosecuting their good fortune, sent Orders to their Fleet in *Biscay*, to attack *Blage*, a most important place, situate at the mouth of the *Garonne*, wherein was Governour (as you before heard) the Duke of *San Simon*, a most faithful person to his Prince.

The *Spaniards* had fancied this Enterprize not to be difficult, because the *French* Armada being taken and destroyed by the *English*, they supposed it could not be in a condition speedily to relieve it; and they believed the Forces of the *Bourdelois*, joyned with those of the Princes in *Guienne*, would be sufficient to block it up by Land: *Batteville* therefore solicited the execution of the King's Orders, and with all diligence possible appeared with his Shipping in the *Garonne*; but he found things in a far different condition from that which divers discontented *French* had represented to the Court of *Spain*; so as 'twas necessary for him, without any attempt made, to return, and winter in the Port of *Passage*; where he discovered the Artifices of some, who to ingratiate themselves with his Catholick Majesty, and obtain rewards from him, represented things very different from truth, magnifying small matters, and lessening those of greater consequence.

Thereby it happened that discords and unkindnesses grew shortly after between *Batteville*, *Marsin*, and *Lenet*, which were followed with Calumnies and Accusations, exhibited by those *French* Commanders against *Batteville* himself, that they might get him removed out of *Guienne*; they blamed him, that there were not in *Bourg* 1000 of the 1560 *Arish* paid by the *Spaniards*, that his dispatches had been altered, and accounts given of exorbitant expences, and that having changed the *Spanish* money into *French* he had thereby gained 25 in the hundred.

Don *Lewis* who loved and protected *Batteville*, ordered him to retire to *St. Sebastians*, declaring, That he was obliged not to give any disgust unto the Princes.

But in the Court of *Spain* it appeared not a thing blame-worthy (although it had been true) that this Lord (continuing faithful to the King's Interest) should be so cunning as to make his own particular advantage, because it declared him to be a man of spirit, which was a thing displeasing to the *French*, and principally to *Lenet*, who having used to domineer without controul in *Bourdeaux*, could not endure to have any dependence upon the Ministers of *Spain*.

In execution of the abovesaid Orders, *Batteville* having first embarked upon two Vessels the most trusty of his Officers, and divers of his best Souldiers in the Garrison at *Bourg*; the ninth of *December* began his Voyage with no less bitterness than indignation, against *Marsin* and *Lenet*, who he pretended had wrongfully slandered him, for no other cause but that they found him a faithful and useful Servant to the King; from whose favour, he had sadly fallen, had he not been supported by the same Don *Lewis* *Daro*, who protected him with that sincerity and justice, which are the But of all his Actions.

To Don *Joseph Osorio* was confirmed the Command of the Forces in *Bourg*, and the manage of the Treasure was conferred upon the Governour of *St. Sebastians*.

Catelino at that time returned unto the Catholick Court, and was sent back with a Present of Jewels to the Princess of *Condé*, valued at 40000 Crowns; and a Bracelet of Diamonds for himself.

But

1652. But the Cardinal *Mazarin*, who during all these blustering storms had preserved the Royal Authority from the eminent danger of a Ship-wreck, and shewed himself to all the world to be one of the most expert and daring Mariners that ever sailed upon the Sea of Politick Affairs; as soon as he perceived the troublesome Commotions and Storms which had so furiously agitated the whole Kingdom, to be dispersed by his Majesty's presence, and access to *Paris*, gave himself wholly to the study and practice of such fit Expedients, as might not only calm the intestine Motions, but also raise up the lost credit and reputation of the Royalty; and he believed the way to make the same more revered and observed, was rather by Pardon than Chastisement; it being a Maxime fixed in the Cardinal's mind, That the generous spirits of the *French* Nation were sooner to be gained by courteous usage, than by the violence of Arms; which was the cause he set on foot Treaties with each one of the contumacious Persons; holding that love unto the King ought to be the fifth Element, and to preserve that concord between Subjects, which is not interrupted, but by the apprehensions of hatred, or revenge. He revived new Treaties and Propositions of Peace with the Prince of *Conti*, the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, with the Counts of *Harcourt* and *Ogran*, and with all the other Princes, great Lords, and men of Spirit, who possessed rather by jealousies and suspicions, than natural passions, had estranged themselves from their Obedience to his Majesty; the first effects of which wise conduct were seen in the Pardon, which the King by the Mediation of the *Marschal De la Motte*, granted unto the Baron of *Saint Annes*, Governour of *Leucata*, who had forsaken his Majesty's Service, upon several sinister impressions, till by this way of sweetness he was otherwise convinced and satisfied.

This Cavalier had revolted by the suggestion of some unquiet Spirits, and some distaste taken unto the Court, by reason his pretensions were discountenanced; but he was quieted and sweetened by the dextrous management, and civil means used towards him by the said Marquis, a person of great abilities, with whom the last of *November* he made an Accord, That pardon should be given to him and all the Inhabitants of *Leucata*; his Sons who were Prisoners in *Paris* should be released; the goods belonging to himself, or his friends restored; the Castle of *Termes* to be put into the hands of the Arch-bishop of *Narbon*, to be restored to the said *St. Annes* after six months, or otherwise in case his Majesty should not be pleased to ratify this Article, the two Troops of Horse raised by the said *St. Annes*, should be put into his Majesty's Service, and there should be paid unto him 860 *Doubloons* for his Charges in the said *Levy*, and 415 for the Losses of the Inhabitants of *Leucata*, and the Ransom of Peder his Cousin; all the Prisoners to be freed; all Treaties with the Spaniards, or the Princes, recalled, and an assurance upon his Honour, and Parol given never to swerve again from the obedience of the King.

The Cardinal had caused also a strict negotiation to be made with the Prince of *Conte*, by means of some Confidants of his, to pacifie him, and make him quit the Spaniards Service, offering him the Sovereignty of some Country out of *France*: But whether it were that the Prince found himself too far engaged with the Spaniard, or that the generosity of his Mind would not permit him to falsifie his word without some apparent cause or pretext, or that he thought this Dignity too mean, or were taken with the pleasant gust of those advantages he received from *Spain*, and in particular with the great Assignations made unto him, or whether he were led by other Suspicions, Reasons, or Respects, amongst which probably that which held the first place, was the desire of the occasions to use his Sword; his great heart being unable without trouble to return into the calm of Peace, the Propositions

1652. sitions vanished without effect. The Prince declared, That he was no wayes ambitious of being a Sovereign Prince, contenting himself with the Quality he had of being first Prince of the Blood; that he knew not how again to trust a person that had once deceived him, nor believe that person would be faithful to him, who had before shewed himself not to be such; that these Offers were like those Gifts which had formerly passed between *Hector* and *Ajax*; that we ought to give least credit unto those things which appear most probable; and that we must consider that how much more is promised for necessity, so much more likely are we to fail thereof when that is over; That he knew the Cardinal sufficiently for a person as apt to promise much, as he was afterwards industrious to perform onely what suited to his own ends: And he protested in fine, That he would never consent to any Accommodation wherein the King of *Spain* should not also be included, to whom he professed himself highly obliged: The person employed endeavoured to take from him all sinister Impressions, and represented to him that he should call to mind he was a *French*-man, and one of the Blood-Royal, that he had too much Reputation and Glory, not to be made the Butt of Envy and Jealousie, to a Nation that had so much emulation with *France*, and were ambitious to have no dependance but on themselves; that to build his hopes upon those who proposed to themselves ends different from his, was to make a ruinous building; That Friends follow the Fortune not the Bodies of their Friends, and that in quitting *France* he should be abandoned by all the *French*-men; that ones Countrey ought to be as dear unto a prudent Man, as his Shell is to the Snail, and that being his true and faithful Servant, he took the freedom to tell him, It was much more honourable for such a Prince as he to be Cousin to the King of *France*, than Servant to the King of *Spain*; He added hereunto many efficacious reasons, but all in vain, because the hatred and disdain of the Cardinal, were prevalent in the imagination of the Prince, and the opinion he had firmly conceived, that he should be the next Campaign too powerful for the King's Forces, and be enabled thereby to return to *Paris*.

The Cardinal therefore not being able to prevail with the Prince, thought of the means how to divide his Brother *Conte* from him; He caused advantageous Conditions to be proposed unto him, and thought that having once gained him, he should thereby restore *Bordeaux*, and *Guienne* to their Primitive Obedience; because the Factions of this Prince were very powerful in that City, and *Province*, and the effects thereof were likely to be very advantageous to the King's Service; and the reduction of his Brother, by reason of the Jealousies, which peradventure the Spaniards might upon that occasion have of his Person, and the ill usage which it was probable he should receive from them, when he should be deprived of that support, which rendred him so much the more considerable. But although *Conte* were not a friend unto his Brother, and that his mind was much more apt to receive satisfaction, yet he was so fixed not to disoblige the Dutches of *Longueville* his Sister, that without her he would resolve of nothing, and she remaining firm in the good Intelligence she held with *Conte*, and the hopes which the generosity of her own mind suggested to her; all those attempts proved useless, and consequently all the other attempts, and practices of those in *Bordeaux*, who were affectionate to the King's Party, fell to the ground, their indeavours tending onely to bring things unto that pass, that the City should second such resolutions as should be taken by the Prince of *Conte*, and the Dutches.

The Cardinal therefore took in hand other expedients, and since he could not gain the Princes, indeavoured by new Orders to deprive by little

1652. {tle and little, both them and the Town of *Bordeaux*, from those Subjects, and Places which fomented their pretensions; and therefore the Duke of *Vendosme* was ordered to Sail with the Fleet into the *Garonne*; unto the Duke of *Candale* (who was already departed to Govern the Forces in *Guienne*) were dispatched all the Troops which could be got together in the neighbouring Provinces; and the Negotiations with the Count *D'Ognon* and others to divide them from the contrary Faction were set on foot, thereby to render (as it after happened) the King's Party in that Province the more powerful.

In this mean time the Prince of *Conty* sojourned with his Army in *Champagne*, where having failed in his Designs upon *Reims*, *Soissons*, and other great Cities full of People, War-like, and Faithful to their King; he came at last unto *Vervins*, a feeble Place, without Garrison, or Fortification, and having left there two Regiments of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, fate down with the gros of his Army before *Rhetel*, which in a short time was rendred to him by Monsieur *de Kale*, who was Governour, by reason of the weakness of the place, and want of things necessary for defence of it, as also did *Chateau Porcien*, which is but little distant from it; but *St. Merhand*, another walled Town with a Castle not contemptible, situate upon the head of the same River *Aisne*, which passeth to *Rhetel*, held out until the 13th of *November*, and being not relieved by the *Marechal Turenne*, was then forced to a Capitulation, which was honourably granted unto the Baron of *Saint Mor*, who was there Governour; and because this Town being situated between the *Mose* and the *Marne*, and between the Cities of *Verdun*, and *Chalons*, was of some consequence, principally because it was not far distant from *Clermont* and *Stenay*, places held by *Conde*, he left there a great Garrison, under the Baron *de Montalt*, and gave them orders to fortify, pretending by maintaing of that, and *Rhetel*, to winter all his Troops in *France*, and thereby not onely to trouble all the neighbouring Frontiers, but also to ease *Flanders*, where (had not this been) he must have quartered, and also to give life thereby to the Cabals in *Paris*, which though they were much weakened, were not so totally extinguished there, but that many of his friends, and of the Duke of *Orleans* his Partisans, endeavoured by underhand practises to raise some trouble.

After which, having licensed from his Camp the Troops of his Royal Highness, who, under the Command of the Baron of *Valon* their Commander in chief, passed into *Picardy*, to the Service of his Majesty, but upon engagement not to accept any Employment against *Conde*, he marched into the *Barris*, he took *Barleduc*, with the loss of the Baron *de Fonges*, Lieutenant General to the Duke of *Lorraine*; and after that *Lagny*, and the Castle of *Voet*, all of them places of small strength; after which the Winter being far advanced, and his Souldiers unwilling to begin any new Enterpise, he licensed the Troops of *Flanders* and *Lorraine*, and gave Winter Quarters to his own Souldiers, upon the *Mase*, and the adjacent Country.

The Cardinal on the other side, exercising his thoughts indefarigably, about these so imbroiled and troublesome Affairs, considered that it was absolutely necessary before putting of the Army into Winter Quarters, to dislodge the Prince's Forces from their new Lodgings, and to recover the places they had taken, he therefore caused the King's Camp to be re-inforced with 2000 Combatants drawn from the Duke of *Elbeuse* in *Picardy*, and by others from *Normandy*, and the bordering Provinces, and in lieu of coming to *Paris* (whither he was by his Majesty earnestly invited) went into the Army, to redress by his presence those matters there, which by the late divisions were much weakened, and in great disorder, and which without him

1652. }him could hardly have been executed by the Generals, because bringing along with him many Friends and Dependents, he stoppt all those, who wearied with the past toyls, thought rather of retiring to their Houses, than tarrying longer, and encouraged the rest to continue in the King's Service, being had in great veneration and esteem among the Souldiery, by whom he was as much loved and revered, as he was hated and abhorred by the seditious and base Plebeians in *Paris*; neither was he at all deceived therein, because the Souldiery being revived by his presence, and the Military Councils being thereby quickned, he gained those advantages, which caused him shortly after to return glorious, and as it were Triumphant into *Paris*, more than ever in their Majesties favour, and the Authority of his Ministry.

The Marquess *de Chasteauf* continued notwithstanding all this while in *Paris* without Employment, discharged of his Offices, with that resentment which is usual unto a great and generous heart like his, accompanied with an accomplished knowledge and experience in matters of State, and a professed inimitable Loyalty towards his Majesty alone, independent of all private interest whatsoever; and being therefore unable to contain himself (being in conversation among some Ladies) from the expression thereof, nor from mingling in his Discourse, together with his sighs against his own ill fortune, some censures touching the persons that then were at Stern; he was by the King upon the 12th of *November* banished from *Paris*: the next day his Majesty appearing in the Parliament, caused to be there verified and registred the Decree made in his Council of State, against the Princes of *Conde*, of *Conty*, the Dutchess of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, and others who were all of them declared guilty of High Treason against the King.

The Court continued after to give fitting orders and redresse for the good Government of the Kingdom, and the avoiding of these new Machines which had been lately raised in opposition to the Royal Authority; and the King's Council above all things applied themselves to find out fitting means for the quieting the mind of the Cardinal *de Retz*, who being full of lofty thoughts, and eminent pretensions, was much troubled to see the Cardinal *Mazarin* re-established quiet in *Paris*, and the Kingdom, to which he was much adverse, by reason of his particular designs. He gloried so much in the lustre of his Purple, and the value he put upon himself, that hoping with the same Arts he had gained them, to overthrow also the glory and the fortune of the other, and reimburse himself the vast expence he had been at during the Broyls, whereby he was run far in debt, he went continually seeking the means to compass his intent, and as he had thrown down the greatness of *Conde*, to ruinate also that of the Cardinal *Mazarin*. He therefore solicited the Parliament to meet, and consult upon the means of restoring their seclused Members, pressed the Partizans to demand the Monies advanced by them from the King (though they had all the time before never mentioned a word of it) to hold correspondence with the Seditious and Male-contented, to renew the Troubles, and compass his desires. And although remorse of Conscience made him at times suspicious, yet he feared not to be imprisoned by reason of his Dignity of Cardinal, as he was used to publish amongst his Confidants. And if he went not to Court it proceeded rather from the Maxime, that he would not be esteemed gracious there, and preserve thereby the favour of the people, whom he thought apt enough to a Commotion, than from the fear of receiving an affront; so highly did he over-rate the esteem, he thought was set upon himself: and remaining there;

1652. fore in the middle of the City amongst the Citizens his friends and neighbors, he continued still impugning of the King's Authority, and hoped that by this means they would be forced to make application to him: Whereupon this being known by his Majesty's good Servants to be a pernicious action, which was by all means to be speedily redressed; there was a long debate between the Prince *Thomas of Savoy* (who then exercised the Charge of Principal Minister of State) and divers others well-affected to his Majesty's Service, touching the means of removing him from *Paris*; and in case that should not succeed, to find some other fit expedient to take from the loose people this Temptation, which might perhaps engage them in new Disorders.

The Cardinal had in confidence acquainted the Prince of *Guyenno*, that he was willing to retire to *Rome*, and that coming to the King's knowledge, the Prince was charged in some dextrous manner, to let him know, *That if we were resolved upon it, his Majesty would assent thereto*: And at the same time there was proposed unto him a specious Title, with a considerable *Aynde de costa*, *That residing in Italy, he might protect the Interests of the Crown, as well in the life, as after the death of Innocent, in the Conclave*: But when it came to the point, the effects were found very different from his Expressions, for he then answered, *That the face of Affairs was changed, and that he could not now abandon his Friends to the discretion of the Court*.

The Negotiation of the Prince having failed, there was employed therein by the Queen, the Prince of *Palatine*, who was of a ready Wit, and lively spirit, and very fit for the undertaking of any knotty business. The Prince saw him several times, and failed not to represent unto him with much efficacy what was imputed to him by their Majesties, Adding, *That 'twas too much for him to pretend to make use of that Dignity (which he had by his Majesty's favour and bounty) in a matter repugnant to the gust and satisfaction of his Majesty, against whose good pleasure, 'twas a vanity worthy of blame in Subjects to oppose themselves. That he should not harbour in his breast these thoughts of trouble and disturbance, which by many were imputed to him; and that besides there were offered unto him besides Honorable Ayndas de Casta, and Assignations sufficient to maintain him at Rome: But the persuasions of this Prince availed nothing, because he strongly conceited his Reputation was concerned in the Voyage; in respect it would be thought he was driven out of France, and parting should abandon many of his Friends, which by the Rules of gratitude he could not do. Finally, being convinced by the strong Reasons of the Prince, he delayed the time upon the pretence of expecting the Cardinal *Mazarine's* coming to *Paris*, with whom alone, and no other, he was resolved to treat of that Affair, and refusing the Queens interposition therein, which much increased the suspicions against him: And he began then to demand a Government for one of his Dependants; a Secretary of States place for another Friend of his, and other Employments for divers of his Confidants, and discovered his pretensions to be very high and exorbitant. The Queen who had refused such things to the Prince of *Conde*, who was at the Gates of *Paris* with an Army, was resolved not to grant them unto a man who had nothing but a tongue to stir up fickle people, and such as were desirous of a change; the jealousies had of him being therefore much augmented, it was thought necessary (for securing the Government against his sinister and vagrant thoughts) to take a resolution to secure his Person.*

The difficulty of the thing rested in the manner how to execute it, because it was not practicable in his own House, and both dangerous and full of peril to do it in the Streets of *Paris*, which his Majesty desired to avoid, and

and to do it without tumult, as well in regard of his Dignity of Cardinal, as because his principal aim was to do all things with great quietness, and without confusion.

But whilst the King's Ministers busied themselves in fitting of such things as might facilitate the execution thereof, which they found always full of difficulty, fortune, or rather the divine Justice, offered a means for the effecting of it much more favourable than was expected.

His friends did represent unto him, that the King was resolved to be observed, and that it was his duty to pay his Majesty the ordinary Visits, or to abandon *Paris*; they told him this manner of proceeding was too scandalous, and *de Retz* being perswaded thereby, and Christmas now drawing near, was resolved to Preach himself in the Church of *St. German of Auxerre*, whereof the Queen having notice, sent word unto the Curate, that she intended to be there in person.

The Cardinal took this for a favour, and thought himself obliged to wait upon her Majesty, and thank her for the Honour she intended to him, in persuance whereof upon the 20th of *December*, beyond all their hopes, or expectations, he went unto the *Lowvre*, trusting upon his Dignity of Cardinal, wherein he so much confided, that he said publicly, *That although he had formerly been in some apprehension from the Court, yet since he was a Cardinal he dreaded nothing further from thence*.

Being entred within the Court, he found the Queen was not then fully dressed, and therefore going up the great Stayres to see the King, he met his Majesty about the middle of them, by whom he was with great courtesie received, and brought into his Mothers Lodgings, with whom whilst *de Retz* complemented and discoursed, the King whispered to Monsieur *de Tillier*, and gave order for the Arresting of him, which a while after was executed by the Marquels of *Villequier*, Captain of the Guard, who seized upon him at the door of the *Anti Camera*.

The Cardinal was very pale, and much confounded; and said, *What me? for what Cause?* *Villequier* with some Souldiers conducted him into the great Gallery, and from thence into the Duke of *Anjou* his Apartment, where he was shut up about two hours, until the Guard to conduct him was put in order, and a Coach wherein he was after some time by the *Porta del Conferenza*, carried unto the Castle of *Vincennes*; no Tumult or Disturbance being all this while among the people, who discoursing of the News, applauded the King's resolution in it.

There were presently many and various discourses touching this extraordinary Accident happening as 'twere by chance: Those of the Court said, *That the King began now to make himself known for such, and that this resolution was a thing suddenly taken by himself, without the advice or perswasion of his Ministers, only for the publick repose and quiet of the Kingdom*.

The Prisoner's Friends on the other side, gave out, *This was a blow proceeding from the Cardinal Mazarin, who neither would, or knew how to return to Paris, whilst he had so considerable a Rival, that was supported by so many Friends, who were Enemies unto him: That he kept aloof from Paris, on purpose that he might not be known for the Contriver of this business, and for fear lest the people rising in favour of the Prisoner, should make him feel the effects of their long continued hatred and rancour against him*. But whether it were so, or otherwise, the Cardinal *Mazarin* declared he had no part in the action; and for proof thereof writ unto his Majesty a very favourable Letter on the Prisoner's behalf; he represented to his Majesty, *That by reason of the Character he bore of the most Christian King, he was obliged to defend the Immunities of the Church,* and

1652. and therefore he most earnestly besought him that he would have in this case such regards as were fit for his Royal Piety, and the Title he had of being first-born Son unto the Church, recommending unto him with all earnestness the Interests of the Prisoner.

Upon this Letter several Judgments were made; Many were of opinion he dealt not therein clearly from his heart, but endeavoured to palliate the Crime, whereof himself was the sole Author, and that this was an Artifice which had been long before premeditated: Others who knew the execution thereof to be unforeseen and casual, were satisfied that *Mazarine* was in his nature rather obliging than revengeful towards his Enemies, thought it to be an effect of his good inclination, proceeding from a desire to oblige that Prelat by so remarkable a benefit, to a reciprocal return of kindness, and to a generous emulation of corresponding to so noble and ingenuous a carriage: These were not any way mistaken, because it appeared after, that Cardinal *Mazarin* had used his utmost endeavour to gain *Retz*, and to remove those sinister conceptions which he had of him; and that he failed in the Design, was an effect of the incorrigible nature of Cardinal *de Retz*, envious of the glory and good fortune of *Mazarine*.

Many others of the most considerable Persons amongst the Clergy, employed themselves in his favour; but Politick respects prevailing before the satisfaction of particular Persons, made it evidently manifest, his Majesty had no other ends, but the happiness and quiet of his Subjects.

And because the Court of *Rome* should have no occasion of offence thereby against *France*, for having done an Act so much abominated by the Canon Laws, there was a Courier dispatched unto the Pope, to give him an account of the whole business.

The Friends of the imprisoned Cardinal sent thither also another some few hours after, to complain unto his Holiness of that violence, and to engage him in the Prisoner's protection. The News in a few days after reached *Rome*; and the Pope, who had little affection for the *French* (and least of all for *Mazarine*) was wonderfully nettled at it, and if he had power equal to his will, possibly some things of consequence had been resolved, and put in execution: He assembled forthwith Congregations of the most able Cardinals his Confidants, and although there wanted not some moderate Persons amongst them, who failed not to represent that in a matter so delicate much circumspection ought to be used; Orders were notwithstanding sent to Monsieur *Marini* Archbishop of *Avignon*, That he should (together with the Officers of his Court) transport himself to *Paris*, and there framing a Process touching the Crimes whereof the Prisoner was accused, should require to have the Judgment of them left unto the See Apostolick, to which only belongs the power of giving Sentence against Cardinals.

But as at *Rome* they were most certain, That having formerly refused to receive Monsignor *Corsino* Nuntius Elect into *France*, only because he came without first giving notice unto the King, or his Ministers of his arrival, they would much less receive the Archbishop with his Commission; and that therefore they resolved a thing which could not take effect: So it was plainly understood at *Paris* that this was the advice of those, who desired to furnish the Popedom with pretexts of blaming *France*, for want of respect towards the See Apostolick, and to give the Pope occasion to joyn with the Enemies of that Crown; there being some in *Rome*, as well as *Paris*, who believed the King would not have dared to contradict the Pope in that unhappy conjuncture of Affairs, and that therefore this bold resolution of sending the Archbishop *Marini* into *France*, would add very much to the reputation of his Holiness, and splendor of the Ecclesiastical Authority.

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1652. The Prince Cardinal *Trivulzio* (who was then in *Rome*, as the Person intrusted with management of the Interests of *Spain*, and as Ambassador to his Catholick Majesty) wisely foresaw the vanity of this resolution, notwithstanding that he endeavoured always (as a good Minister of State) to continue in his Holiness the sinister impressions against *France*, yet he approved not this advice; shewing plainly the ill success was likely to attend it: This Prince had executed this Function but from the 25th of *November* the year before, which had been put upon him in the manner, and for the Reasons following. The Cardinal of *Aragon* being dead shortly after his Promotion (which was very much delayed, either as not cordially solicited by the Cardinal *Albernaz* (who desired not that a Competitor of such a Quality and Kinsman of Don *Louis d'Aro* should prevail) or to facilitate the Promotion of the Count *d'Ognate*;) the Cardinal *di Cuena* was at the same time sent, or called back unto his residence at *Malega*, whereupon his Catholick Majesty ordered *Trivulzio* to leave the Government of *Sardinia*, and repair suddenly to *Rome*, to supply the Cardinal of *Aragon's* place who was destined thither, and gave him all the Spiritual Promotions in *Italy*, which became void by his death. But *Trivulzio* being unable to go the Voyage so speedily, because he was first to quiet the Kingdom (which by reason of some private accidents was in commotion,) the death of Don *Antonio Ronchiglio* happened, (whom Don *John of Austria* at his parting from *Sicily* had left President there) whereupon the Duke *Dell' Infantado*, who was Ambassador at *Rome*, being appointed Vice-Roy there, the Cardinal *Trivulzio* received new Orders to hasten his Journey, that he might enter upon the charge of his Embassy.

The Affair happened directly according to *Trivulzio* his Presage, because the proceedings of the *Roman* Court which had no other foundation but the opinion and desire of those who promoted it, was suddenly quashed, when the entry of the Archbishop *Marini* into the Kingdom was stop't by *Mazarine*, who knew the nature of the *French*, very easily inclined to pleasing Novelty, but inflexible to such resolutions as threaten them; in which they consider nothing but to maintain the King's Authority: And the *French* shewed themselves to be ill satisfied with the Court of *Rome*, reproaching it for partiality, for that whereas there had been several applications made unto it the year before, to represent the Injuries done by the Parliament of *Paris* to Cardinal *Mazarine*, against all Humane, and Divine Laws, without any legal accusation, or just authority, contrary to the King's Pleasure, who justified and owned him for his Faithful Servant, when a reward of 50000 Crowns was set upon his head, besides the Confiscation of all his Goods, the Pope had not concerned himself at all in his protection, who had then no other support but his Holiness (the King's Authority being trodden under foot and violated;) whereas there was now so great a Noise for the Imprisonment onely of the Cardinal *de Retz*, to which his Majesty was necessitated for the Publick good, and maintenance of the Royal Authority, against which *Retz* was accused to have long plotted; and the rather, because his Christian Majesty had no other intention but to hinder his proceedings therein, nor to make his Process, and much less to judge him, as knowing well the same belonged onely unto Christ's Vicar; Although the Parliament had arrogated to themselves an authority to do it against *Mazarine*, without any of those cautions, necessary to be used by any who bear Reverence to Holy Church.

These and the like Reasons were given by the *French*; who also urged the President of *Lewis* the 11th King of *France*, that imprisoned, and kept the Cardinal *Ballua* many years in restraint, holding correspondence with his Majesty's

1652. Majestie's Brother, and the Duke of Burgundy, and yet the Pope interposed onely by Fatherly Admonitions, and Requests for his delivery, although the things whereof he was accused, were nothing in comparison of what *de Retz* was charged withal. They said farther, *That the King had procured this Dignity for his Subject, to oblige him unto a greater diligence in his Service; not to protect him in any thing prejudicial unto his Crown: That all things necessary for maintenance of their Kingdoms, were lawful unto Sovereign Princes; but all things were not permitted to Subjects which conduced unto their satisfaction: That none ingaged himself in the defence, or gave a more intire obedience unto the Popes in matters of the Church, then the Most Christian King, for which he had been alwaies willing to expose his Crown; but he ought likewise in the Interests of State, to take to heart the good and quiet of his Subjects, unto whom he was a most indulgent Father.*

The disgust which the choice of Monsieur *Corsino* gave to the Court of France sprang hence; his Majestie's Ambassadour at Rome having received some inckling that the Pope intended to send another Nuntio in lieu of Monsieur the Marquess of *Bagni*, gave notice to his Holiness, *That in case he intended such a thing, 'twere fit he should first declare what Prelate he intended to intrust with that Employment; that he might know whether he were a person would be grateful to his Majestie.* The Pope pretended to have no such thought; but some few days after published the Election of the said Monsignor *Corsino*. The Ambassadour gave present notice of the disgust his Majesty would take at the manner of this Election, rather then for the quality of the person, who was in himself very considerable, and one to whom his Majesty had no other exception. But the Pope insisting, That he had no obligation to send onely such Nuntio's as should be pleasing to the Princes unto whom they went, as he obliged not them to send him onely such Ambassadours as he approved, continued positive in what he had before resolved, as conceiving that to alter him, would prejudice the Reputation of the Holy See, and commanded the Nuntio to prosecute his Voyage,

The Kings of France pretend (chiefly in time of Warr) not to receive any Nuntio's or Legate from the Pope, but one that shall be to their satisfaction, for a reason which obliges no other Prince besides the Popes, *viz.* Because it happens often, that those Prelates who are sent are not Subjects of the Church, but of some other Italian Prince (as this *Corsino* was, being a *Florentine*); and because (although they were the Churches Subjects) they might be Pensioners to other Princes, therefore France hath not thought fit to accept any, before an Information given of his quality, lest they might otherwise receive into their house, one who was an enemy, or of their party; For this cause therefore and no other, the Kings of France have used to require that they may be advertised before a Nuntio be chosen, and therefore Monsignor *Corsino* was stopped in *Provence*, but afterwards upon Treaty, it being known that this Prelate was independent of any but the Pope, he was admitted, and had been certainly received, had not the accident of Cardinal *Retz*, and sending of the Archbishop of *Avignon*, given a stop to the whole Business.

The Imprisonment of this Cardinal, who was one of the principal supports of the Faction *Della Fronda*, did break and totally destroy it, because although there remained yet some reliques of this fire, they were such feeble sparks as of themselves could raise no flame; and therefore the King's Authority growing more vigorous, proceeded in the Execution of all those Councils which were esteemed proper for restoring the Kingdome into its pristine splendour.

The King's Revenues were by these Troubles very much diminished, and there-

therefore the business for Money was very pressing, vast Debts being contracted, and the Credit of the Court being reduced unto the utmost extremity, notwithstanding that his Majestie's Annual Revenue amounted to more than Eight Millions of Doblloones of Gold. There were therefore many Decrees for raising Money made by his Majesty, which were the last day of December verified, and Registred in Parliament in his Majestie's presence, with all readines, although they were Thirteen in number; To which was added one Clause to sweeten them, *viz. That this Relief should be employed in the most urgent Business of the Kingdom, and particularly in payment of the Soldiery.* And those Edicts the 7th of January following were also verified in the Chamber of Accounts, and the Court of Ayds, in presence of the Duke of *Anjou*, who was sent thither by his Majesty to that purpose.

Together with these good Reliefs unto the Civil Government, the Martial Affairs began to be managed with a new vigour, and good success; considering the loís and ruines which had happened to the King, and the whole Kingdom, not only in the parts of *Flanders*, and *Guienne*, but also in *Italy*, and *Catalonia*, in which Province Cardinal *Mazarine* (having resolved to maintain a brisk Warr, that the *Spaniard* might be thereby diverted from sending great supplies to other parts) had caused the Town of *Roses* to be seasonably relieved with some Barks of Provision, sent thither from *Provence* by the Duke of *Mercaur*, and with the Regiment of Foot of *Anjou*, commanded by Monsieur *Frigembaut*, by whose arrival there was discovered a notable Treason plotted in the place, by one *Ganot* an Intendant, married to a *Catalonian* Woman, handsome enough, and wanton, and therefore much frequented by the Garrison.

She with her blandishments, and arts, prevailed upon her Husband to treat with the *Spaniard*, made a great progress therein, and wrought so powerfully in the minds, not onely of the Officers of the Garrison, but of the Household Servants also of the Marquess of *Fara*, Governour of the place, that even his most antient, and reputed most faithful Servants, were engaged in this amorous Frenzy, and became complices in the Treason, by a wonderful and almost incredible example, wherein 'twas seen, that the allurements of a lascivious imagination, prevailed against the obligation of their vowed Loyalty, unto the loís of their Reputation, and the destruction of their Lives and Fortunes.

The design of this Conspiracy was to kill the Governour at a certain Post, one Night as he went the Round, and then to open the Gates unto the *Spanish* Troops, who under the Command of the Baron of *Sabat*, were entrench'd near unto them. The coming of this new Recruit cooled the Affair, and drew it out at length, because the Officers of this new Succour were to be treated withal, and gained, whereby it came to be so long delayed, that the Plot was discovered in this manner:

There was a *Spanish* Drum used to go, and return, for Exchange of Prisoners, and other Occurrences of Warr, by whom *Ganot* used to communicate all things with the Enemy; it came into the Governour's Mind one day to have him searched, and see what Letters he carried, whether they were the same which he shewed as he went out of the Port, the Governour's Brother a young Cavalier took them from him; and the Drum growing first pale, and then blushing upon the taking of them from him, put the Cavalier into some suspicion of him; he brought the Letters unto the Governour, who finding them the same which had been at first shewed, thought no farther of it; but as he was upon the point of restoring the Letters, and discharging of the Drum, it came into his mind that *Ganot* himself had taught him to write with a certain water, the Characters whereof could not be seen but

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near the fire; he thought therefore to review these Letters, and try it, perhaps they had the secret of this water; and by that means the whole business came to be discovered.

Ganot was forthwith called, and strictly examined, whether he knew any thing of the Conspiracy, which the *Spaniards* had about the betraying of the place, and desired if he did, he would discover it, promising him pardon, and secrecy in the Affair (this the Governour did to make him serve as a double Instrument, that he might countermine the Enemies Designs) *Ganot* denied it absolutely, but being afterwards convinced by these Letters, he suddenly abandoned himself unto that baseness which is usually the companion of guilt, confessed the whole, and all his Accomplices; who being seized upon, and tried by a Court-Marshal, to the number of above twenty, were cast, and suffered deservedly an ignominious death; amongst whom (to the admiration of all) was one *Giardeni* Secretary to the Governour, a person who had long served him, and had in many occasions by experience been found trusty, and of an unblemish reputation.

In *Guienne* the King's Armies began to prosper, by degrees, as those of the *Boudeaux* grew weaker, who were divided amongst themselves; and governed by particular Interests and Passions. The Duke of *Candale*, who (as hath been already said) was sent to Command his Majesty's Forces in that Province in lieu of the Count *d'Harcourt*, took presently the Castle of *Pi-piols*, and seized upon *Marmande* and *Arguillon* Towns fortified after the ancient manner, situated beyond *Bordeaux* and *Agen* on this side of the *Garonne*; and being afterwards informed that the Count *Marfan* had caused the Colonel *Baltassar* to pass the *Garonne* with five or 600 Horse, to gain some advantage by the division of the Cavalier *d'Aubeterre's* Troops, which were placed in Garrison, and that he had also made Monsieur *de Bas*, *Maréchal de Camp* to march towards *Granada*, he sent Orders to the said Cavalier *d'Aubeterre* to be watchful unto the preservation of the Town, as a Post which would be of great advantage to the Enemy, because it not only hindered their entrance into the Country of *Chalosse* and *Armagnac*, but made him Master of the River of *Adour*, which is the principal Stream of all that Province; the which having for its Head a Fountain called *Cap Adour*, in the Mountain of *Tourmalet*, in the *Barrois*, washes the Soyl of *Bigorre*, the Cities of *Turbe* and of *Aire*, and after receiving into her self the Rivers of *Isle*, *Leckes*, *Larras* upon the Confines of *Bigorre*, and *Gascogne*, and after of *Lons* and *Douze*, passeth to *Mugron*, where growing Navigable, with a less rapid course it discharges it self into the Ocean near to *Baione*.

To hinder this Design *Aubeterre* rallied his Troops with so much diligence and so good fortune, that in less than thirty hours he had gotten together more than three hundred Horse, and better than four hundred Musquetiers, with which he forthwith marched against the Enemy, but finding him possessed already of the said Post of *Grenada*, he advanced notwithstanding to the Banks of *Douze*, in a place called *San Maurisio*, where had already passed 100 Horse, and as many Foot, whom he set upon, and charged so briskly, that almost all their Foot were lost, either by the Sword, or by the River, the Horse saving themselves by a hasty flight, and rallying behind the River with a Squadron of Horse as great as the other, and five hundred Musquetiers.

The King's Troops forthwith passed the River with so much fury, that those of the Princes terrified with fear, after they had given one Volley of Shot with their Fire-arms, all fled, recommending their safety unto the swiftness of their flight. Monsieur *de Avannes* who commanded a Squadron of *d'Aubeterre's* his Regiment, with the Monsieurs *de Trac* and *Villeneuf*, Officers of

of the Regiment of *Cregui*, following them with extraordinary diligence, attacked them so furiously, that amongst the dead and Prisoners, were accounted more than one hundred and fifty Irish, and amongst them was taken Monsieur *Faget*, eldest Captain, and Serjeant Major of *Baltassar*, and Monsieur *de Danan*, mortally wounded; those who escaped shut themselves up into *Grenada*, against which place the same Cavalier *d'Aubeterre* forthwith advanced with some Recruits come unto him from *Mont de Marfan*, being a Town with a Bridge upon the said River of *Douze*; but he was not expected by the Enemy, for they escaping privately in the night time, escaped to *Tortas*, the most important place they had in all that Quarter, standing upon the same River of *Douze*, and fortified with strong Walls, ancient Turrets, and a numerous Garrison.

The Duke of *Candale* after these fortunate Encounters, having first assured himself of *Mont de Marfan*, and other Towns in those Quarters by sufficient Garrisons, and banishing such of the Inhabitants as he found ill affected, left there *Aubeterre* with part of the Cavalry, and himself returned towards the *Garonne*, unto another Body of his men commanded by the *Marquis de Camilla*, Lieutenant-General of the Army. Some few days after being advertised that Monsieur *de San Mico* marched towards *Roquefort*, a place in the Country *d'Albret* beyond *Mont de Marfan*, and *Pracas*, with the Regiment of *Conti*, consisting of 400 Foot, and with 100 Horse, to possess that place by means of the Intelligence he had with some of the Inhabitants corrupted by Monsieur *de Pruque* Captain of the Regiment of *Guitaur*, he marched to encounter him with the greatest force he could draw out of his Garrisons, and overtaking them as they were taking up their Quarters in the very Suburbs of *Roquefort*, he commanded the Cavalier *Birague* to make an attempt upon them with the Follorn-hope, assuring him that he should be relieved and seconded; which being punctually executed, more than forty Souldiers of the Enemy were slain, and the rest enforced to shut themselves up in another Suburb, which was entrenched; at the same time there appeared beyond the River a Squadron of Horse, which was violently pursued even to the Town-gates; into which *Aubeterre* sent a Trumpet unto the Baron *de Marfan* who was Governour of the Town, to offer him relief, which he refused; assuring him, *He was in a condition to defend himself with the strength he had, and that he need not doubt his fidelity to the King's Service.*

This good Answer made *Aubeterre* get to Horse, that he might find and fight the Enemy; but having notice by the way that they came with *de Mico* from facing *San Justin*, a place within the County *d'Albret*, situated between the Rivers *Gelixe* and *Douze*, pursued by the Cavalier *de Paris*, and Monsieur *de Serigens* with so good fortune that the Commander of them had hardly saved himself with only five Horse of threescore that he had with him; he resolved to pursue the Run-aways, and clear that Country from the Prince's Forces.

But being at the same time advertised, that the Town of *Roquefort*, and the Baron of *Marfan* against his Patole given, instead of defending the Town for the King, had received Colonel *Baltassar* with the Princes Forces, he marched forthwith thitherward with those few Horse he had, then with him, that he might be revenged upon them; but hearing upon the way that *Baltassar* had taken *San Justin*, and *la Bastide* shamefully rendred to him, where he was fortifying to make himself a Winter-quarter, he forthwith changed his Design, and thought it better to march against *Bastide*, within which were the Regiments of *Leran* and *di Guitauld*, with 200 Foot and 100 Horse

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1652. of *Conti's* under the Command of the said *Leran*, who was a *Marschal de Campo*.

He joyned himself for this Design with the *Monsieurs Dailidor* and *Telich*, who had with them a good Body of Horse; and upon the 26th of January they drew near unto the place; *Dailidor* with some Horse that dismounted, attacked the Gate, and forced in giving entrance to *Hubert* and his Companions; but finding a strong Baricado notably defended by *de Leran* and his Souldiers, the King's Forces were with some loss repulsed; and forced to seek a better way to gain their purpose.

They caused therefore the Baricado to be attacked on three sides by a false Alarm; and in the mean time the Souldiers entred into some Houses upon another side, from whence firing upon the backs of those who defended the Baricado, they forced them to quit it, and retire into the great Church, which standing in the middle of a large Piazza, they fortified themselves within it; *Dailidor* forthwith without loss of time advancing under the Wall, gained with great Valour the Breach-work drawn by the Enemy before the Doors; and then the Cavalier *Hubert* gave sudden notice to *Leran*, that he should lay down Arms, and yield, or otherwise he should have no Quarter.

Leran made Articles, That liberty being given to himself and the Staff-Officers to retire themselves where they thought good, the Souldiers and the other Officers should remain Prisoners of War; Which being executed, there remained Prisoners with the Kings Forces more than 200 Foot, and about 300 Horse, with all their Baggage.

The Enterprize was Noble and very Honourable to the King's Commanders, although they lost therein about forty of their own men, together with *Monsieur de la Chapelle*; and this fortunate encounter facilitated also the gaining of *Monsieur d'Angoulême*, which presently rendered it self without much resistance; after this Action the King and Princes Forces scouring every where over that fertile, and late peaceable Campagne, rendered the Inhabitants thereof as unhappy, as the *Bourdelais* had shewed themselves imprudent, in drawing on their own shoulders a War, only to please others, whereby they could reap nothing but an irrevocable ruine, an eternal infamy, and in case the Arms of the Malecontents should have prevailed, a slavery to their selves, instead of the mild Government of their lawful and most gracious Sovereign.

These Maximes were notwithstanding understood by some, and had possibly been followed with effect, in case the wavering multitude without cause or reason had not suffered themselves to be governed by a blind fury, and inconsiderate ambition.

In this mean the Scenes for the Ballet were preparing in *Paris*, and the Prince of *Conde* in *Bordeaux*, together with the Princesses, his Cousin, and Sister, being invited by the *Carnaval*-Season; that they might win upon the minds, and please the simple People, and especially the rude multitude, greedy of Novelties, and delighted with pompous Shows, celebrated the Solemnity of the Christening of the Prince of *Conde's* his Second Son, born the Sept. before; wherein (according to the Prince of *Conde's* Orders) were God-fathers, the Jurates of the City; and the Dutches of *Longueville* his Sister, who adorned pompously with all her Jewels went to the Cathedral of the City, attended by the Cavalier *Todias*, first Jurate, and the Count *Marlin*, (who held the Infant) the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Angoulême*, and all the Principal Cavaliers and Officers of the Party being also present.

The City after made a magnificent Feast and Banquet, which was serambled

bled as by those of the *Olmiera*; and there were also made for some days following other Balls, and Bonfires, with Jests, Tiltings, Comedies, and Maques, as if that Countrey had felt nothing of War or Misery.

In the mean time divers secret Plots were driven, on for the reducing of *Bordeaux* to his Majesties Obedience; and it was a matter of difficulty to reduce that powerful and warlike City, so they made use of Industry and Art for the effecting of it. The Father *Faur*, a *Franciscan*, who was after made Bishop of *Glandèves*, a man subtle and zealous in his Majesties Service, who had much contributed to the reduction of *Paris*, proposed also the forming of some Intelligence in the City of *Bordeaux* it self, by means of the Fathers of his Order.

To this effect there was sent thither Father *Bernant*, Guardian of *Breda*, to settle an Intelligence with the Father *Ithier* Superior of the *Franciscan* Convent in *Bordeaux*, who carried with him several Orders fit for advancing the Design, according as Accidents should fall out. *Bernant* being discovered by the Prince of *Conti*, escaped from his hands with great dexterity, having upon pretence of kindness told him many falsehoods to conceal from him the true knowledge of the Design, and of the persons acting in it, but the Father *Ithier* was not at all moved therewith, because knowing himself to be gracious, and welbeloved by the Citizens, he hoped, That although his Designs should be discovered by some accident, yet he should be protected by them; and the rather, because he was assured that there were many, who groaned under the Tyranny of the *Olmiera*, who with inconsiderate precipitation, went on, and were upon the point of ruining the Countrey, and Religion, by Treaties with the English to give them entrance into *Guienne*. They concluded therefore, that there was no better or more secure way, than to gain some of the principal persons of the *Olmiera*.

The Mother *Angelica*, Abbess of the discaled *Carmelites*, gave occasion thereof to the Father *Ithier*, and discovered to him that one of her Convent, Sister unto *Villars*, had told her how well he was disposed to return unto his Majesties obedience, touched with remorse of Conscience, and the apprehension of a miserable end, due to his crimes; and he had therefore prayed his Sister, That she together with her company, would pray to God to give him strength, and courage, to amend his life.

The Father *Ithier* doubted not to discover himself unto the Nun, and to perswade her to keep her Brother fixed in his good purpose. *Villars* undertook to restore the City to the King's obedience, provided his Majesty would grant a General Act of Oblivion to all, to himself the charge of Procurator, and Syndiche to the Community, and the summe of 40000 Crowns to be distributed amongst those, who should be instrumental in it. The Court assented to the Proposition, and upon the Father's request gave order, That no violence should be offered unto the Prince or Princesses within the Town. The design proceeded hopefully, and would easily have been effected, if *Villars* (unconstant in his resolution) had not revealed the whole Plot, which happened upon a bare surmise of Signior *Lenet*, who gave out that he knew there was a new party framing in *Bordeaux*, wherean many that professed great Service to the Princes had a hand: *Villars* believing that some one of the Conspirators had discovered it unto *Lenet*, and fearing that he should be ruined, cast how to save himself by revealing the whole Treaty unto the Prince of *Conti*; he said, That he had not engaged himself therein, but so obtain thereby a clearer knowledge of it, and be able to make a fuller discovery unto the Prince, which was the cause he had not given him an earlier knowledge of it. The Prince told him, That he was well assured of his fidelity, and should never believe other of him; and therefore gave him Orders to continue his intelligence with them,

1652. them, that he might observe them better, and discover all the complices therein. That he might have the stronger proof against Father *Tibier*, he obliged by solemn Oath *Blaraut*, and *Guiraut*, Goldsmiths, that they should go to receive the Money promised by his Majesty, whereof 1500 double Pistols were configned. So as upon their Examination, and Depositions, the Father was imprisoned, and brought before a Council, in which *Marsin* Presided, and where were present many of the *Olmiera*, and some Officers of the Army, there a contest rose, *Whether Secular persons might sit in Judgment upon Clergy-men?* but 'twas not there resolved.

The Prince of *Conti* and Dutchess of *Longueville* gave positive Orders he should not die, but be kept Prisoner; *Marsin*, and *Lenet*, whose endeavour was to make the people furious, caused some Carters to cry out, *Tolle, tolle, Crucifige*; wherewith some of the Judges being much troubled, with incensed Countenances said, *They were not Jewes, and if the others were not Christians, they might go look them out a Pilate; for their parts, they intended not to dip their hands in innocent blood.* Whereat *Marsin* was much troubled, and to end the Dispute, caused him to be condemned to be publickly Carted; which caused a Spectacle of great compassion through the City, and brought much blame and hatred upon the Princes Party, because the Father being carried about, shouted at, reviled, and suffering a thousand insolencies from the rude multitude, went undisturbed, not moved either with the apprehension of death, or any injuries were done unto him, as if he had been going to a glorious Triumph. This his demeanour and fearless, yet full of humility, and patience, so moved the People, that they were forced to return him forthwith unto the Prison, from whence he came; and because they had taken away his habit, the Dutchess of *Longueville* misliking such barbarism, gave order to have it restored, and that the insolency of the People should be repressed. There was after this a Cousin of the same Father apprehended, who was privy to all his Transactions, to whom was given a strange Torment; but he, as if it had been nothing, suffered the same with a wonderful, and incredible patience, never opening his mouth of any thing touching the matter. The same morning that Father *Tibier* was taken, there were also arrested the President *Dafu*, and the Councillor *Borde*, and *Castelnare*, and committed to the Castle *du Ha*, who were after released on their Parols. *Dafu*, that he might free himself from all intrigues, took a Pass to go unto his Brother.

At the same time there was a Treaty by another Frier, called *Lande*, together with a Gentlewoman called *de Lune*, to gain the Colonel *Marché*, who gave ear unto the solicitations of the Frier's Brother, and communicated his design with this Widow, which was to make use of 100 Light Horse that he had hard by the Town, to put a Gate thereof into the Duke of *Candale*'s hand, praying her to write unto him touching the same, and to desire he would direct the means fit for the putting it in Execution: This Plot was also communicated with the Jurate *Rubert*, but at last *Marché* himself discovered it unto *Marsin*, and some few dayes after *Lande* acquainted the Prince of *Conti* with it, whereupon the Gentlewoman was imprisoned, long examined, and confronted with *Lande*, who justified it to him, that himself was the Author of the whole Plot, and therefore was a Traytor and a Villain. The ingenuity of this Lady was more favoured than the Accusers Information, who was afterwards arrested and banished by the *Olmiera*, and the Gentlewoman released, and permitted to return to her own house in the Countrey.

Mean while the City of *Monsegur*, wherein was garrison'd the Marquess of *Monpruillan*'s Regiment, was given up to the King's Party, together with their

1652. their own Officers, upon pretence that they owed them 2000 Doubloons of their Pay, they put themselves into his Majestie's Service, imprisoned the Commissary of the Quarters, from whom they took a good sum of Money, which he had raised upon the Neighbourhood; but they released him after, together with some of *Marsin*'s Officers, who at that time besieged Saint *Fermo* a little Town hard by: This was the Prologue unto the ruine of the Princes Party, who were forsaken by the best of their Troops, wearied with living in perpetual action, without any hopes of profit or reward, wherewith the Princes had endeavoured to sweeten all the Travels and hardships of their Party.

There followed after this divers other Accidents that much weakened the said Party, which having no other foundation but the hope of bettering their Fortunes, in lieu thereof met with unlooked for violences and oppression: A certain Engineer was imprisoned, and 3500 Doubloons taken from him, under colour that he had blamed the new form of Government; from another called *de Tuches*, they took 500 Doubloons, upon pretence that he had written to *Paris* the News which past at *Bordeaux*; there was a Vessel seized, and 25000 Crowns belonging to some *Holland* Merchants confiscated, which she was carrying to *Rochel*, being raised by Corn sold in that City, declaring the same to be Counter-band Goods, by which and such-like proceedings, Merchant-strangers, and the most able Citizens were extremely exasperated, seeing that without shame or Conscience, they stopped at no unjust or barbarous action: About this time, that is, upon the first of February, the Duke of *Vendosme* appeared with his Fleet in the *Garonne*, and presently began to build a Fort in the Isle of *Cazaux*, situated i'th midst of the River, and therefore of great importance, and no small annoyance to those of *Bordeaux*, amongst whom there being many inwardly affected to his Majesty, it was necessary the rest should be watchful and vigilant against Stratagems and Surprises, which in such occasions are often practised. And because the Curate of St. *Peter*'s Church had in a publick Sermon exhorted those of his Parish to shake off the yoke of that slavery they suffered under an unjust Authority, usurped over them by the base Council of the *Olmiera*, he was by order of the Prince of *Conti* arrested, and committed to Prison; but the people of his Parish rising in a tumult upon his carrying to Prison, he caused him to be released, and sent away, fearing that something worse might happen; because such Persons as are admitted to teach the Word of God have great influence upon the people when they perswade unto peace, and to a quiet life, and for this cause were also banished the Curates of St. *Simon*, and St. *Ramy*, together with the Priors and Guardians of the Dominicans and Capuchines, divers Councillors of Parliament, and several Citizens, who chose rather to suffer any persecution, than to run along with a Faction which was directly contrary unto the Service of his Majesty, so as the Parliament (which at that time was by his Majesty transferred to *Agen*) lessened so fast, that there remained in *Bordeaux* only nine Councillors, most of which were so terrified and confounded, that they knew not well what they were doing.

The Parliament transferred, began their meeting in *Agen* the third of March, the Signor *de Lane* second President presided at the opening of it, in the presence of the Duke of *Candale*, the Bishop of the City, and several other Persons of Quality, who assembled upon that occasion: But in *Bordeaux* the suspicion of some new Conspiracie still encreasing, all diligence possible was used to prevent it, and maintain the Prince's power: Publick Proclamation was made, That all strangers without employment should depart the City; all Hosts, Taverners, and such as let Lodgings were forbid

1652. to lodge, or receive any, without a billet from the Magistrate, or his Deputy. All Conventicles were forbidden, and all Night walking after the Tap-*too*, and vigilant Guards being set every where, they were very watchful against surprizes, and the rather, because the Souldiers and Captains of the Royal Party, drew more and more down into the neighbouring Towns and Provinces.

And forasmuch as the taking of *Sarlat*, *Sallagnac*, *Tetrason*, and other walled Towns of *Perigord* by the Prince's Forces, gave them the means of scouting all the Neighbouring quarters unto the great damage of the Province, the Marquess *Pampadour*, Lieutenant of the Province of *Limousin*, gathering together some Gentlemen, and divers Troops garrison'd at *Montbron*, and other adjacent places under the Command of Monsieur *de Brusquet Savagnac*, Marechal de Campo, and divers others drawn out of the Marquess *de Montbrun*, and Count *de Pardillan*, their Regiments, under the Command of Monsieur *de Baradas*, *Maistre de Campo*, took a resolution to march against the Enemy who kept at *St. Roberts*, in the County of *Agen*, and by cutting off their way to *Tetrason*, to oblige them unto an engagement. This design was no sooner discovered by the Enemy, but they resolv'd to expect the coming of the King's Forces upon a rising ground, where they drew up being 600 Foot, and as many Horse, commanded by Monsieur *de la Roche*.

Pampadour being well pleased to see the resolution of his Enemies correspond with his desire, sent Monsieur *de Brusquet* with the Regiment of *St. Andre*, to engage them, and himself with the other Squadrons followed to relieve him. The Prince's Troops made some resistance, but after the first charge, being frighted with the fury of *St. Andre's* old Horse, and not accustomed to such fierce engagements, suddenly turned their backs, and fled: The Foot abandoned by the Horse, casting down their Arms, cryed, *God save the King*; and without moving yielded to the discretion of the Conquerors, who by this Victory, besides the gain of all their Baggage, freed their Countrey from the continual trouble of these Souldiers, who were so much the more licentious, by how much they were straightned in their pay, and displeased with the Princes, whom they served. The Town of *Montignac*, situate upon the Bank of the *Dordogne*, belonging to the Marquess of *Hautefort*, gave testimony of an Exemplary Loyalty, when instead of subscribing the Accord with the Count *Marsin*, as did the other Towns of *Perigord*, they took Arms, and did not only maintain themselves in the obedience due to His Majesty, but also did all the hurt they could unto the Prince's Troops, as they did also in this Action of *St. Roberto*, where Monsieur *de Boulon* issuing out with some Firelocks by Order of Monsieur *de Radon* Governour of that Castle, they presently gave them chase, and took several Prisoners.

The Castle of *St. Surin* was also besieged, and taken by the Royalists, it was rendred at discretion, and the Captain *Trinquet* who commanded there, was carried prisoner to *Blaye*: There followed also the taking of divers other Castles, and Walled Towns, which with some small dispute either rendred themselves, or were taken by force of Arms, whereby the Prince's Troops came to be straightned into a narrow compass, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants by their example were perswaded to return unto their duty, by submitting to his Majesty's Authority.

These good Successes in *Guienne* were seconded by other Accidents which were of great advantage to the King's Party; for the Newes came, That on the 28th of *February* there had been a great Fight at Sea between the *Englisb* and the *Hollanders*, wherein each Party taking themselves to have the better, and the loss of Ships being almost equal, the Victory remained undecided: And this Engagement of the *Englisb* in a Warr against the *Hollanders*, hindred

hidured them from being able to embrace those resolutions against *France*, 1652. which otherwise they might have done, by assisting those of *Bordeaux* to the great prejudice of the Crown of *France*; which would have run great hazard, being attacked on the one side by the powerful Forces of the King of *Spain*, and on the other by Intestine Broyles, if at the same time it had been also assaulted by the *Englisb*: But the good Fortune of *France*, subordinate unto the Will of God, which disposeth all things according to the order of his Providence, preserved in that conjuncture this most Christian Kingdom, from receiving prejudice by that Nation different in Religion, and Customs, which at that time met with the fairest opportunity that might be to have wrought her ends, it being governed then by a violent party, had she not undertaken Enterprises different from what was expected, and being confounded within her self, had not given leisure to the King's Authority to gather strength, and to destroy the force of those who being disobedient themselves, endeavoured by their Cabal to bring all the rest into confusion.

This was by the Warr with *Holland*, of which I shall onely touch the principal Motives, because I would not with long digressions break off the thread of that Narration I have prescribed unto my self.

After the Parliament of *England* had made it self Master of that whole Kingdom, and overcome with its Victorious Arms, the Realms of *Scotland*, and of *Ireland*, they cast about how to maintain themselves in Arms with Forrainers, having no Enemy at home, because in times of quiet, Factions use to arise, and Armies weaken, which brings ruine to Commonwealths, especially in the beginning of a new Government, when their minds are wavering between the hopes of settlement, and fears of falling.

It happened then that no just cause appearing for a breach with *France*, they took a fair pretence for a Warr with the *Hollander*, as being those who having gained a considerable reputation at Sea, seemed to eclipse the lustre of the long feared, and unresistible force of the *Englisb*, on that Element.

These Jealousies, between them (besides the natural Emulation usual amongst bordering States) were heightened by the art and industry of the neighbouring Crowns, who observing with a jealous Eye, two Commonwealths by their sides, grown powerful, by Warr and Violence, could not but suspect from them some of those inconveniencies, which are usually offered by those who are strongly provided with Sea Forces: The cause of difference was the Herring Fishing about the *Orkades*, (Islands on the North of *Scotland*, and Members of *Great Britain*) to which the *Hollanders* send yearly a vast number of Ships, and draw from it an excessive Profit. The *Englisb* pretended, That the *Hollanders* possession of this Fishing was an effect onely of the negligence of their Kings, accompanied with so great a loss unto the Commonwealth by the *Hollanders* usurpation, and therefore not to be longer suffered by a Nation that, before *Holland* was so much as known, enjoyed without contest the principal Dominion of the Ocean. To this the States-General pleaded, That their Right was sufficiently established by their long continued possession, and Prescription.

This was the Motive upon which either party beginning first to raise Forces at Sea, the one for recovery of this loss, and the other for the preserving of it, fell afterwards to an open breach, with so great a prejudice to both parties, whose principal subsistence and strength depended upon Trade, that the same being hereby interrupted, produced all the effects of a miserable, and destructive Warr; but principally to *Holland*, which being straitned by the smallness of their Territory upon Land, had no means of subsisting, but by the Sea. To these Reasons which were derived from profit, and interest

1652. interest of State, were added others touching the punctilio of Reputation. The *English* pretending themselves to have been slighted by the *Hollanders* upon several occasions, and principally in the killing of their Ambassador at the *Hague*, who was against the Law of Nations assassinated there, by some *English* of the King's Party.

And the *Hollanders* (who by their fresh and frequent Victories obtained against the Power of the King of *Spain*, had already gained so great a Reputation, that they were generally much esteemed and feared; and had besides concluded so advantageous a Peace with his Catholick Majesty) not daigning to give way unto the threats of *England*, wherein the wounds of their intestine Broyls were yet fresh bleeding, took little care to satisfy the Parliament therein, but sent to Sea a numerous Fleet, and either Party falling to Acts of Hostility, many Merchants Ships were lost on either side. And their Fleets who were above 100 Sails strong on either side, meeting at last, there passed the said Battle, and many other Fights at Sea, with loss on both sides, but in such manner, as each Party pretending to have the Victory, it could not be well told which side had got it, the loss consisting only in that of one or two Ships more or less than the Relations which were published, and therefore each Party failed not to put to Sea afresh, with an intention of fighting for it, the *Hollanders* notwithstanding were very sensible of the loss of *Van Trump*, their General, a Person of great Valour and extraordinary Experience at Sea. And we may well believe, that as there is no comparison between the Greatness and Power of *England* and *Holland*, which is far inferior to it in riches, in extent of Land, and Bodies of men, so without doubt the *English* would have prevailed, had they not been distracted by new intestine Broyls and Troubles.

The Court of *France* therefore considering how fit it was to make use of this favourable conjuncture of time to assure themselves of *Guienne*, and *Bordeaux* a City so disposed to risings, resolved to make all fitting preparations for the reducing of them; and therefore besides the Fleet sent into the *Garonne* (as hath been said) and the advance of Souldiers from all parts into the Province, the Cardinal *Mazarine* continued the Treaties of Agreement with several Parties, to see if he could give an end rather by Composition than Arms unto that War, which being against Subjects, renders the Victory weak and languishing, whereof reserving the Account to the next Book, I will resume the Relation of what was done during this time in *Champagne*, where all persons being encouraged by the arrival of the Cardinal's Army, and the Recruits sent from him after the taking of *Barleduc*, and passing of the River *Aisne*, they besieged *Chateau Porcien*, in which Monsieur de *Boisfon* commanding with a strong and numerous Garrison of old Souldiers, rendered the place very considerable, especially being in the heart of Winter, a time very unfit for Armies to keep the field.

This difficulty was overcome by the Cardinal himself, by whose presence (the Souldiers having an extraordinary love for him) all dangers seemed light, and were endured with a patience equal to that affection wherewith he was served and followed.

The Regiment of *Espagny*, Commanded by its Colonel, attacked the said Town of *Chateau Porcien* by Orders from the Duke of *Elbeuf*, and Marechal d'*Aumont*; and the second of January at night possessed themselves thereof without resistance; the Enemy being retired into the Castle, from whence they fired fast upon the King's Forces, who had made there a Barricado, and taken up their Quarters, and some time after fell to mining; but because the besieged defended themselves obstinately, and threw great quantity of wild-fire into the Town, wherewith many Houses were burned, this work was hindered.

1652. hindered. The Count de *St. Aignan* first Gentleman of the King's Chamber, having Commanded in Chief the Body of an Army, was come as a Volunteer there to wait upon the Cardinal, as did also many other Lords and Great Persons; this Count with the good liking of the Duke of *Elbeuf*, and Marechal d'*Aumont* the Generals, began a new Mine, together with the Marquess of *Espagny*, and Monsieur de *Layeux*, and *St. Aignan* being busied at the work where he wrought indefatigably with his wonted Courage; one night about five a Clock, as he returned, he was shot with a Musket in his left arm, and received a great Wound; but this accident hindered him not from running presently with Sword in hand before he was dressed to make Head against a Sally, where the Besieged were valiantly received, and beaten back: At the last the Mine being compleated and ready to be fired, and another also of Monsieur de *la Fronde*, being in a good forwardness, the Enemies seeing the works very much advanced by the assistance of the Cardinal, who (neglecting all thoughts of dangers) was never from the Work, yielded upon Articles, and marched out after six days respite, which were willingly accorded to them, to see if *Conde* would advance to relieve them, which he gave out that he would do; but he not appearing, they then issued out, and the Town was restored unto his Majesty's obedience.

The Prince of *Conde* knowing that without stronger succours it was impossible to give a stop unto the Cardinal's proceedings, and much troubled to see his Designs crossed, which were (as he told the Ministers of *Spain*) to winter in *France*, and maintain the War in that Kingdom, without Charge to *Flanders*, being much grieved, and perhaps repenting that he had put himself into that Action, began to cast away those hopes, which till then had born him up, and represented in time, not only to the Ministers of *Flanders*, but also to the Catholick King's Court, the necessity there was of a greater Force for the carrying on of that Affair: Writing (besides the Orders sent to Monsieur de *St. Agolin* his Agent in *Madrid*) unto the Favourite *Don Lewis d'Aro*, a Letter to the ensuing purpose.

MY LORD:

I Cannot possibly forbear longer to give your Excellency an account of the wretched condition wherein my Affairs stand, for want of those things which have been promised me; your Excellency knows with what patience I have seen (for want of Money) all my Concerns in *Guienne* to go to ruine; *Paris*, *Montrond*, *Dijon*, *Bourges*, and many other considerable places to be lost; and with what constancy I have refused all the advantages have been offered me by the Court of *France*, for the observance of my promise; but I must now declare unto your Excellency, that I find my self reduced to the last point. The Cardinal *Mazarine* is returned into the Kingdom, hath got together all the Power of *France*, and is now come to drive me from my Winter-Quarters; the Army of *Flanders*, and the moyety of that of *Lorraine* have abandoned me, and the Duke *Charles* speaks of calling the remainder from me. The Count *Fuenfaldagne*, who makes open shew of an aversion to assist me, hath let me know there is no Money for me, nor no hope of it; in the mean time the Enemies establish themselves, possess my Quarters, and in case they establish their Design, will settle an Authority which as yet *France* never knew, and put themselves into such a condition, as will be very troublesome, not to me alone, but to your Excellency also. My Friends have lost all hope of being succoured, and perceiving me to be thus abandoned, do make their peace one after another, and quit my Party. I beseech you my Lord, to take some good Order herein, Commanding these Ministers expressly to assist me with all their Troops; when all those of the Enemy shall come against me, or with part of them when I shall

1652. *be assaulted only with a Party, and also to send me forthwith Money which hath been with so much asseveration promised me. I shall then be bold to promise, that we shall quickly force the Enemy to quit the Field, or consent unto a just and honourable Peace.*

This I expect from his Majesty's Justice, and your friendship, and shall endeavour to let you see, I am most affectionate to serve you, &c.

He added a Postscript to the Letter, whereby he desired him to give credit unto what should be declared unto him touching this matter by St. Agolin, by word of mouth, or by Monsieur Lener by Letter, to whom he had recommended the care of his Affairs in Bourdeaux.

The Prince's design was by all means to keep up his party in Guienne, and thereby to assure the City, and Parliament of Bourdeaux, and by that diversion (employing a good part of the Catholick King's Forces in that Province) he thought with the Flanders Army to enter France, and give new life unto the fickleness of the Parisians, and the bitterness of male-contents; and therefore all his desires were reduced unto two points, One, That the King of Spain, with Men and Money speedily dispatch't into Guienne, would add new fuel to the Warr which was there kindled: And sending the Money promised into Flanders, would permit him to encrease his Army, and march upon those designs he had projected independent upon any other.

But forasmuch as the Spaniard by the exorbitant Expence he had been at in the Sieges and Enterprises of Barcellona, Gravelin, Dunkirk, Trin, and Casal, was very bare of Men, and Money, and the Kingdom of Naples could not now furnish those great Retructs of Men and Treasure, in which consisted the chief strength of the Spanish Forces, but rather appeared likely to fall into despair, by reason of the oppressions it had suffered under the King's Ministers, the Provisions of Guienne were so slow and feeble, and the Preparations in Flanders so short of the hopes and expectations of the Prince of Conde, that it was evident the Victories obtained in the Year 1652, were rather a weakening, than a strength, unto that Monarchy. The Prince therefore being disabled to perform things whereof he had given hopes unto the French that followed him, was forced to dismiss the best part of them, and to permit them with his good leave to return to the obedience of his Majesty, which was done by many of them for that onely reason; And the Duke of Rochefoucault, being disabled by the Wounds he received in the last Fight at the Faubourg of St. Antonie in Paris to serve farther in the War, accepted by his content of a Pardon, and quitted the Prince's Party with his intire good liking and consent.

The King's Council in Spain did notwithstanding what it was able in those straits, for Provisions both for Guienne and Flanders, and was not wanting by means of their Ambassadour at London, to try all means of engaging the English against the French, but 'twas observed, that in the Propositions for their sending of Men into Guienne, the Catholick Ambassadour moved very warily; he was willing Spain should have a footing in that Province, but 'twas against his Maxims, That the English should nestle there, whose power ought to be suspected unto the Spaniard; their Dominions not onely in Europe, but also in America, being expos'd to the Invasion of their formidable Fleets, man'd by a Nation ill affected to the Professors of the Roman Catholick Religion.

And because the Neapolitans, and particularly the Nobles, complained, and every one cryed out against the rigours of the Count d'Ognate, Vice-Roy there, murmuring that Pardons were not sincerely kept, so as there was no end of punishment; the Catholick King resolv'd (his three years being long since

1652. since past) to recall him into Spain: The King's Council considered, that 'twas hard (not to say impossible) that Minister should be perswaded to act with more sweetness, because it appeared manifestly, that the Maxims of his Government tending onely to depress the Baronage and secure the People to him by good turns, and a rigid Justice, he would make use of his Majesty's Authority upon all occasions to put the same in execution, principally against those who were suspected or accused to have had hand in the late Revolutions: Those who were his Enemies at Court, had also the better means to do ill offices, not only by reason of the small correspondence he held with Don John of Austria, and his part taking with the Brothers of Cardinal Barberin, but most especially by reason of his Wealth, and the absolute Authority he exercised in his Government; which encreased the Envy and Emulation against him. To all this was added, the ill satisfaction of his Holiness, who protested, *That he was cause of the small correspondence between him and the King of Spain, by reason of those continual prejudices the matters of the Church received, by the Discords he entertained with the Archbishop Cardinal Philomardini, the nature of which, though they were such as of themselves might be some Motives of distrust against him, yet they were reported to have had another cause, the said Archbishop being charged not to have dealt sincerely in the beginning of the Tumults, and in the progress of the Treaty, so as if he had encouraged the People, covering his partiality under the pretence of maintaining that confidence with them, which might render his interposition the more useful: That he had done many Actions esteemed prejudicial, and such as shewed no good intencion, particularly in receiving the Duke of Guise, in a manner refused unto Don John of Austria, with the Ceremonies onely due to lawful Princes: That he had discovered many Councils, and Designs to the Enemy, and in particular (although too late) the last Plot, whereby the City was recovered by the Vice-Roy; That nourishing Factions without regard unto the danger of the Times, he had bred Troubles, and prosecuted all his Actions and Designs with violence.* To the Count d'Ognate was appointed Successeur the Count of Castiglione, either to remove him from Court, or to sweeten the Rigours of Ognate, he being a Cavalier very dextrous, affable, and full of courtesie.

In the mean time Cardinal Mazarine being encouraged by the good Success of his Enterprises, undertook also the Investing of Rhétel, and St. Menhonn, and rallying together all the Troops of Marechal Turenne, and de la Ferte Seneterre, marched that way, hoping to perform this before the Souldiers went into Quarters; but by reason of the strong Garrisons wherewith the Prince of Conde had reinforced these places, and the sharpness of the Season, he gave over the attempt, and in lieu thereof, sent the Marquis Castelneau, and the Count Broglie to attack Peruvins, which they did the 27th of January, forcing the Garrison, which was 300 Foot, and 200 Horse, to quit the place next day towards Night; And the Cardinal leaving there for Governour Monsieur de Rinville with a strong Guard, dismissed the Troops into their Quarters, and so ended the Campaigne of 1652; In Chateau Porcien was left for Commander the Count de Grand Pre, and the Frontiers of Champagne being provided with sufficient strength against the attempts, might be made by the Garrisons of Monson, St. Menhonn, Clermont, and Senay; the Cardinal accompanied with a great number of Noble Persons, and Officers of the Army, went to Paris, whither he had been invited by frequent Courriers from their Majesties.

The Marquis Pallavicino Treated at the same time the Affair touching the Restitution of the Galley, taken by the Count d'Harcourt from the Gamousses, and the Justice of that Common-wealths Demand appearing to the Court of France, his Majesty, whose intentions were to preserve Friendship, and good corre-

1652. correspondence with them, overcame all difficulties, and with great Equity and Justice, gave order for the restitution, commanding that the Galley fitted up, and fully armed, should by a Gentleman sent expressly for that purpose, be brought unto the Town of *Genova*, and there restored, as it was the August following, where the Senate in acknowledgment of his Majesty's generous goodness, caused the Gentleman to be Treated at the publick charge in the said Marquess *Pollavicin* his House, and dismissed him with a Present of 1000 Duckets in Plate.

This Galley had been thus taken, in the Encounter which past in the Year 1638. between 15 Gallies of *France*, and as many of *Spain*, as hath been elsewhere said; There were 5. taken by the *French* from the *Spaniard*, one of which in that long Fight having lost all her Men, and Tackle, it was impossible for the *French* General to bring her into *Provence*, and therefore putting some few Marriners and Souldiers into her, he left her in the *Fosse D'Arrassi*, himself following on his way towards the Islands of *St. Margaret*, and *St. Honorato*; Notice hereof being given unto the *Spanish* Garrison in *Finall*, and to the People of *Loano*, Subjects to the Prince *Doria*, the same Night with certain Barks, and Filoukes from the Creeks in the said places, they surprized the Galley without resistance; the rather, because she lay off the Castle, so as she could not be thereby defended, and brought her safe into the Port of *Genova*, to which the other *Spanish* Gallies were retired: This Accident was falsely reported to the *French* General, suggesting that those of *Arrassi*, and others Subjects of the Republique, had concurred to the recovery of this Galley; which being also confirmed by the common discourse at *Thoulon*, and *Marseilles*, and reported in the *French* Court, gave occasion unto the Count *d'Harcourt*, being Admiral, to engage himself in demanding the restitution of this Galley; to which purpose coming with his great Ships near *Genova*, he sent with much Civility and Courtesie to request of the Republiick, that they would put into his hands this Galley, which being gotten in a just Warr from the Enemy, was possessed by their Subjects. The Senate gave order, that a relation of the truth of the fact should be given unto *Harcourt*, that she had been taken, not by their Subjects, but by *Spaniards*; and that for the satisfaction of *France*, they would make strict enquiry to see if any of their Subjects had hand in it: *Harcourt* passed in shew well satisfied with the ingenuous proceeding of the Republiick, who failed not to use their best diligence to be informed of the truth; and it was found, that among so many who joyned in the recovery of the Vessel, there were three poor Mariners who were *Genoueses*, whom they caused to be severely punished, and sent due information thereof unto *Gio. Baptista Salazzo* their Ambassadour in *France*, that he might satisfy the Court, and thought they had given sufficient satisfaction, and made it to appear that 'twas far from their intention, the least damage should be done by any of their Subjects. But on the contrary, that two Gallies being in the same Fight taken from the *French* by the *Spaniard*, and brought into *Genova*, wherein were many wounded persons, and Prisoners, the common Souldiers were forthwith taken into Hospitals, and the Officers, and Persons of Quality, by particular Gentlemen into their Houses, where they were treated with much magnificence and Courtesie; amongst them two Captains of the Gallies lodged by *Gio. Battista Raggi*, confessed that they had never found any where so much Courtesie as they had experienced in *Genova*. This *Raggi* was Nephew to the deceased, and Brother to the living Cardinal of that name, who after he had for five moneths defrayed their charges, got them their liberties without Ransome. But as there is never wanting in great Princes Courts envious persons, and back-biters who do ill offices, and turn the sweetest

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and most obliging actions into poyson, it was insinuated to *Harcourt*, that he had been abused by the State of *Genova* in his demand, under colour of taking information touching the manner of the recovery of the *Spanish* Galley.

This Prince fierce by Nature, and apt to resent Injuries, the year following being at Sea with the Fleet under his Command, sailed to the River of *Genova*, passing within two miles of *St. Remy*, and two Senators of *Genova* being there about Publick Affairs, upon the notice they had of the appearing of the *French* Fleet, sent a Gentleman with a Galley, and several Provisions to refresh, and Complement the *French* General, but after the usual Salutes coming aboard the *French* Admiral, without the least suspicion of Hostility, the Galley was surprized whilest the Gentleman was aboard of *Harcourt's* Ship, performing of his Message to him.

The Senators were much astonished and surprized with the unwonted strangeness of this Action of the *French* Admiral, who sailing as a Friend upon the Seas of the Republiick, and being saluted as such by them, the Hostility committed by him could be nothing else but an apparent breach of Publick Faith, and a violation of the Law of Nations. The Gentleman and Captain of the Galley complained to the General, charging him with a Fact so detestible, and unusual: He replied sharply to them, *That they being of the Republiick of Venice, who had taken a Galley, which on the King's behalf he had demanded, but could not get, he was bound to take satisfaction himself where he could find it.* He caused the Galley to be plundered, released the Captain and Mariners, and brought the Vessel with the Tackle to *Thoulon*. The news of this Accident coming to *Genova*, was the more sensible to the Senators, and the whole City, by how much it was known to be less just, and reasonable; and the rather, because in this Action, and other occasions, the Republiick had always shewed a good correspondence with *France*; so as if the great wisdom of the Senate had not shewed it self in regulating the Motions of the People, and City, not suffering them to fall tumultuously upon those resolutions which must be undertaken upon mature advice, there was some danger lest the *Genoueses* should have fallen upon the *French*, and deprived them of their Goods and Lives, in revenge of so apparent an Injury.

The Commonwealth failed not amongst other Provisions to dispatch presently a Courrier to their Ambassadour in *France*, with orders to represent unto his Majesty this Accident so unexpected, without reason, and contrary to all Lawes of Hospitality, letting him know, *They hoped from his Majesty's Justice, not only restitution of the Galley taken, but satisfaction also for the Injury, which with so much violence was done unto them.* The Ambassadour espoused the cause, declaimed against the strangeness of the Action, and set forth the injustice of it with so much evidence of Reason, that the Cardinal *Richelieu* after he had excused it, upon pretence of reprisal, by reason of an injury of the like nature received from the *Genoueses*, told him, *That if the Commonwealth would by their Letters to his Majesty desire a Restitution of the Galley, he doubted not but that his Majesty would please to do it.* But this Business, the dispatch whereof was thought so easie, by reason of the delays used in it, which are proper to great Courts, took not effect but at the time, and in the manner above rehearsed.

The Marquess *Pallavicin* ceased not at the same time to make continual applications unto his Majesty's Ministers at Court, That they would give order to have the Common-Wealths Ambassadours treated with the same Ceremonies are usual unto those of Crown'd Princes. He shewed that this Demand was founded upon Justice; *Forasmuch as besides that Liguria had been*

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1653. been often called a Kingdom, this Common-Wealth had for many Ages past been Owners of that of Sardinia, conquered by force of Arms, and that of Cyprus, rendered it Tributary for many years; and taken from the French that of Corsica, which is still holds; besides so many Glorious Conquests in the Levant, which rendered it formidable unto all its Enemies, and especially the Infidels, against whom the Christian Princes never almost undertook a War, without receiving powerful assistance from this Common-Wealth: Which hath been therefore Honoured by many Popes with the Title of their Protector. And the Commonwealth thought it self here obliged to challenge the same Respect with other Potentates, because the Bull of Urban the 8th. for conferring the Title of Eminence upon the Cardinals, with pain of Excommunication to all that should refuse to use it towards them, Excepting Kings; that Exception, upon the instance of the Venetian Republick, was declared to extend unto all Potentates who had Royal Dignity; whereupon the Commonwealth of Genoua for preserving of its Dignity declared it self by a particular Decree to be comprehended in the number of such Potentates, requiring the same not only from Pope Innocent the 10th, unto whom they sent Rastael de la Torne a particular Envoy for that purpose, but also by others in all the Courts of the prime Princes of Christendome.

Pallavicin found a great disposition in the King to gratifie them with this Honour, the Ambassadour of this Republick being the year following received with the same form, used towards those of Crowned Princes, as in the continuance of this Story shall be declared.

It will not also be amiss to give a short touch of the Affairs treated at this time in Germany, and particularly in the Diet at Ratisbone, concerning the strengthening of the Peace concluded the Year before in Osnaburgh, and Munster, because both French and Spaniard had some share in it; in regard the Spaniards following the Maxime, To have the effects of things which were likely rather to be seen, than felt, endeavoured under the plausible pretence of Religion to delay the restoring of those Places they possessed in the Lower Palatinate, to discompose that Peace from which they were excluded with their so great resentment, if at least they may be said to be excluded who are neither principal, nor accessory, it being manifest by the Declarations of the Swedes, and Protestants in Germany, that they never pretended to have any open Enmity against the King of Spain.

But finally, by the care and sollicitude of the Emperour, and his Negotiation full of Candour and Clemency, the restitution of Frankendale (held and refused to be given up by the Spaniard) being obtained, and the differences of the City of Hailbrun, and others adjusted; the Meeting of Nuremberg was concluded, whereby those Obstacles which were referred to their Decision by the Imperial Diet, and which might have ministred matter unto new differences, and divisions, were smoothed in the end of the Year 1652, unto the satisfaction of the Resolutions taken in the said Diet, the occasions whereof was in appearance to determine the Points reserved at the Treaty in Munster, but in substance to proceed unto the Election of the King of the Romans; a thing wonderfully desired by the Emperour, that he might establish the King of Hungary his Son, in the Succession of the Empire.

His Imperial Majesty was loth to put this to the trial, unless he were first assured of the undoubted success of his designs. He knew the Electors were almost all of them particularly obliged to him in point of gratitude, and the Prince Palatine more than the rest, being by his means restored to the possession of Frankendale, but he was very suspicious in his mind of the Haas Towns, swelling with pretensions, by support of the Swedes, and animated by their good intelligence with France, and therefore thought they would with their whole Power, give what disturbance to it they were able. The Empe-

Emperour therefore thought fit before summoning of the Diet in Ratisbone, 1653: to sound the minds of the Electors by his Letters, that he might inform himself whether they approved the coming now to the Election of his Successor.

He wrote therefore very Affectionate Letters to each of them unto that purpose, and made them to be accompanied by the person who had charge to present them, with those reflections were fit to make them jealous of those States in the Election, and to animate them not to suffer that any other should partake of that Prerogative, which was due only to themselves, independent upon any other person whatsoever.

The Electors took in good part the Advice given, and much more the gracious Expressions of his Imperial Majesty, they returned Answer therefore in Terms full of Reverence, and particular Devotion, and most especially the Prince Palatine endeavoured to express his Gratitude; because he well knew that although his Catholick Majesty out of his Natural Generosity had condescended to the restitution of Frankendale to gratifie him, without any other condition, yet the Emperour by the cross management of the Spanish Ministers, had been forced to quit the City of Besancon in the Franche Comte, and to promise payment of 25000 Dollers from the Circles of the Empire unto the King of Spain, to get possession of it.

The Emperour being therefore certified of the good inclination of the Electors, summoned a Diet to meet at the end of the Year 1652, and in the moneth of August advanced to Prague, whither under colour of doing him reverence, and confirming the good intelligence between them, came all the Electors in person, excepting onely he of Cologne who was sick, and sent thither in his stead the Count of Fustembergh, and the Elector of Bavaria, who in his place deputed thither his Mother Anna Maria of Austria, Sister unto the Emperour, who came accompanied with a Train of 200 persons, and upon the 29th of September, was by the Emperour himself met out of the City at the White Mountain, in which place all the other Electors were also encountered by him, with so much shew of Love and Kindness, that there was none who did not think himself highly obliged by the Emperour's Courtessie, who gave order that the King of Hungary should give the first Visit unto every one of the Electors.

There followed afterwards in Prague the mutual declarations of a constant, and sincere intelligence between the Parties, and the ascertaining of the Articles necessarily conducing unto the common intention of electing a King of the Romans.

Upon these assurances, the Emperour accompanied by all his Court went to Ratisbone in December following, whither came the Electors of Moguntia, Treves, Cologne, and the Prince Palatine of Bavaria sent thither with the Title of his Ambassadour and Plenipotentiary, the Count Maximilian Curtio, a Cavalier of rare parts, and singular abilities; Brandenburg dispatched thither Joachimo Frederick, Baron of Plumenthal, a Person of very clear repute, who dyed there, and Saxony had the young Schonfels and Sesen, a person of great Dexterity, and profound Learning. In the first opening of the Diet there grew several differences by reason of the pretensions to Titles, and precedencies, which spent some dayes, and delayed the making of the Propositions; the Emperour was not able to make his Cavalcade according to the ancient usage, but made his Entry in Coach, because that he was ill disposed: The States opposed themselves to this, pretending that the ancient Form should not be altered; but they gave way at last therein to satisfy his Majesty: The Emperour intended also that the Meeting should be kept in his own Palace, upon the same ground of his want of health; but the States were so positive against

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against this, that he could not obtain it, but the same was in the publick house destinated unto such occasions.

At last the Assembly met, and the Marquis de Buda, after a fine Elegant Oration made in praise of *Cesar*, and of the Assembly, opened the Propositions upon which they were to Treat, being these:

First, Concerning the manner whereby to establish the Peace gained with so much Labour, Trouble, and Expence, between the Head, and Members, and between them, and Foreign Princes, to cherish the antient, and sincere confidence was heretofore, and in what manner their common Country afflicted with so many passed Wars, might for the time to come be preserved from any ill intelligences which might arise, and that what remained to be done, and concluded in the Treaty of Peace, might be executed as was just and fitting.

To consider touching the Expedients whereby without long delays (which are always hurtful) those things may be decided, which are remitted to the Diet by the said Treaty.

His Imperial Majesty shewed himself ready to subscribe all these Propositions, promising to continue in a Fatherly and Cordial Affection towards all in general, and every one in particular.

The Meeting therefore at first went on with general Propositions, touching the Policy of the Empire, and the things which were reserved unto the Diet by the Treaty of *Munster*; but afterwards they entred upon the Treaty, touching the Election of a King of the Romans.

The *Hans* Towns then set on foot their Pretensions to be admitted to the said Election, whereunto they were privately encouraged by the French, and Swedes; whereat the Electors were offended, that others should intrude themselves into a business appertained solely to them. And the differences at last grew to that height, that there being no means to accord them, the Electors resolved to divide from them, and to meet in *Augusta*; where in the month of *May* following, they proceeded to the Election of *Ferdinand* the Fourth, King of *Hungary*, for King of the Romans; after which they returned to *Ratisbone*, to perform the Ceremonies of his Coronation. The said States protested against it, pretending it to be invalid; but in vain, because it was approved by all the rest, and the King was lawfully inthroned and settled in that Dignity.

The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed, in which there grew a difference between the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Palatine*, either of them pretending, that it belonged to him to carry the Imperial Crown; which was at last adjusted by the Emperour, who caused the said Crown to be consigned unto the *Palatine* as Treasurer of the Empire; the Count of *Hohen Zellern* carried the Scepter, the Count of *Papenham* the Sword, and these with the Elector *Palatine* went before the Emperour, who was carried in a Chair into the Church, where solemn Mass was sung, and all Ceremonies performed which are usual in such occasions.

The *Hans* Towns seeing their pretensions to have a vote in the Election insufficient, declared, That they intended to take into consideration the Articles which used to be solemnly sworn by a new King of the Romans, that is to examine, add to, or take from them. The Reformed insisted, That they should be ratified, and sworn by the King, according to the Form they had appointed. This Dispute continued for some time with obstinacy, but the Emperours Authority, and the Reasons alledged at last prevailing, they acquiesced, and this difficulty was overcome.

The Meeting continued after, and debated upon the Points already mentioned, but with so little success, that the Diet was at last dissolved with little satisfaction, by reason of the difference in Opinions which rose amongst them.

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The Protestants pretended that in all things which were to be decided, they might give their Votes apart; alledging, That so far as the Catholics were more in number, it was convenient, to the end things might be indifferently carried, that their Votes should be equal to the Catholics. The Emperour was much against it, and stood firmly in the negative; but being above measure desirous of Peace, and that the Diet should end with an entire satisfaction to all Parties, he at last consented to it, with this reservation, That the same should be onely understood to extend unto those things which were to be decided, not to such as were already settled, and that it should be for this time onely.

The Protestants having advanced this step, were not content, but pressed farther, in regard the Assembly being to break up, and the matters which were not determined, being to be referred unto another Meeting in *Frankfort*, a free City situate near the Lower Palatinate upon the River *Maine*, they pretended also to have the same liberty of voting apart as was granted them in this Assembly at *Ratisbone*.

The Catholics shewed themselves resolute not to give way unto this Innovation of the Protestants; They had therefore secret meetings apart, and took a resolution to oppose it vigorously. The Protestants also had their meetings, and resolved to insist upon this demand, and go through with the obtaining of it; if otherwise they could not compass it, by force of Arms; declaring to be a matter just, honest, and convenient. These their Propositions were backed by the Swedes, and the French also, who were glad to see Division between the Parties, and to render the party which depended upon them, equal in all advantages with those who they believed would not run their way, so at the matter tended to a new Rupture, and breach of the Peace, which had been gained with so much trouble.

The Emperour wisely foreseeing the ill effects which this division might beget, by the Advice of his Council, and particularly of the Count of *Harbourg*, a Person of great Integrity, Abilities, and Experience, (who was after made a Prince of the Empire) gave notice by the Count *Carrio*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, unto the Elector of *Moguntia*, That he should endeavour by all means to adjust this Difference.

The Protestants having by some means got notice of the Emperour's inclination to adjust this difference, grew more positive in their Resolutions to have it, so as the Archbishop of *Moguntia* being not able to gain any thing upon them; that he might accomplish the Emperour's desire, endeavoured to persuade the Catholics to comply with them; and therein laboured so effectually, as he persuaded those who were the most averse, to consent unto the satisfaction of the Protestants; that is to say, that they should also have an Equality of Votes in the meeting of *Frankfort*, upon condition it should be for that time onely, and should extend onely to the three Points, which were there to be discussed, and ended, which were;

First, Touching the Arming of the Circles of Germany, and the Provisions to be made for the Publick Safety.

Secondly, The settling of the Policy, and good Orders of the Empire.

Thirdly, Touching the manner of making restitution of Goods and Estates, upon the Articles of *Ohliva*, and Religion.

These things being obtained by the Protestants, they pressed farther, and demanded in lieu of the Deputation appointed at *Frankfort*, a sub-deputation, that is, an incorporating together of all the three Estates, in which sub-deputation, a determinate number was to be chosen, that is, so

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1653. many Protestants, and so many Catholics, and this to avoid a croud, that but few only might be present at debates, whom they knew to be firm, and unbiaſed to the Common Intereſt; the multitude of perſons being ſuſpected by them, as more eaſie to be wrought upon by the contrary party, and gained by gifts, and favours beſtowed upon them by the Catholics.

But theſe new Demands of the Proteſtants, being full of arrogance, and which evidently ſhewed they were not to be ſatisfied, gave ſo much offence to the Emperour, that loſing all patience, he gave them notice, *He intended abſolutely to part, without ſtaying to perform the Ceremonies done at a Reſeſſe.* In order whereunto he cauſed all the publick Meeting-Places to be unhang'd, and all things to be taken down wherewith they were adorned, for performing the Solemnity uſual at the diſſolving of the Diet, which conſiſts in the Singing of a ſolemn High Maſs by the Biſhop, Prince of Ratiſbon, at which his Maſteſty is preſent in a Pontifical Habit.

This reſolution being perceived by the Proteſtants, who foreſaw that in caſe the Aſſembly ſhould break up abruptly, the ſame would be of great prejudice unto them, they went carefully to the houſe of Prince Drutſtein, the Emperour's Major Domo, a Cavalier of great Wildome, and an unſpotted Faith, and there having given many Reaſons, and made many excuſes, they declared, *That they would ſubmit unto his Maſteſty's Pleaſure, and waive the preſentations aforeſaid.* The Prince went preſently unto the Palace to acquaint the Emperour, how the Proteſtants had changed their Obſtinacy into Reverence, and that they reſolved to give his Maſteſty full ſatisfaction.

The Emperour was pleaſed with this humble carriage, and laying aſide all diſpleaſure, gave order that the places ſhould be again fitted up; and ſo the Solemnity was performed with the uſual Ceremonies: After which at the time of publiſhing of the *Reſeſſe* in the Great Hall, the Emperour obliged himſelf to maintain ſincerely all that was agreed on; and by an Eloquent Diſcourſe gave ſatisfaction to all perſons of his Incomparable Kindneſs, and Affection towards the Publick Good.

The Elector of *Mogunria* in the name of all the States, gave him great Thanks for the Trouble he had ſuffered by ſo long a ſtay, and wiſhed unto him a good Voyage: And in this manner ended the Diet, being reduced unto a Deputation Extraordinary in *Frankfort*, and the adjourning of all other matters diſcuſſed in this, unto another Diet to be held in *Ratiſbone*, within the term of two years.

There were at this Meeting divers other Affairs treated which belonged to Foreign Princes out of *Germany*, amongſt which one was, the Inveſtiture deſired by the Duke of *Savoy*, of the Lands of *Monferrat*, according to the Treaty of *Chiari* 1631. To which purpoſe the Count *Bolyer*, one of the Lords of *Lucerne*, was ſent expreſſly from the Court of *Piedmont* to *Ratiſbone*, who ſolicited the matter with all earneſtneſs, and by all ſuch means as were to be expected from ſo dextrous, and capable a perſon.

The Duke had the Year before ſent the Marqueſs of *Lullin*, a Cavalier of great Quality unto *Fienna*, with the Title of his Extraordinary Ambaſſador, upon the ſame occaſion, where he appeared with a numerous and ſplendid Retinue, ſuitable unto his own Generoſity, and that of the Prince who ſent him, but his Negotiations were fruitleſs, and met with ſome diſguſt, becauſe beſides his not prevailing in what he came for, the Emperour cauſed to be expunged from his Writings, the Title of *Royal Highneſs*, declaring, *That it belonged ſolely unto him, to confer Titles upon the Princes of Chriſtendome.*

The Pretentions of *Savoy* in the Diet, were favoured by Monſieur de *Pauſſort*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary unto his Chriſtian Maſteſty, a Perſon greatly

1653. greatly experienced in the management of Affairs, and thoroughly acquainted with the Intereſts of *Germany*; They were alſo countenanced by the Elector of *Bavaria*, newly allied with the Houſe of *Savoy*, having contracted Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Adalaide*, Siſter of this Duke *Charles Emmanuel*, but what diligence ſoever was uſed, and what reaſons ſoever were alledged, they could never bring it to a concluſion, it being ever put off, upon one pretence, or other, becauſe the Emperour was diverted by the earneſt ſolicitation and endeavours of the Duke of *Mantua* his Agent, who oppoſed it openly by reaſon of the prejudice it would bring unto his Maſter's Intereſts; to which was added the Affection his Maſteſty had for his Couſin, and the great care he took to ſatiſſie the Empreſs *Leonara Gonzaga*, a Widow, the Duke's Aunt, who was a Princeſs of great Underſtanding, and diverted him from coming to a determination in this Affair.

The Marriage of the Elector of *Bavaria* with this Princeſs of *Savoy*, was in the Year 1650, which was in the life-time of Duke *Maximilian* his Father, who died after in *Septemb.* 1651. in a good old age, with the Reputation of being the greateſt Politician, and the moſt Prudent and Pious Prince in our Age. He being a man of a moſt accomplished Experience, had not taken his Meaſures ill, in this Alliance with *Savoy*, and conſequently with the King of *France*, to whom he had alwaies a particular inclination, foreſeeing with much Wildome of what conſequence in progreſs of time upon ſeveral Accidents the good correſpondence with, and protection of the King of *France*, might be unto his Houſe, who had alwaies a particular Eſteem for the Elector.

The Count *Maximilian Curtio*, firſt Miniſter to his Electoral Highneſs, a Cavalier of Extraordinary Capacity, and replenished with all Good, and Virtuous Qualities, was he who paſſed into *Piedmont* with a Proud, and Sumptuous Equipage of Gentlemen, and Servants, to be the *Proxie* for the Marriage, who in the Year 1652. went alſo thither, to wait upon the Bride, and conduct her into *Bavaria*, where he arrived in *June* the ſame year.

This Princeſs parted from *Turin* the 16th of *May*, 1652, and was accompanied by the Dutcheſs her Mother, the Duke her Brother, and all the Principal Perſons of that Court to *Moncalier*, from thence by the way of *Aſti*, and *Alexandria*, ſhe came to *Milan*, being received with all due Reſpect & Honour, through all that State, and her charges defrayed by the King, the charge whereof was committed to *Don Girolamo Stampo*. *Don Pietro Gonzales*, Governour of *Alexandria*, a Perſon of great Valour, met her upon the Borders with a Brave Retinue, and treated her ſplendidly in that City, whither came to Complement her in the Marqueſs of *Carafene* his name, (himſelf being at that time engaged at the Siege of *Trin*) *Don Gaſparo de Thebes*, Captain of the ſaid Marqueſs his Guard: From *Milan* ſhe went into the Territory of the *Venetians*, where ſhe was received upon the Conſines by *Anthony Bernardi*, Captain of *Breſcia*, Royally ſerved, and her Charges defrayed through all that State: From thence ſhe continued her Voyage through *Tiroll*, where ſhe was generally treated by the Arch-Duke *Charles Ferdinand*; and in the Month of *June* following, came to *Monaco*, the Reſidence of his Electoral Highneſs, where ſhe was received by the Elector her Spouſe, with ſuch tender Love and Affection, as is peculiar to one who had long wiſhed for and expected her, and as was due to the Rare Beauties and Perfections of ſuch a Princeſs.

When

1653. When the Coronation of the King of the Romans was to be performed, the Emperour caused Notice to be given unto the French Ambassadour, *That he might, if he pleased, be present at the Ceremony; but that in case he came, he must needs give the Precedency to the Ambassadour of Spain.* Vautort answered, *That as for coming thither he would do as he saw best; but as for the Precedence, he knew not any person who could take it from his King, who was undoubtedly the first of Christendome.* He forbore notwithstanding to go thither, because he would not stand in an ill posture with the House of Austria, but might apply himself to those Affairs for which he came, which were to continue, and encrease the good intelligence between the States of the Empire, and the Crown of France, that he might be watchful to prevent all prejudice might come unto the Interests of that Crown, or its Friends and Confederates, by the Resolutions which should there be taken, to get the investiture of the places held by the French in *Alsacia*, and to countenance the Interests of *Savoy*, in the investiture he pretended unto of the Towns in *Monferrat*, according to the before mentioned Treaty of *Chierasco*.

After the Coronation the Ambassadour Vautort going for Audience unto his Imperial Majesty, he was received with shews of great Esteem, and courtesy, the Emperour excusing himself modestly, *That he could not do otherwise.* The Ambassadour replied with all Civility to his Complements; but defended the Interests and Prerogative of his King, with all freedom, and boldness.

The Crown of *Sweden* sent to this Diet the young Count *Oxenstern*, with the Title of Ambassadour Extraordinary, to have the Investiture of the Towns of *Pomerania* assigned unto the *Swedes* by the Treaty of *Munster*; but the Emperour refusing to receive him under that title, because he came to perform the Office of a Feudatary, some differences arose, which notwithstanding were after laid aside.

There were also in this Diet great Controversies between the Emperour, and the States, who set on foot a bold and a very distastful Pretension, which was, *That they conceived there ought to be an Election of Judges, who might Censure and Judge the Actions of the Emperours themselves, with power to revoke, and annul all Decrees which they conceived to be contrary to Justice, or the Constitution of the Municipal Lawes.*

This Affair as it pressed hard upon the Emperour was very warmly impugned, and rejected; it being censured as an audacious boldness, to go about to prescribe Laws unto him, who had the power of making them.

The Contest was long, as being full of knotty Points, and tedious difficulties, and was solicited with great earnestness and fervour, by a person depending on the Emperour himself, who having had a Judgment passed against him before his Majesty, feared he should not be able to find a good dispatch hereafter of his Causes there; but the Endeavours and Artifices of those who laboured therein, found such opposition, that the Pretenders were finally enforced to give it over, without being able to make a farther progress in it.

At this Meeting the Marquis of *Castle Rodrigo*, Ambassadour from the Catholick King, a Person of great Virtue, and deep foresight, managed divers things advantageous to the Interests of his Master.

He endeavoured by all means to engage his Imperial Majesty in some Treaty with the Count of *Harcourt*; who was in *Brisac*, being upon ill terms with the Court of *France*, to gain out of his hands that most Important Fortrefs, which he said was the Gate by which the French might at their pleasure pass the Rhine, and come into the heart of Germany; and a Key which would keep

1653. keep them shut up in their own bounds. *This France took hands, by means whereof, with the States, Princes of the Empire, and Protestant Canons their Friends, so as the Circles of the Empire having always at hand, the assistance which upon all occasions they might draw from that united Kingdom, so well armed, would by consequence swell with such high Pretensions, as must necessarily either disturb the Publick Quiet, or much weaken and eclipse the Imperial Authority.*

That Caesar being so highly concerned for the general Good, ought not to let slip an occasion presented him by Fortune, to regain by Art a Place which was never to be won by force of Arms.

He shewed farther, *That Lorrain being beyond Burgundy, and Alsacia, (although the Duke should be restored by the General Peace) it would (instead of being what it was formerly a Knot that united the Low Countries with the Franche Comté, and the Austrian Countries) be rather a barr, and partition to continue them divided from each other; which was the greatest prejudice could happen to the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, and of the whole House of Austria, whose weakness consisted principally in this, That their Countries being dis-joyned, they could not without great difficulty, communicate those Succours to each other, which are necessary for their subsistence in time of Warr.*

Besides, *that the French being freed from all jealousies on that side, would wish more confidence employ their whole strength in other places.*

But all his Endeavours were without effect, as well by reason of the noble disposition of the Emperour, who was resolved to observe inviolably the Peace of *Munster*, as of the Ingenuity of *Harcourt*, who would never give ear unto the Propositions reiterated to him from the *Spaniards*, who used their utmost endeavour to make him enter into a Treaty with them, by their own, and by the Duke of *Lorrain's* means, whom they made sensible what advantage the dislodging of the French out of *Alsacia*, would be unto the Interests of his House; and particularly out of *Brisac*, which would alwayes be a bridle upon *Lorrain*, if he should hereafter recover it by any Treaty. But *Harcourt* preferring his Honour, and Reputation, before all other advantages that might befall him; although he might perhaps give ear unto some Propositions, and Invitations to a Treaty, refused notwithstanding to enter into any, or to negotiate touching this Affair.

Castle Rodrigo sped notwithstanding well touching the Imprisonment of *Charles Duke of Lorrain*; with whom the *Spaniards* were ill satisfied, because they found not in his actions, that correspondence which they expected from his gratitude.

They represented therefore to his Imperial Majesty, *That the said Duke was not sincere, and cordial in his union with Spain, that he held private Intelligence with the Court of France, retarded with the difficulties he cast the execution of those Enterprises, which had been well designed; That being altogether intent upon his own particular advantage, he had ill treated the Subjects, ruined the Countrey, exasperated the Neighbours, and caused every where a huge aversion, and hatred, not onely against his own Forces, but also against those of his Catholick Majesty, who being united with the Lorrainers, had their share also in the Countries Curses; so as they were in a continual apprehension, that he joyning with the French would bring an inevitable prejudice upon his Majesty's Affairs in Flanders; or if he were still let alone, would put the People in desperation.*

The Emperour at last perswaded by these Reasons, and assured that this aversion was not unto the House of *Lorrain*, but onely to the person of the Duke,

1653. Duke, by reason of his deportments, gave his consent that he should be Arrested, and writ about it into *Spain*, where a while after the resolution was taken to secure themselves of his person, but in such manner, as that the same might be dextrously put in execution, for avoiding of those Inconveniencies might happen by so scandalous and unexpected an Accident, whereof we shall hereafter Treat more at large, and give relation of the most Remarkable Passages in that Action.

The End of the Ninth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The TENTH BOOK.

The CONTENTS.

The Cardinal Mazarine returns to Paris; Is Received with great Applause; There follows a distribution of several Employments, and particularly that of the Great Almoner of France unto Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Great Preparations are made for War. The Cardinal Francis Barberini declares himself no Friend to Mazarine: Gives order to his Nephews to leave France; and Marries Don Mattheo to a little Niece of Pope Innocent the 10th. Several Encounters passe in Flanders, wherein the Prince of Conde's Forces are worsted; Monsieur Croissy Fouquet is taken Prisoner. The Count Quincé goes to Command the French Forces in Piedmont. The Savoy Ambassadors is received in France with the Ceremony due to Sovereign Princes. Monsieur de Plessis Belançon is sent by the King of France into Italy; And his Negotiations with the Duke of Mantua, and other Italian Princes. The Count d'Ognon agrees with the Court; And the Count d'Harcourt submits unto his Majesty's Obedience, after several Treaties. The French Army under the Command of the Marquis Plessis Balliere, marches into Catalonia, succours Rosès, and makes divers Progresses. Gironne besieged by the French, is relieved by the Spaniard. The Marechal d'Orquincourt is sent to Command the Forces in Catalonia; And his Marches. The Warre in Guienne continues. The Burdelois have recourse to England for Relief, but without effect. The King's Forces make a progress in that Province. Preparations are made in Spain to Relieve it: New Divisions, and Factions spring up in Bourdeaux, upon several Designs, and Interests. Many of the French do quit the Prince of Conde's Party. The City of Paris Entertains the Cardinal Mazarine with demonstrations of Affection, and Treats him splendidly in the Town-House. Bellagarda besieged, and taken by the Duke of Elpernon. The French Army marches into the Field, and takes Rhétel: That of Spain also marches out with Powerful Forces, Enters France; Is waited on by the French: They Encamp for some time with various Success: Some Conspiracies in Bourdeaux are discovered. New Recruits are sent from Court into Guienne; and the King's Forces take Bourg, Libourn, and other places, and straighten Bourdeaux, the Citizens whereof make meetings amongst themselves, and desire Peace; There grow some Tumults;

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mults, which are quieted by the Prince of Conty. The Treaties are revived; Difficulties are cast in; The Propositions of both Parties are debated severally, and at last the Peace ensues. The Spanish Fleet comes into the mouth of the Garonne, and hearing of the Peace concluded, cast Anchor, and proceed no farther. The Princess of Conde, and the Duke of Anguien, with their Domesticks, take Shipping, and go for Flanders. The Dukes of Vendosme and Candale enter into Bourdeaux. Several Places in Guienne return to his Majesty's Obedience. The Marches and Encampings of both Armies, upon the Frontiers of France, and Occurrences happening between the Parties: The Spaniards besiege Rocroy, and the French, Monson, and both the one and the other Town are taken. The Treaty between the Court and Cardinal de Retz is revived, but he refuses all terms of Agreement. A Plot against Cardinal Mazarine is discovered, and the persons guilty are taken, and condemned to death. The Marechal Grance goes to Command the French Army in Piedmont, there is a great Fight between the Armies at Rochetta del Tanaro. The Spanish Fleet leaves the Seas of Guienne, and returns into Biscay without effecting of their purpose. The Siege and taking of Saint Menhard: The Motions of Cardinal Mazarine. The Prince Marries the Countess Martinozzi, Niece to the Cardinal. The Imprisonment of the Duke of Lorraine. The Treaties of the French with the Protector Cromwell, the Duke of Mantua, and the Duke of Modena. The secret Negotiations about the Duke of Guise his going into the Kingdome of Naples.

THE Cardinal Mazarine came into Paris upon the Third of February, about Twelve o'clock in the Afternoon, Honoured by the King himself, the Duke of Anjou, and all the Court, who went to meet him two Leagues out of the City.

His Majesty received him with extraordinary tenderness of Affection, took him into his own Coach, and entered by the Port of San Demy, through a great throng of People, and brought him along with himself into the Louvre, where his Lodgings were provided (as being first Minister of State) near to his Majesty, where he was forthwith Visited by the Body of the City, and by all the other Orders, and Magistrates, who acknowledging to have received by his means singular Benefits, and that all France was highly obliged unto him for his Conduct, testified the Content they took at his Fortunate Return. It was notwithstanding thought by many, That by how much the greater shews of Love were made outwardly, so much the less was the Affection which was really born unto him, there being no hatred so intense and dangerous, as that which shrouds it self under the mask of simulation. But I who have with an exact diligence and long experience, endeavoured to instruct my self in the Nature of those Persons of whom I write, may to the glory of France say, I have not met with any People less given to dissembling than they are, who being open and free of speech, as they think little of what is past, so they consider nothing of what's to come, all their Faculties being wholly taken up with intending onely the instant of the present time. Whosoever therefore shall consider the Injuries and Scorns, which were in September before done to the Cardinal's Name, and Memory, in Paris, and what were now the Honours, and Welcome which he received there in February following, will know, this only can be said, That the Price of 50000 Crowns set on his head, and all the Scorns and Contempts cast upon his Reputation, were onely the Effects of a Passion, which being wisely dissembled by this Cardinal, served afterwards to let them see his good, and just Intentions, and made him at last triumphant over all his Persecutions, and rendered his Ministry Glorious to all Posterity.

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The same Night his Majesty kept him to Supper with himself, in the Lodgings of the Marechal de Villeroy; that Night were many Bonfire-fires made, and the next day as he returned from Mass, he cast some Money amongst the people, as he had done the day before upon the way in the Countrey as he passed along: And the Visits which he received from the Grandees at Court and other particular Persons of all Orders and Conditions, being over, he betook himself unto the management of the Affairs of the Crown. The same day there came to Paris also his three Nieces, who had been alwayes with him, who were also met out of the Port of St. Honore, by the Princess of Carignan, the Marshal of Guebran his Lady, the Marchioness of Ampous, and several other Ladies of Quality. These Ladies were also Lodged in the Louvre, in a Quarter apart over the Queens Lodgings.

The King since his return had not done any thing in the distribution of Offices, and Charges, either Ecclesiastical, or Secular, (although many were void, and there were a great number of pretenders) being desirous to expect the Cardinal's coming, and to give him the Honour of disposing them; as he who was best informed of each man's merit; whereby he made himself also to be much more observed, whilst every man being in hope to be rewarded according to his merit, became more ready, and careful, in the Service of his Majesty.

He had notwithstanding of himself passed the Edicts for New Impositions, and done all other things which were like to prove displeasing to the People, because (had it been done after the Cardinal's Return) it might seem to have been done at his sollicitation, whereby those Crimes would have been afresh imputed to him; whereof he had formerly, though without cause, been esteemed guilty. But there remaining unto him now by the special Favour of his Majesty, the disposition of the Church Benefices; and divers other Offices, and Charges of the Court, and Kingdome, he began presently to make a distribution of them, among such persons as he esteemed best deserving, and fittest for the Employments; reserving notwithstanding a good part of them undisposed, that he might keep up the hopes of such as were for the present disappointed of Employments.

To the Count Servient, who was a Minister of State of great Wisdom, well deserving of the Crown, and most Affectionate to his Majesty's Service, in which he was grown old, having spent his time in the management of sundry Charges to the advantage of the Publick, he gave the Office of super-Intendant over the Finances, vacant by the death of the Marquis of Vieville, with whom was joyned Monsieur Fouquet, Procureur General, who was also made Minister of State; a Person of great Merit for his continued Loyalty to his Majesty, to whom upon all occasions (and particularly in the Translation of the Parliament to Pontoise) he had rendered very particular Service, so as there was then seen at the same time two super-Intendants of the Finances, as there was also a Chancellor, and a Keeper of the Great Seal; a thing seldom practised, although the like hath been before during the Ministry of the Cardinal Richelieu.

To these Super-Intendants, were also added four Intendants of the Finances; who were the Messieurs Paget, Boisleue, Honsser, and Brisacier, he took also good order for payment of the King's Revenues, to the great ease, and satisfaction of the Farmers of them.

Cardinal Antonio Barberini coming about that time to Paris, the Dignity of Great Almoner of France, vacant by the death of Cardinal Richelieu, Archbishop of Lyons, was conferred upon him by the means of Mazarine, who endeavoured to give testimony of his gratitude, and to oblige him more strictly to the Crown, as conceiving his protection in Rome, necessary unto

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the Interests of France; the Cardinal *Francisco* his Brother being accounted averie to them, by whom ill offices had been then lately done unto his Majesty by Letters, censuring the Conduct, and direction of Affairs.

It was reported in Court, That this change in Cardinal *Barberini*, was because he was gained by the Pope, and *Spaniard*, upon the hope of restoring to him the Profits of the Ecclesiastical Benefices of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and the Money sequestered in *Rome*, when the Pope pretended by calling him to account, to undo the House of *Barberini*.

That which moved the Pope to a re-union with the *Barberins*, was, because having not long to live, he thought not fit to leave a lasting Feud between his own Relations, and that Family, which was still powerful in *Rome*; and the *Spaniards* also desired the same, that they might take off the dependence of that Family upon France, and find no opposition from them, upon the Election of a new Pope.

The Cardinal *Francisco* therefore being transported with this hope, because he had no other pretext, made use of this, That he had been neglected in France, the Cardinal *Mazarine* having married his own Niece to the Duke *Mercoeur*, without concerning himself to find a party for his Niece, as he might have done; And seeming to relent this highly, he commanded the Abbot his Nephew, who was at *Lions*, to take away privately the Prince *Presett* and all his Family from thence, causing them to retire into *Italy* near *Vincennes*, and this he did whilst Cardinal *Antonio* was in *Paris*, without giving him the least notice of it.

This sudden Resolution appeared strange in France, and the rather, because there had been alwaies a good intelligence between that *Barberini* and Cardinal *Mazarine*, unto whom he had proposed some years before the Marriage of one of his Nieces, Colonel *Vaini* her Cousin being sent into France about it, and the thing had been agreed by his Majesty's consent, and *Warrers* drawn up touching the Marriage.

After this Reconciliation of Cardinal *Barberini* with the Pope, that this Union with that House might be more firm, there was a Marriage concluded between *Don Maffeo Barberini*, then the Abbot, and a little Niece of the Pope, in consideration of which Marriage the Prince *Presett* was promoted to be Cardinal, and renounced the Inheritance unto his said Brother the Bridegroom.

The Bishoprick of *Poitiers*, worth about 30000 Crowns yearly, was also given to the said Cardinal *Antonio*, the same being void by the death of *Monsieur Rochepotay*, an Excellent Prelate who had enjoyed that Dignity 40 years, and had in two important occasions preserved that Countrey to the King, himself with a halfe Pike in hand followed by the people, who were much devoted to him, standing in opposition to the Nobility, who in the former Wars had taken Arms for the Queen-Mother of the late King, and intended to seize upon that great City, as is written in the History of those times, and now at last shewed a great Loyalty in preserving it by his generous Actions for his Majesty; as also did the Marquis his Nephew, who was Lieutenant General of *Poitou*, who without any regard of the Expence, went to meet, and serve the King, when he came into that Province with a good number of Gentlemen, and kept open house for the Court two moneths together.

The Bishop had another Nephew, an Abbot, Brother to the Marquis, a person replete with virtuous qualities, it was great reason that for the merits of the Brother, of the whole Family, and for those also of the Abbot himself, that Dignity should have been conferred upon him, and the Court esteeming likewise that 'twas just intended to gratifie him with it: But in Govern-

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Governments it happens often, that Princes, and their Ministers, are by urgent occasions enforced to prefer Publick Interest; before the satisfaction of private persons; and the Abbot, after the hopes given him thereof, for a year and a half, was at last excluded, without the least cause on his part given for his being deprived of it: The Abbot notwithstanding acquiesced without resentment unto the King and Cardinal's pleasure, preferring his Majesty's Satisfaction before any particular concerns of his own, and that no suspicion might be had that he intended to engage himself amongst the Malecontents, retired himself, and went to make his residence in *Rome*; comforted in this, That both his merit, and the wrong done to him, were publickly notorious. The Cardinal *Antonio* being informed of the great Worth of the Abbot, condoled with him, and by an Act suitable unto the generosity of his nature, declared a readiness to make a resignation thereof to him; but he with a greatness of mind equal to such an offer, returned him thanks, and refused to accept of it, And with Patience, which is the Scene of all the Virtues, considered, that the Favours of Princes though flow, are like the soft and gentle motion of benign Planets; which fail not in due season to communicate their influences unto the bodies which they govern.

The Archbishoprick of *Lions* was given to Monsieur *Villeroy*, Brother to the Marechal of France, a Person of Eminent, and singular Parts. Of many other Ecclesiastical Benefices, and Abbeyes which were void, *Mazarine* (though he gave promises to several) yet refused to dispose any, that he might keep all in hopes, and consequently make them more obsequious, and that he might be alwaies master of something, whereby to reward and gratifie those, who should best serve him to his satisfaction, which was a thing very ill taken by divers, who thinking they had sufficiently merited by their long patience, could not without much trouble suffer this delay, and exclaiming against this Maxime, said, *The Cardinal was like him, who gave not the Medicine till the Patient was dead.* The Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquis *de Turenne*, and *Grammont*, were about the same time made Ministers of State, as well in reward of their Services, as for their great Capacities, and Wisdom.

And now the King leaving the Reins of the Government wholly unto the Cardinal's management, to avoid Idleness gave himself unto those frighly Exercises, which are commonly most suitable unto the lively Cheerfulness of Generous Youth, that was unto a wondrous Ball, danced often by his Majesty, and several other great Cavaliers, with general Applause, and Commendation, in the great Hall of the *Petit Bourbon*, excellently set out, and adorned by Scenes, and Machines, invented by *Giuseppe Torrelli*, an *Italian*, his Majesty's Engineer, to which being very much assisted therein by Signior *Arcenio Amaltei*, a famous Priest, it was danced the first time upon the 23. of *February* at Night, in presence of the Queen, of all the Princes, Princesses, Grandees of the Court, and Ministers of Foreign Princes.

It was divided into four parts, or nights, wherein there were forty three Acts, or changes, all of them to extremely splendid, both for the novelty of what was represented, the goodness of the matter therein recited, the Sumptuous Magnificence of the Cloaths, and Gracefulness of all the persons who acted in it, that the Spectators had been at a stand unto which they should have attributed most of Gallantry, had not the King like to a radiant Sun behind a Cloud, from the disguise of those Habits, shot forth such Rayes of his Majestick Looks, and graceful Action, as dazeling the Eyes of all, enforced them with just reason to acknowledge, that there was none could equal the Grace, or Majesty of his deportment.

1653. In the beginning of the Action fire caught accidentally upon the Hangings which were before the entrance on the Stage, and was like to have disturbed, and confounded the whole order of it, but the fearless Courage of his Majesty, and care of those who had charge of ordering things, restored all forthwith to its pristine quiet; And this was taken for a Prefage of what should follow; like to the Auguries of the *Affyrians* and *Persians*, who regulated all their Enterprises, by the *Omens* gathered from that Element.

Truly those who made this Observation were not deceived, because the day before that very night, the Count *Beauvais* Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in *Champaigne*, having notice that the Prince of *Conde* being come to *Stenay*, had lodged about 1400 Horse and Foot in the Village of *Therme*, marched thither privately, and about an hour after midnight, fell upon them with so much fury, that more than 300 Foot and 200 Horse were taken prisoners, and the rest with the Count *de Briol*, Commander, by the darkness of the night made shift to disperse, and get away.

This good Military Rencontre was attended by another Fortunate Success in Civil Matters, of no slight consequence, which was, the Commitment of Monsieur *Croissy Fouquier*, a Counsellour of Parliament, one of the Prince of *Conde*'s part, and who had been a great Stickler amongst the Faction of the *Frondeurs*, which was raised against the Cardinal. He was taken in *Paris*, not so much because he was a banished person, as for holding private Intelligence with the Prince of *Conde*, and because he had made use of a pretended Pass from Court, to Treat, and Advertise him what passed, and manage a new Cabal with those of the Prince's party. He had alwaies shewed himself a bitter Enemy of the Cardinal's; and it being thought a matter of importance unto the settlement of his Majesty's Authority, that some example should be made, and especially of some Member of Parliament, there was a resolution taken to make his Process. Upon which he desired to be brought from the *Docks de Vincennes*, unto the *Bastille*, where he thought the Parliament (amongst whom he had much credit, and many Friends) would favour him; there were assigned Commissaries for judging of him, and the *Monseurs de Lesco*, and *Bison*, were appointed to draw his Process; but he continuing firm not to answer elsewhere but in Parliament, necessitated the Court to condemn him as a Mute; which being a thing extraordinary in *France*, and that which was against him being onely grounded upon conjecture, against which he made good defence, made them resolve to remand his Process to the Parliament, either because he might answer before his natural Judges; or because the Cardinal being of a sweet Nature, was loth to put things to extremity; in vertue whereof the Chancellor, and first President having sent for, and examined him, and finding that there was more of suspicion than proof against him, upon the Report they made thereof unto the Cardinal, and by reason of the continual instances made by *Croissy*, That he might be judged by the Parliament, it was resolved to free him, upon condition he should remain in *Italy*, until the Prince had made his Peace, or that the King should recal him. This Example above all shewed the Cardinal's moderation, there having been no person of the whole Party, who had more violently acted against him. Monsieur *Courtin*, a *Maistre de Requete*, was also at the same time imprisoned as a Complice, and Friend unto *Croissy*, but defending himself with Wit, and Spirit, was released.

There were also taken prisoners in *Champaigne* upon the Road to *Paris*, the *Monseurs de Vincuil*, and *Joly*, with forged Passes, accused for going to *Paris* with Letters of Credence and Instructions, to form some new Party against his Majesty's Service, to scatter Libels defamatory against the Court, and his Government, to raise Sedition amongst the People, and to engage the Friends and

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There were also several other persons of inferiour Rank seized, who against the King's Edicts took the boldness of coming into *Paris*, being of the Prince's Party.

The Preparations for the next Campaigne were after made, and divers Sums of Money were delivered by the Cardinal to Colonels, and Captains of the old Troops for Recruits, and to others for new Levies; he thought fit also to have a Strength of *German* Horse, and gave the Care thereof unto the Count *Neumeth*, Monsieur *de Milet*, *Comter*, and others, who went for that purpose into *Germany*, as was also done in the Country of *Liege*, by the Counts of *Grand Pre*, and *Beauvais*.

And forasmuch as *Piedmont* seemed to be much threatened by the loss of *Casal*, and the Preparations for Warr made by the *Spaniards* in the State of *Milan*, where they expected several Recruits of Souldiers, both from *Vapler*, and *Germany*, the Duke of *Savoy* therefore reiterated his Desires, That he might either be assisted by a considerable strength of Souldiers, or permitted to agree upon a Neutrality with Spain: There were therefore sent from the Court of *France* into *Piedmont*, 4500 Foot, & 1500 Horse, who passed happily in *May* unto *Annore* for the recruit of the Count *de Quincé*, Commander General of the *French* Forces in those Parts, there being no *Marschal of France* sent to Command them.

And in regard the *Spaniards* continued still their Negotiations begun long before in the Court of *Savoy*, either to gain them to their party, or at least to persuade them unto a Neutrality, upon Terms very advantageous which they proposed, some Minister of *Piedmont* seeming to be well inclined thereto; his Majesty therefore dispatched Monsieur *du Plessis Besancon*, Lieutenant General of his Army, a Person of great Understanding, and profound Judgment, unto the Princes of *Italy* with the Title of his Envoy, to Treat upon all Affairs and Concernments in those Countries.

Besancon taking leave of their Majesties, and the Cardinal, (who were then at *Fountain Bleau*) in the beginning of *May*, went forthwith unto *Turin*, where having first assured the Duke of his Majesty's intentions to maintain the Treaty at *Chierasco*, and to protect alwayes that State with the speedy supply of a strength of Souldiers, and Considerable Officers; He went after unto *Casal*, where the Duke of *Mantua* then was, where being received with such Honours as are due to such as are Ambassadors, he reduced his Negotiation unto two Heads, The One, That his Majesty should be satisfied touching the Interest of *Calal*, so as that Town might not either by surprise, exchange, or otherwise howsoever, come into the *Spaniards* hands. And the other, Touching the Interests which the Ministers of Spain, under the Duke of *Mantua*'s Name, might have against *Monferrat* held by *Savoy*, the King being ready to pay effectually the Sum contained in the Treaty of *Chierasco*, on behalf of the House of *Savoy*.

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The Duke answered unto these Propositions, That he acknowledged this coming of Monsieur Du Plessis, as a particular Favour to him, being a Person in whom he should confide, who as a Prudent Man, being informed of the necessity which had obliged him to get into the possession of his Towns, and being satisfied that no Accident whatsoever should alter him from that Devotion which by reason of infinite ties, and obligations, he professed towards his Christian Majesty, would also, as he hoped, be so kind to him, as to persuade his Majesty, That with the hazard of his Life, and Fortunes, and that also of all his Subjects, he would maintain the possession of those his Towns, against the Spaniards, and all other persons whatsoever.

That although perhaps the Money for maintenance of the Garrison might come out of the King of Spain's Purse, that yet he neither could, nor did acknowledge it from any other hands; than those of the Empresses his Aunt, and Sister, under whose authority the Treaty was concluded.

That as soon as ever he should be again possessor of that part of the Countrey which with too apparent an Injustice was kept from him by the Savoyard, and that he could freely make use of those Rents, as formerly he had done, without being prejudiced by that Treaty, against which he had so often protested as a thing never approved of by the House of Mantua; he would then maintain the Garrison, without assistance from any other, and therefore he conceived that for the accomplishment thereof, it were more proper to send unto the Court of Savoy, and employ his Majesty's Authority with them; But they should without contradiction restore what they withheld, which he desired to obtain rather by friendly means than by the way of force, whereby the Peace of Italy (a thing so much at all times desired, and endeavoured by the House of Mantua) might be preserved; it being very clear by what had passed, unto any that should make impartial reflexions thereupon, who had been the disturbers of it. That the same offer could not be accepted, the Treaty not being consented unto as aforesaid; and although those Articles should have been binding, yet they were then to have been performed when the places had not been enjoyed by Savoy, and not now when the Mean Profits of those places have been so long enjoyed by them, without account.

Monsieur du Plessis had already declared unto the Duke, and the Marquis de La Vall his principal Minister, That satisfaction could not be given to France, otherwise then by putting Casal and Monferrat in the same condition they were in before his Highness had made use of the Spaniard to cause the French to quit the possession of it; but having found by the Answers he had received, as well by word of mouth, as writing, that 'twas a thing not to be hoped for, and conceiving that it might be a sufficient satisfaction to his Majesty (considering the importance of the place) that it should be well fortified and provided of an ordinary Garrison, that might be of a Nation, whose interest it was that the Spaniard might not upon any pretence whatsoever be let in there; he resolved to try what might be done, and proposed, That for the effecting this, a Garrison should be placed there, the one moiety of the Duke's Subjects, and the other moiety of Swisses, drawn from the Catholick Cantons; to be under his Highness's Authority and Command, to be paid the one moiety by the Christian King, and the other by the other Princes and Potentates of Italy, his Confederates, who were also interested in the Affair, under such reasonable conditions as should be adjusted, that the Duke might be at no expence, till the General Peace between the Crowns were concluded, and yet not be enforced to take money from the Spaniard, a thing ill taken by those who had so oft maintained the Town against them, which might give occasion of many inconveniencies, absolutely contrary unto the quiet of his Subjects.

There was at the same time with the Duke Monsieur Jean Coxens, Secretary unto the Empress his Aunt, who came post, sent thither expressly by both the Empresses, to have an eye unto these Treaties.

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The Duke having communicated this Proposition unto that person, he protested, That both his Aunt, and Sister, would have great occasion to complain, should he hearken to it, because they being obliged by promise unto his Catholick Majesty, that the Place should be always kept free in the disposal of his Highness, and having thereupon procured from him a maintenance for the Garrison, there should be so little credit given to them, who were so much concerned for the maintenance of his House, and States, the Interests whereof they had espoused always as their own; and it would also be ill taken, that whilst his Highness desired the Investiture of Monferrat from the Emperour, he should receive into the same a Garrison or Money from any other Prince, without his Imperial Majesty's knowledge, and consent, especially having herein disgusted the said Empresses, his Aunt, and Sister.

The Answers therefore of the Duke stuck to this Point, That when his Countries which were unjustly detained from him by Savoy, should be restored, he should then be able out of those Revenues, without any others assistance to secure himself, and keep those his Towns, and this being a thing well known to Monsieur Du Plessis, he doubted not but he would in his great Judgment, upon consideration approve it, as the best Expedient, and represent it favourably to his Majesty, with the assurance of his most humble duty and respects, which he was resolved to preserve always inviolably towards him.

This Answer gave no satisfaction to Du Plessis, who perceiving the effect of his Propositions to be desperate, after he had received many Honours, and demonstrations of Respect towards his Person, parted from Casal, refusing those Presents which the Duke's Generosity had destined for him, and returned unto Turin, from whence he gave account of his Negotiations to the King his Master; thence he went to Genoa, where he negotiated with that Republick, unto their mutual satisfaction, from thence he took his way to Parma, and Modena, with the like success, and at last came to Venice upon the 24th of July.

The substance of his Negotiations was to let those Princes understand of what importance it was, to have Pignorol kept in the French hands, that the Treaty of Chiasso should be observed, and that the Duke of Mantua should be forced to give satisfaction unto his Christian Majesty, touching the business of Casal, for avoiding of great stirres which might be much more dangerous to the quiet and liberty of Italy, when the King should be forced to march with his Forces into the heart of Lombardy, which he should otherwise be absolutely forced to do.

The Command of the Army against the Spaniard in Flanders, was afterwards conferred upon the Marechal Turenne, and the Marquis d'Uxelles, the Count Beauvais, and the Monsieur Castellan, and St. Mor, all Persons of great Experience, and high Repute, were appointed his Lieutenant Generals. There were sent under the Command of the Marechal d'Oquincourt, 7000 men, Horse and Foot, into Roussillon, and Catalonia, and the Count d'Ognon, being at last prevailed upon by the Bishop of Xantes, (a Person of Eminent Condition, and who had long before Treated with him) upon honourable and profitable Terms voluntarily quitted the Governments he held, as Lieutenant General to the Queen, in the Pais d'Anais, the Isles of Oleron, and Rea, and the most Important Town of Brouages, receiving in lieu thereof the sum of 530000 Franks, and a Patent for Duke, Peer, and Marechal of France.

This Cavalier's Mind was wrought upon by this discourse, that not being able to maintain himself, he must either put himself under the Protection of the Spaniard, or the English, or else return to the Obedience of his Majesty.

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Upon this consideration knowing well that he should at last become a prey to those who did support him, and being sensible that 'twas the part of a Wise man not to expect till he were brought unto necessity, he thought 'twas better to restore himself with safety to his Countrey, then expose himself unto the danger of a Precipice to the eternal dishonour of his Name, and Family.

The Lieutenantcy of the said Governments were conferred by his Majesty upon Monsieur d'Esfrade, a Person of known Experience and Loyalty; the Government of Bronges upon Monsieur de Champigny; the Fort of Oleron upon Monsieur de Saint Leonard, the Fort of Prede in the Isle of Oleron upon Monsieur de Louches, and the Towers of Rochel upon Monsieur d'Annais, all of them the Cardinal's Confidants, to whose direction Fortune favourably corresponding, all things were thereby and by his own good Conduct so well ordered, that the effects which followed rendred all his Actions intirely commendable and praise-worthy.

They Negotiated also with the Count d'Harcourt to agree with him to deliver up Brisac, doubting that he might Treat with some Foreign Prince, and endanger thereby that most Important Place; but the Treaty being upon the point of conclusion was interrupted, because whilest it was thought that Prince would content himself with the Government of Anjou, and the Fort of Fera, in exchange of his Command in Alsacia, he finding that they had some thoughts of Arresting the Prince of Armagne his eldest Son, who studied in Paris, caused him privately to withdraw thence, and come unto him to Brisac, which gave a stop to all Treaties, and renewed the former jealousies and distrust of him.

It was then generally thought that Harcourt, being a Prince of great Valour, and having such a Fortrefs in his hands, would have driven things to an extremity, and taken his advantage upon agreeing with the Court, to have gotten the most that he could promise to himself for the restoring of it, but he did not, having a Mind too noble to stoop unto an Action which might shew want of Faith and Ingenuity, contenting himself with the payment of the Garrison, and his own security in that place, without making any other Proposition, though the first Treaty had been interrupted. The King's Council on the other part did not much sollicit him, for several Reasons: The first was, Because they hoped that when he should want money, the Garrison being unpaid would revolt against him. The second, Because they would not engage themselves to Treat with him, till it appeared who was Master of the place, Charlevois being there, who gave sufficiently to understand that his Authority there was not absolute. And the third, Because knowing how great a Friend he was to his own Reputation, he would surely never undertake an Action which might lessen his Fame and Reputation, and therefore they thought not best to make a Treaty with Harcourt, lest they might have another to make with Charlevois. Which was the cause that when the Count renewed his Negotiation by the Baron de Millet, and the Abbot de la Charente, (who communicated all things with the Duke d'Elbeuf, the Prince of Harcourt, the Duke d'Enghien, the Marquis d'Amboise, and other Kindred and Friends) the Cardinal alwayes delayed the matter. Monsieur de Besmaes Captain of his Guard went to Brisac, upon pretence to conclude the Treaty, but instead of that (whereof he outwardly made shew) corrupted the Garrison of Philipsbourg, into which Fort they suffered the Kings Troops to enter, publishing a thing very injurious to the Count his Loyalty, that they had done it, because the Count was in Treaty to sell it to the Duke of Lorraine, whereupon order was given to the King's Quarries not to receive his Orders any more, as Grand Escuyer of France; and

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command was given to Marechal de la Ferte Senneterre, to march with his Majesty's Forces into Alsacia, and make Warr against those Places which held for the Count, to enforce him unto those Capitulations which his Majesty should think fit to grant him. The Marechal besieged, and in a few daies took the Castle of Besford, defended valiantly by the Count de Sufa, and gave notice unto the Count, That he should give up Brisac without other pretensions, and retire himself into his Government of Alsacia, or to Philipsbourg, which should be restored unto him. Harecourt shewed himself willing to submit unto his Majesty's pleasure, entered into a Treaty with the Marechal, and accepted the Articles subscribed by him, the substance whereof was, That there should be paid unto him 40000 Doubloones, to pay Charlevois, and the Garrison of Brisac, and 10000 to himself, for a greater sum expended by him in maintaining the Garrisons of Brisac and Philipsburgh.

This Treaty was by the Marechal dispatch't away to Court to be ratified, and brought thither by Monsieur de Brinon his Nephew; but the Cardinal (being assured that the Count d'Harcourt could not Treat with the Spaniard, as being not absolute Master of the place, and less with the Emperour, who would not listen to it, as well by reason of the 3000000 which France was to pay unto the Arch-Duke Charles Ferdinand of Insprugh, granted by the Treaty of Munster, as because he would not give occasion unto the French to draw the Swedes again into Germany) refused to approve the Treaty made by the Marechal; but the said de Brinon (and Monsieur Dautichamp (who had been sent along to Court by the Count for the said Ratification) were sent back with Orders to revoke all that had been granted, and Monsieur de Senneterre by the said de Brinon writ to the Marechal his Son, That there was no cause for him to take offence at this disowning of his Articles, but he was to obey in all things.

The Marechal observed punctually his Orders, and sent the said Brinon with his Letters of excuse unto the Count, letting him know, That his Majesty had not approved the Treaty he had made, and that there remained therefore nothing to be done, but to submit unto his will, which was, That all things should be restored unto the former state; That he should forthwith give up Brisac into his hands, and that he would instantly advance into Alsacia, to reduce all those Places that should refuse to give Obedience. Harecourt at a news so unexpected was greatly troubled, and esteeming himself to be deluded, pretended that the Marechal should make good his Parol to him, and upon that account kept Brinon prisoner; but it availed not, because the Marechal caused Dautichamp to be forthwith Arrested in his return from Court, and sent Monsieur de Castlenau his Lieutenant General to take in Tannes; Dautichamp seeing all his endeavours to be released fruitless, desired the Marechal to consider him as a prisoner of Warr, and give him liberty upon his Parol; which being granted, he continued his Journey towards Brisac, and came to Tannes at the same instant that Castlenau was about to attack the Suburb, which was trenched in, he wrote instantly unto the Marechal, praying him that the Assault might be forborn, assuring him, That the Count d'Harcourt would command Monsieur de Grun, Governour of the place to open him the Gates. But the Marechal taking it to be onely a delay for gaining time, gave order that they should give no farther time; whereupon the Suburb being taken by the King's Forces, and Castlenau having granted them a Truce till Dautichamp's return, who went with all diligence towards Brisac, and in his passage saw the Marechal at Cernay, who made him hope for the continuance of that Truce until the 9th of March in the morning, that he might return from Brisac with an answer, but notwithstanding this the Truce was suddenly broken, and the Place vigorously assaulted: The Count d'Harcourt upon notice

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1653. hereof dispatcht presently Orders unto the said *de Grun*, to receive in the King's Forces without contest; which Orders *Dautichamp* sent away forthwith by a Souldier who went all night, and himself came thither the next morning. But the Marechal not willing to receive from *Harcourt* a thing which he knew he could gain by himself, suffered them not to speak together, and so the City was Assaulted with great fury, *Castellan* being hurt there with a Musket shot, and divers other Officers of either party.

The Governour trusting upon what had been treated with the Marechal, coming out of the Town to discourse it with him, was made Prisoner, and the King's Souldiers entred the Town, plundered the Governour's own house, and himself was condemned to pay 3000 Doblloones to his great mortification and trouble, to have been betrayed under colour of the Publick Faith. *Dautichamp* having at last got to speak with the Marechal, and the Regiment of *Lorraine* being brought into the Town, the Marechal himself who at first had demanded onely the Town, and had (as the Count *d'Harcourt* said) promised not to attack the Castle, demanded that should be also rendred, and gave onely four dayes time to the Commander, that he might have Count *Harcourt's* Orders, who that he might by this last Action take away all pretences could be made against the sincerity of his dealing, at the same time releas'd *Brinon*, and sent back *Dautichamp* unto the Marechal, and from thence to Court, to throw himself without reserve at his Majestie's Feet, declaring that he went to put himself into *Phillipsbourgh*, where he would expect his Majestie's Commands. And so this Prince quitted *Brisac*, and *Charlevois*, being at the same time satisfied what he had advanced, the Garrison was changed, and the said Monsieur *de Besmenus* was placed there as Commander, with other Officers depending entirely upon his Majestie.

This Action which succeeded just as the Cardinal (contrary to the opinion of many others) had foretold, much encreas'd the Reputation of his Managery, and merits from the Crown. But the Cardinal declared notwithstanding unto the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, That he was sufficiently satisfied of the Count *d'Harcourt's* Ingenuis, and had him in the same Esteem as formerly; and that in case he would leave the care thereof to him, he would find a fit occasion to procure an entire satisfaction for the Count. The Court was well pleas'd with his respect, and the generosity of his proceedings; and his Enemies who had falsly slandered him with many imputations laid to his charge, were very much confounded and ashamed.

The Duke *d'Anvil* who a few dayes before had been banished the Court, was recalled, and restored unto his former degree of favour with his Majesty, and the Cardinal; he fell into this disgrace, because having promised to surrender the Government of *Limonfin*, destined to the Marechal *Turenne*, for recompence of his Services, when it came to the point, he refused, by the instigation of the Archbishop of *Bourges*, who suggested to him that he was not to quit it but upon other terms, whereupon the Court who were engaged unto *Turenne*, and could not let him want it without some shew of collusion, found themselves obliged to take this course as well to satisfy the Marechal, as to let the Duke see how 'twas resent'd by his Majestie, which he perceiving, and performing what he promised, he was restored unto his former degree of Favour.

Whilest the Marechal *d'Hocquincourt* was making preparation for his Voyage into *Catalonia*, the meeting of the States of *Languedoc* was that Winter held at *Pezenas*, a City with a Castle situate upon the Point where the two Rivers of *Peine* and *Erand* do meet together, the Marquis *de Plessis Belliere* was then quartered there, and finding the minds of that People, through the unhappiness of the Times, disposed rather to make Cabals, than contribute Money to the

1653. the King, did what possibly he could to make them sensible of their duty, and discovering at last, that the States would fall upon a resolution, not to give any thing unless the Troops were removed out of that Province, and knowing that the Money for accommodating of the Horse, and other things necessary for the provision of the Army in the Campagne, must be raised by what should be given by that Province, which would fail totally if they gave nothing, and that by consequence the Army would be disabled to march, he resolv'd to get into the Field, that something might be contributed to that purpose; which accordingly they did. He saw farther, that the Season of the year was advanced; and was informed, that there came unto the *Spaniards* Recruits of men from *Italy*; That the Enemies drew to a Rendezvouz; That they made preparation in *Castile* of Pieces of Battery, Powder, Bullet, Scaling Ladders, and all other Necessaries, and intended forthwith to besiege *Roses*, And believing that there would be no means of relieving it, in case they should finish their Line before his coming, he resolv'd to make a timely preparation for it.

He parted therefore from *Pezenas* the 25th of May, and advanced to *Segean*, and *Rivesalta*, where he made a halt, that he might draw together all his Troops, and to see what would be the last Resolution of the States; he knew well the importance of preserving *Rosillon*, to which purpose the Cardinal had written to him, and recommended that Province to his care, he therefore appointed *Boulon* for the general Rendezvouz of all the Troops, from whence he march'd the 16th of June to pass the Hill of *Pertuis*; his Army was composed of about 2500 Horse, and Three or four thousand Foot, all tried old Souldiers: That of the *Spaniard* was stronger by a Regiment of Foot, and was commanded by the Baron of *Sabach*, the Constable of *Castile*, and the Marquis *Serra*, and it was therefore probably thought they would have oppos'd the French at that Pass, but they onely put a Guard in the Tower *della Janquiera*, with a thought notwithstanding that the same would have stopp'd the French, until they might march up to charge them with advantage; but the Tower contrary to all expectation, yielded forthwith upon sight of two small Pieces of Canon, which the French had brought with them out of *Rosillon*; There they staid one day, to expect the Rear-Guard, and the Baggage, and from thence advanced into the Plain beyond *Loustaunay*: *Plessis Belliere* order'd his Army into two Battails, having advice that the Enemy would expect him towards *Castillon*, and to the end they might be stronger in the Field, they had burnt their Forts before *Roses*, and drawn the Garrison out of *Feguieres*. The French march'd in good order towards the *Spaniards*, leaving *Feguieres* on their right hand; the Van-Guard saw the *Spaniards* in Battalia behind *Castillon*, covered by the Town, a Morasse, and by several Ditches and Cutts, but as soon as they saw Night draw near, and that the French Rear-Guard approach'd, the Baggage, and Foot marching behind with great diligence, they began to turn their backs, and by the benefit of the Night to retire, leaving in *Castillon* 1200 men, to hinder the advancing of the French.

The Marquis of *Blessis Belliere* call'd then a Councel of Warr to consult what was fit to be resolv'd touching the pursuit of the Enemy; and it was resolv'd they should not follow him, because in a Country full of narrow Passes, as that was, 'twas not possible to fight him, unless he would himself; and besides, the Provisions for the Army were not come, so as it would be necessary to retire back to have them, and would besides have much lessened their Reputation with the People, who are much guided by outward appearances, and whose Friendship was of great importance to them.

It was resolv'd therefore to take *Castillon* before they advanced farther, and to go on slowly, without ingaging themselves by their marches, where they

1653. they could not be followed by their Baggage, and in order thereunto, having brought two Pieces of Artillery from *Roses*, and viewed the place, they began forthwith to open a Trench, which was presently advanced to the Town-Ditch, notwithstanding the continual firing upon them by the Besieged.

Castillon is a Town invironed with a plain Wall, and a little dry Ditch; the Garrison consisted of *Irish* and *Neapolitans*, Commanded by Colonel *Milon*, who being made one of the Heads of the People of *Naples* in the late Revolution, had abandoned the Party, and put himself into the *Spanish* Service, where he gained great Reputation.

The Besieged made no Sally, because they had no Redoubts without to favour them, but cast an infinite number of stones, which obliged the Assaultants to make a Gallery over the Ditch, that they might with more security approach the Wall, where having in three days sunk a Mine in the corner of a Tower, the Besieged knowing the place was not longer to be defended, made Articles, and were admitted unto an Honourable Capitulation, with a tye upon them to return into *Spain* by the way of *Fontraby*, being the farthest way about. The *French* found here six Pieces of Cannon, and 5000 pound of Powder, which came very seasonably to them, considering their present want, having engaged themselves in this Enterprize, with a great scarcity of Ammunition. During this Siege, *Plessis Belliere* sent the Marquess de *Bellesfond* with part of the Troops, to attack *Empourriers* the *Torne de Medas*, and other little places, which were all yielded upon the same Terms with *Castillon*.

The *French* Commanders being informed before their entering into *Catalonia*, that the *Irish* were not well satisfied with the *Spaniards*, invited them unto their Party, and made them advantageous offers, which were accepted with a promise to come over with seven Regiments of that Nation, upon the first occasion should be presented.

Notice was given during the Siege of *Castillon* to those within, that they should execute their promise; who answered, That they would not basely abandon the *Spanish* Service; that whilst they were in the Town, they would do their Duty like men of Honour, and when the Siege was over, they would make good their words; and so they did, as soon as they came to *Rosillon*, where they divided from the *Neapolitans*, and went into Quarters in the *Danphine*, where they were forthwith followed by many others.

As soon as the *Spaniards* had quitted *Castillon*, *Plessis Belliere* renewed his Orders to all the neighbouring Villages, after the taking of *Barcellona*, to bring Victuals into *Roses*; and he gave farther Orders, that they should send in Workmen, to demolish the Forts built by the *Spaniards* about *Rosa*, and the Walls of *Castillon*, and left that charge with the Governour who remained there, with a Regiment of Foot, and one of Horse, who having neglected the performance thereof, was severely punished. From thence (being informed that the Enemy was retired into *Girone*, and there intrenched) he marched thither without delay, with a resolution to fight them, he thought to march along the Coast, and put himself between the Enemies Camp and *Barcellona*, but finding it not practicable, he took along the River *Fer*, putting himself at the Head of the Forlorn-hope, that he might the better observe the Enemy; where having discovered the Guard of Horse, which they kept at *Ponte Maggiore*, that was retiring towards *Girone*, the first Squadrons of the *French* leaving *Ponte Maggiore* on the left hand, and marching always up the River until they were beyond the City, found the *Spanish* Horse a foraging on the other side of the River, who were presently

1653. ently cast into Squadrons, and all the remainder of the Troops issuing out of *Girone*, and the Trenches with the Cannon, were drawn up into Battalia, before the said Fortifications; and there whilst the Forlorn-hopes skirmished together on each side of the River, which was betwixt them, the *French* advanced, and drawing close together as they came up, disposed themselves to give a sudden charge upon the *Spanish* Army; whose Commanders discovering the Enemies Design, drew back forthwith into their own Line, which was broad and deep enough, with a good Breast-work, flanked with four or five stone houses, and well lined with Musquetiers.

These Fortifications being regularly made, began at the Wall of an Hospital in the Town, and ended at a Stream not fordable; Night in the mean time drew near, the greatest part of the Souldiers wanted Powder, and the Waggon which carried the little store they had, were not yet come up; notwithstanding which, the Souldiers shewed an earnest desire to fight, and *Plessis Belliere* (being unwilling to deny them that satisfaction) took with him all the Horse, and six hundred Musquetiers, and making each of them carry a Faggot, passed himself the River on the left hand, a little below the City, and the Marquess of *Bellesfond* did the same 500 paces below that.

There were several other little cuts between the River and the *Spanish* Camp, so that it was midnight ere the Forlorn-hope of the Foot reached it, they found the Trench set with Mines, and driving near knew that the *Spaniards* had abandoned it; *Plessis Belliere* sent them several little Parties upon all the ways to bring tidings of this Enemy; and the night being passed over without making any discovery, the day at last discovered them upon the Mountain behind the City.

The *French* had left their Baggage beyond the River with some Foot to guard it, and expect the Cannon. The *Spaniards* knowing it, made their Horse come down the Mountain, and passing through *Girone* thought to go and plunder it; but they missed of their Design, because as soon as they were seen to march that way, 7 or 8 Squadrons were forthwith sent to cross the River, which caused the *Spaniards* to forbear the Attempt, and return unto the Mountain. The Baggage, Cannon, and remainder of the Foot being passed, the *French* encamped themselves in the open field, within half Cannon shot of the Town wall, with a Design to assault the Town, as soon as the Ammunition (which they expected from *Narbonne*) was come, that in case the Enemy should put their Foot into *Girone* to defend it, they might attack the Mountain, and if they did it not, the Town might be with the more ease besieged and taken.

Girone is a great City, situated upon the hanging of a Hill, encompassed with Walls, flanked with some little Towers, the Houses whereof served for Parapets unto that part of the River *Fer*, which glides on the right side of it; so as it would not be hard to take it if there were not in it a great Garrison: The *French* were Masters of the Field, their Conveys came without danger, and in all Skirmishes and Encounters, which were frequent enough, the *Spaniards* always had the worst.

Belliere practised Intelligence by all the means he could; their Souldiers both Horse and Foot, came from time to time in good numbers to yield themselves, so as the Officers themselves were forced very often to keep guard over their own Souldiers. The *Irish* had promised to come with their whole Companies into the *French* Service, the Besieged began already to suffer much, and some days were passed that the Horse had nothing to maintain them but the Grass and Weeds they got from the Parapet of the Town Walls.

The *Spanish* Generals perceiving that their Troops daily wasted, to preserve the said Mountain had built three Forts, and designed (as was gathered by

Letters

1653. Letters which were intercepted) to pass a part of their Cavalry to *Barcelona*, to relieve them from their sufferings there, and to joyn with the Army, which the Constable of *Castile* was raising for the succour of *Girona*, so as the *French* were constrained to be extremely vigilant, and to keep their Horse always saddled in the Camp.

While the Siege passed in this manner, *Plessis Belliere* Treated with the Inhabitants of *San Feliu*, a little Town with a Castle indifferently strong, situate upon the Sea beyond *Palamos*, and *Blanes*, the Garrison whereof having no suspicion of what happened, kept not so good Watch as they ought to have done.

The Enterprize succeeded luckily, and Monsieur de *Masarnes* who was sent thither to effect it, took the Town, Castle and Garrison the 26th day of July, in the Night; he found there 7 Brass Pieces of Canon, and 4 of Iron, with some Ammunition, and for a complement of the good fortune, a Bark going to *Barcelona* loaded with divers Merchandises of value which lay there, was boarded before they heard the newes; and instead of *Spaniards* whom they expected, became a prey unto the *French*.

Things standing in this posture, the Marechal d' *Oquin-court* taking leave of Court, went into *Languedoc*, where assembling the Souldiers appointed to serve under his Command, he provided to march, and joyn with the Army before *Girona*. *Plessis Belliere* as soon as he had notice of it, dispatched Monsieur de *Rabalere* his Kinsman away to him, to complement him, and give him an account of what had passed in the Siege. He let him know the want there was of Powder, that it was necessary to send that which was to come unto *Narbonne*, and in the mean time to borrow a quantity from the Governor of *Perpignan*, or *Roset*; that in case he would force *Girona*, or continue the Siege, it was necessary to speed the Levies of the *Catalonians* in *Rosillon*, and cause Monsieur *Soyanen* his Regiment of *Swisses* which had stayed there to advance, as also those of the Queen, of *Anjou*, and of *Languedoc*, who resolved to march with thereto, by reason of the precedency challenged by those of *Auvergne*, who were in *Constant*, under the Command of Monsieur de *Lilly*.

The Marechal did what was desired of him by *Belliere*, he brought with him those Regiments who renewed their said Pretensions, and insisted so far upon them, that it was necessary to put all the Officers of *Auvergne* under Arrest, upon that occasion, where they remained till *Girona* was relieved; he brought 3000 pound weight of Powder from *Perpignan*; *Belliere* went to meet him, a League and half from the Camp, accompanied by all the principal Officers of the Army, and brought him thither upon the 27th of July, informing him how all things stood. The Marechal took the Command of all his Marechal's Forces in those Parts, and the Marquis du *Plessis Belliere* fell sick of a continual Fever, which enforced him to keep his bed for five weeks time.

Mean while the *French* being resolved upon the taking of *Girona*, battered the Walls, made a breach and tried to gain it by Assault, but whether it were that the breach was not sufficiently large, or that the Parapets and defenses made to flank the Souldiers, were not well lined with Earth, or that those who were commanded upon the Assault, were wanting to their Duty in not following their Commanders, they failed in the Onset, and were forced to desist from any farther attempt, upon hopes that the besieged being reduced unto necessity for want of Victuals, would of themselves yield; and in truth they were put unto the last extremity, when their relief began to appear, which arrived into the Town upon the 24th of September, being Mules, loaded with Corn, upon that side of the Town which was of most

difficult

1653. difficult access, where were placed the *Swisses* and the Queens Regiment, seconded by Monsieur *Carnison*'s Regiment of Horse; who were no sooner charged by the *Spaniards*, but they fled, and thereby gave them opportunity to joyn with those of the City who sallied out. The Marechal was gone to visit certain Posts, where having notice that those Regiments were engaged, he went forthwith to relieve them, but coming thither he found his own men fled, and the enemy joyned. *Plessis Belliere*, who had also notice of it, hastened thither, and meeting the Marechal who gave him notice of the accident, and consulting together, they resolved to quit the Enterprize, which being to be forthwith executed, for avoyding loss of time, and of some difficulty, *Oquin-court* desired *Belliere* to take the charge thereof. In order whereunto he gave Orders forthwith unto his own Regiment of Foot, that of *Poitou*, and the *Swisses*, that they should keep the Posts which the *French* held at *Pont Maggior*, to facilitate their passage over the River, he caused afterwards the Army to march in good order, and pass the River to incamp at *Madignan*; as they advanced, and as soon as the Guard at *Pont Maggior* was drawn off, the *Spaniards* seized upon it, and the Constable of *Castile* drew about 400 horse over the River, and some Musketeers, who placed themselves in the houses beyond the River: The Horse were no sooner drawn out into the field, but the *French* facing about, charg'd them so briskly, that they pursued them to the River side, taking a good number of them Prisoners, which defeat made the Enemy keep in his own bounds, and forbear the farther following of the *French*.

From *Madignan*, *Oquin-court* marched to *Barce*, and the next morning being the 26th of September, he marched to the new Town of the *Amperies*, where he sojourned some time to amass together all the Corn found there, and carry it to *Roset*, as he did, making every Company carry six Quarters of their Country measure.

After this having nothing more to do in the Countrey of *Lampourdam*, the Troops not being able longer to maintain themselves there, they made them pass the hill of *Pertus* upon the 28th of September; and leaving the Regiments of *Anjou*, *Languedoc*, *Roquelaure*, *Grammont*, and *Flaucourt* in *Roset*, they came unto *Boulon*, a place upon the River *Tech* the 30th day, from whence the Marechal sent his own men to quarter in *Rosillon*, and those of *Plessis Belliere* in *Constant*.

All these Troops stayed in that little Countrey till the arrival of those of *Guienne*, Commanded by the Marechal *Marinville*, and as soon as they were entered into *Rosillon*, *Oquin-court* resolved to pass a Convoy into *Roset*.

He caused all things to be prepared for that purpose, and himself would have the conduct of it, together with all the General Officers, and the whole Militia, excepting only such as were thought necessary to be left for guarding of some Posts were to be maintained in *Constant*. Upon the 29th of October he passed the Mountain, and the next morning made the said Convoy enter into *Roset*, and the *French* Army advancing, met the *Spaniards* near *Conseilman* in a bad posture; but because 'twas necessary to make haste, that the Foot might pass the Mountain, they had the means to retire, the Marquis *Marinville*, who that day had the Van with his Troops of *Guienne*, followed them to *Figueres*, from whence the *Spaniards* drew the Garrison; and the Inhabitants as soon as they saw *Marinville*'s Troops, cried, *Vive le France*; the Garrison which also was in *Castillon* retired from thence in great disorder.

Upon the 6th of November, *Plessis Belliere* having the Vanguard, commanded out 100 Horse to get Intelligence of the Enemies condition, by whom

1653. having notice that they had discovered seven Squadrons of *Spaniards*, beyond the River towards *Servis*, *Oquincourt* being then with *Belliere*, they marched forthwith to the River side, where *Belliere* being acquainted with the Fords, by the Marshal's Order passed, and marched after them, with so much swiftness and good success, that he came up to them, and fell upon their Rear, skirmishing with them till they came into *Bowdilles*, one of their Quarters, where they thought to make a stand, being seconded by those who were at that time in the Quarter; but being driven from it, and beaten unto another of their Quarters, and thence to *Sala*, which was their general Quarter, they made another stand by the assistance of the Troops there, but with the same ill success they had at first; being intirely routed and defeated, many being killed upon the place, and a number wounded, and taken Prisoners, all their Baggage, of the value of above 10000 Crowns lost, and their whole Army disordered, and in confusion; the *French* having only some few Souldiers hurt, and two Brethren of the *Villavert's* Prisoners, who engaged themselves too far into a Troop of Officers, who were retreating towards *Gironne*.

After this Noble and Famous Action, the *French* Troops lodged without disturbance in the same Quarters the *Spaniards* had taken up for themselves, and enlarged themselves something farther, that they might maintain themselves with more convenience, and for the longer time till the arrival of *Monsieur Picoy*, who was expected from Court with the King's Orders for the *French* Armies Winter Quarters, and they staid thus about two Months in *Lampourdam*; the *Spaniards* not daring after the said Rout, to offer them the least disturbance, until at last about the 20th of December *Picoy* came with the Winter Quarters, at which time the Marshal held a Council, where it was resolved to send the Army into Quarters.

Rose was in the mean time furnished with all sorts of Victuals, and they transported thither whatsoever they could find in *Lampourdam*. The 27th of December the *French* Army repassed the Mountain and entering into *Rosillon*, the Marshal gave Orders to *Pléssir Belliere* for quartering of his Troops, who having appointed them their Quarters, and sent them thither, took leave of the Marshal to go to Court according to his Majesty's permission given him for so doing, and the Marshal remained there to place the Souldiers in their Quarters, and to make all such Provisions as he thought fittest to be done, according to the Discipline of War.

Whilst these things were in Action, the Cardinal *Mazarine* was thinking upon the means which might be fittest for gaining of the discontented Spirits, rather by the way of gentleness than rigour, and yet neglected not to make Provisions as well of Money, as Forces for continuance of the War, the Recruits of the old Troops, and raising new was not hard, because the Cardinal's Credit prevailing with the men of War, beyond all other Interest they employed themselves with affection and diligence therein, that they might thereby make demonstration of their gratitude, and deserve his favour, a thing whereof the Souldiery (being infinitely obsequious and devoted to him) was most ambitious; by whose force he was after able to compass his designs, which (in spite of the contrary Opinion of those who envied him) took good effect, as will appear by that which follows.

The Cardinal's principal aim was to calm the Incessant Broils, and re-unite the divided minds of all the *French*, wisely considering that all *France* being at unity, and in obedience to the King, there was no Foreign Power whatsoever of Strangers was to be feared. He applied therefore his utmost diligence by Treaties, and Arms to reduce those of *Guienne*, not neglecting the Designs entertained with several Inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, he gave Order, that before all things, they should block up the City from making use of the

the *Garonne*, without which it could neither receive supplies, nor continue its Commerce, and being harassed by the King's Forces, it would in a short time be forced to yield without stroke stricken.

The Duke of *Pendefme* therefore having with his Majesty's Fleet stopt up the mouth of the River, built Forts in the most important places, and driven away the Prince's Forces from several Towns with the Land Forces; it was resolved in Council to publish a new Proclamation of Grace to those Citizens, letting them know, That notwithstanding so many advantages, as rendered the Enterprize in manner certain, yet his Majesty's clemency was so great, that he was ready to open arms to receive them into his favour, who had with so much ingratitude risen against him.

This Act of Grace was published, and Registered in the Parliament, which was adjourned to *Agen*; upon occasion whereof many Assemblies were held, wherein the most moderate Persons spoke with great sense in favour of the Country, setting forth the prejudices it suffered, and the dangers in which these Subjects were involved, who upon the foundation of Foreign hopes, build up a structure of Contumacie, and Rebellion; but the incentive of Ambition were too powerful, and the rashness of the Common People incapable of reason was too prevalent, so as they abandoned themselves to be wholly guided by presumption, and especially those of the *Olmiere* giving a sinister interpretation unto the counsels of good Citizens, terming those false who with the greatest candour, and strongest reason laboured for the Publick Good; and thereupon rejected all Advice and Counsel, and moreover threatened those who concurred not with them, and grew the prouder hereupon, as being given to understand that the Propositions made unto them, were not the effects of love and kindness, but were produced by fear and weakness.

The surest Props they thought to be those Promises made them by the *Spaniards*, who with Money and other Arts had gained the Principal Persons of the Councils, and Factions; they thought also that the *English* would not neglect an occasion so favourable to them to advance their own Interests during the Divisions in *France*, by assisting that City which was establishing it self like another *Rochel*; they hoped the Prince of *Conde* with the Arms of *Flanders* would make an impression as far as *Paris*, and that he would make that way so powerful a diversion, as the King's Forces should be no more able to advance towards *Bordeaux*, wherein the Prince, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Dutches of *Longueville* by their presence gave some splendour of light unto the darkness wherewith they were overshadowed.

These considerations seemed likely, and the colours wherewith they were set out, were able to deceive a prudent eye, so as their obstinacie grew so obdurate, that 'twas thought difficult (if not impossible) to re-establish the King's Authority over that furious people, linked unto *Spain*, which omitted no mean with the profuse expence of Gold to keep up that Party; that gave life unto their greatness. But for as much as particular Interests are generally preferred before the Publick, and those hopes which seem to flourish most in shew, fail oftneft in producing their effects, The *Burdellois* were disappointed in their expectations, and although they dispatched Deputies to *London* to represent unto the Parliament, and General *Cromwell*, how important their subsistence was unto the Interests of *England*, and that the *English* well knew how much it concerned them to keep up the Divisions in *France*, and had also a will and desire to do it, yet were these reflexions so counterpoized by other considerations, that the regard to future things, had greater force to move them than the present.

The *English* had upon their hands a Warr with *Holland*, that tottering Government had not foundations strong enough to support a design of such im-

1653. portance; and the consideration that by raising *France*, the Power of *Spain* (most averse always to their Religion) would be increased, made them know it suited not with the present state of things, to break with *France*, which would be able (in that case) concluding a Peace with *Spain*, by the assistance of *Holland*, and intelligence with the *English*, (who obey that New Government only because they want Power to oppose it) to bring their King *Charles* into the Kingdom, and let in amongst them those Confusions and Disorders which they endeavoured to produce amongst their Neighbours (in all probability) unto their total ruine, so as they esteemed it better for them that the Discord between the two Crowns should be continued, that they might mutually weaken each other, than to turn onely against one of them, which could be no advantage to the *English*.

To those Reasons was added another Point of Policy, then a great Secret, and that was, The particular Design of *Cromwell* to reform that Government, which in the form it stood he knew could not continue, so as it was not fit to engage in Foreign Quarrels, having occasion to make use of the Forces for himself, and to employ his Thoughts in the first place about the establishing of his own Dominion in those Kingdoms full of Malecontents, of persons envious of his Fortune, and of people greedy of Novelty, so as he assured Monsieur *Burdett*, who was then resident in *London*, from the Christian King, that he would preserve Peace, and good intelligence with *France*; The *Burdett* notwithstanding did not totally despair of relief, being hopes given them that the War with the *Hollanders* being ended, and a peace concluded with them, which was now in Treaty, there should be some care taken of their Interests.

As for *Spain*, she did what possibly she could to keep up that advantage for her self, but the *Spanish* Fleets, and other the Revenues of the Catholick King were not sufficient to sustain so many Pretenders, and maintain War in so many places, neither could his Kingdoms and Dominions exhausted of Men, furnish the Soldiers that were necessary, and therefore he was forced to move in *England* for leave to raise some *Irish*, which was forthwith granted, thereby to purge the Countrey from Catholicks, and persons ill-affected to the new Republick; from *Germany* no Soldiers could be had, because Money was wanting to supply the charge, (those Levies being more expensive) notwithstanding the favourable conjuncture of circumstances to their advantage, which was a great proof of the *Spaniards* weakness.

There were at several times above 1000 *Irish* sent to reinforce the Prince's Party in *Guienne*, the Marquis *de Sauts-Cruz* had order to make ready the Fleet in *Biscay*, and the Baron of *Battenville* to draw together Men and Provisions, fit to make a return into the *Guienne*, and upon promises and other engagements of repayment, considerable Sums of Money were remitted, as well to *Dondeques*, as *Almoner*, for making of new Levies, and fitting out the Army that it might march with the Prince of *Conde* into *France*, on the one side, whilst the *Burdett* should make a strong diversion on the other. But the Money which was remitted, was so well liked of by the persons into whose hands it came, that the part which they converted to their own particular uses, was generally greater than what was laid out in the publick business, whereby the designs of the Catholick Court were not onely retarded, but sometimes also overthrown, the said Court not being able by reason of its distance from the Provinces, wherein the War was managed, to give those Orders and Directions, necessary to be taken according to accidents, and the present conjuncture of Affairs, whereby great inconveniences do sometimes happen, and the most prudent Orders and Designs are overthrown.

To

1653. To this was also added, That the *Spanish* Council was very often deceived by the different relatives of the *French* that served them, who magnifying the Forces, and intelligence of their own party, and vilifying and abusing that of their King, filled with vain hopes even the most Prudent persons, who grounding their deliberations thereupon, found themselves after to be involved in greater difficulties. Whereas on the contrary *France* being an united Body, was able readily to give directions unto all its Members, and having for Steers-man to the Government Cardinal *Mazarine*, who had a most clear and perfect knowledge of the nature, and interests of all Nations, we must not wonder that he was able to take all advantages, and so give a sudden cure to that disease which but for his care and fore-sight, had gangrened, and grown to an incurable disease.

But whilst the Court of *Spain* was thinking of Expedients, whereby to nourish the *French* Troubles, and the Cardinal in *France* was casting in his mind how to restore the declined greatness of that Rotent Kingdom, the Generals of the Forces were vigilant to make such progresses as they esteemed to be for the advantage of their Princes.

The Count *Marin* General of the Prince of *Conde*'s Forces in *Guienne*, desirous to enlarge his Soldiers Quarters, by taking of some Neighbouring places easie to be gotten, sent Colonel *Bekasir* with a Recruit of 800 *Irish*, to take *Grenade* upon the *Garonne* in the County of *Geure*, thereby to facilitate his Entry into the Counties of *Armagne*, and *Auch*, Monsieur *de Baz*, Marshal de Camp, endeavoured to possess a Pass upon the River of *Lodun*, whereby he hoped to oblige Monsieur *d'Archevêque*, to abandon that Countrey, and to gain a notable advantage unto himself, and his Soldiers, by getting thither; but *Archevêque* being advertised of it, with 350 Horse, and 50 Musquetiers, marching speedily unto the place, changed furiously 100 Horse, and 50 many Foot, who were already passed, that putting them to flight, part were drowned in the River, and others killed, and taken prisoners, the Horse saved themselves in great disorder at *Farber*, one of the best places which the Prince had thereabouts, being followed by the King's men to the Town Gates, where they took prisoner Monsieur *de Rigas*, first Captain of *Bekasir*'s Regiment, and Monsieur *Denonin* was mortally wounded.

This happy Encounter made the Inhabitants of *Saint-Jacques* take heart, who being greatly discontented at the injuries they suffered from the Soldiers of the Regiment of *Anguien*, commanded by Monsieur *Savignac* Governour of the Place, sent to the Marquis *de Sauts-Cruz*, *I have in case he would send me with his Troops, they would give him Entrance at a Channel which runs under the Wall*: But that design not taking, the same 100 men were treated with certain Officers of the Garrison, who were discontented with *Archevêque*, and having concluded with them, they gave notice thereof unto the Duke of *Candale*, who immediately sent Count *Marin* thither with 400 men.

The Inhabitants took Arms, and by the assistance of the said Officers, happily brought in the King's Soldiers, the 23 of *March*, about before day, where being met by Monsieur *Bariet* an Advocate, and Consul of the City, they went joyntly to assault the Bishop's Palace, where *Savignac* was quartered, who hearing the noise, leaping out of bed, endeavoured to save himself in his shirt by flight, but pursued by the Citizens, was taken prisoner, the Guard at the place of Arms made some small resistance, but Monsieur *de Boisville* Lieutenant of *Anguien*, and three Captains, with other Officers being killed, Monsieur *de Chamblay*, *Marsire de Camp*, and Monsieur *de La Roche*, Major General, and all the other Officers who had barricaded themselves up in the house, yielded freely, and took employment under the King.

This

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This good fortune was followed by the taking of several other Towns and walled places, where the Prince's men were quartered, so as the King's Forces always advancing towards *Bordeaux*, and the City being thereby straitened, the same was no small cause of fear and apprehension unto judicious persons, who considered of it.

They thought what end this thing would have, and saw a speedy and reasonable succour was necessary, or otherwise the King's Party growing daily stronger in that Province would be afterwards much more difficult to hinder him from making farther progress there.

The *Bourdelois* could not then receive aid but from *Spain*, or *England*, Monsieur *de Choppes*, and the Count *Marin*'s Secretary were therefore sent away to Saint *Sebastians*, and from thence to the Court of *Spain*, to sollicite the effect of the promises had been made unto them, for keeping up that Party, which being now forsaken by the other Cities and Provinces of *France*, there remained only *Bordeaux* ready to become a Prey, either of those who defended it, or of those who fought against it.

Monsieur *d'Agolin* had not been wanting to sollicite continually in *Spain*, the sending of more Money, and of the Fleet, and at last protested in the Prince of *Conde* his Patrons Name, that in case no Money were advanced before the end of *February*, he would be gone; there had been already sent to *Bordeaux* 10000 Crowns; but the Catholick Court being informed by the coming of *Choppes*, who was also followed by a Deputy of the Council *d'Orléans*; of the danger *Guienne* ran by the endeavours used by *Marin* for the reduction of it; there were 30000 Doubloons forthwith dispatched unto the Port of *Passage*, in *Biscay*, with order that they should forthwith put to Sea six great Vessels, and four Fire-ships to enter into the *Garonne*, and make opposition to the *French*.

The said Envoye's had also farther satisfaction by 15000 Crowns for the Prince of *Conde*; and because there was an opinion that Monsieur *Lenet* did not observe the respect due to the Prince of *Conty*, by reason of the great dearthness between him and *Marin*, who did also fail in his duty towards the said Prince; there were therefore some Instructions given by the *Spaniards*, touching the manner of their Conduct, that the Prince of *Conde*'s Party might be kept up.

But the Count *d'Ognon*'s agreement with the King of *France*, gave a great trouble unto Don *Lewis d'Aro*, and the other Grandees of the Council, wanting thereby that foundation which they had built on the adherence of that Cavalier; for supporting of the Troubles in *Guienne*, where the King's Forces daily increased, and those of the Prince's hourly lessened; and this being one of the greatest inconveniences apprehended by the Court of *Spain*, they failed not upon this occasion to send Orders and Instructions, and to contribute supplies of Men and Money, according to the extent of their abilities.

There was afterwards represented unto the Court by the Baron *de Batteville*, the difficulty of bringing Ships into the *Garonne*, unless they were reinforced by a more considerable strength. Whereupon there were forthwith sent unto him 20000 Crowns, with Orders to take Sea immediately with those six Vessels, and to carry 500 *Irish* unto *Bordeaux*; but as things daily change face, so was it necessary to vary also in their Counsels, and *Batteville* could not effect the *Spanish* Orders without being provided of a greater Force, which being wanting, it followed consequently, that the things resolved upon, were spoken of, but could not be put in execution.

The Marquis of *Lusignan*, was a while after sent from *Bordeaux* to *Madrid*, in shew to congratulate with their Majesties for the recovery of the Queen,

Queen, who had been sick of the small Pox, and in great danger, and of his Majesty, who had been for some days sick of a Fever, who arrived there in *May*; but his true Errand was to sollicite for Supplies, because the *French* being Masters of the *Garonne*, did so fortifie themselves there, that 'twas very hard to drive them thence; and in case that were not done, it followed consequently, that *Bordeaux*, in which the King's Party grew daily stronger, must be lost.

Lusignan had good words given him, there were 200000 Crowns consigned unto him, and at his parting the Order for the Vessels to set sail from the Port of *Passage*, were put into his hands; but that was afterward suspended by reason of the impossibility of putting it in execution; and in lieu of it, *Batteville* was commanded that he should with all speed possible get into *Bordeaux* by the Lake of *Archazon*, to keep up the hearts of the people, and give some hopes unto the Prince of *Conty*, and the Principal Persons of the Party. He was there to propose three things to them; One, *Whether they thought fit the Spanish Fleet should advance into the Garonne, and hazard a Battle*: The Second, *Whether they would have him lie in the Mouth of the River*: And the Third, *Whether they were willing he should say to Brittany, or Normandy, to depart the French, by giving disturbance in those Places*.

There were also sent 900 *Irish* more towards *Guienne*, and the Archduke and *Spanish* Ministers in *Flanders* were written unto by the King, that they should forthwith draw into the Field, and pay 200000 Crowns more unto the Prince of *Conde* to re-inforce his Troops, that he might march into *France*, whereby the Cardinal being obliged to draw that way with all his Forces, should not be able to continue the Enterprize of *Guienne*, and that there might be during that time some fit means used for putting things into a good posture in that Province: But neither could these Orders be performed, because the Ship which carried 300000 Rials into *Flanders*, falling into the *English* hands, they took the Money, although the King of *Spain* were then a friend to *England*, and kept for some time as lawful prize, it being in a *Holland* Bottom: But these Misfortunes are not to be imputed unto the negligence of Ministers, but to the accidents of time, which often frustrates the success of prudent Counsels.

There were 30000 Doubloons more sent to the Fleet, and *Batteville* was commanded to try all ways of getting into the *Garonne*, and opening the *Passage* into *Bordeaux*, and that he should make use of that Sum to corrupt some of the *French* Commanders, which notwithstanding prevailed nothing, they being all of them loyal and constant in their Duty to his Majesty.

The Count *Fiesco*, and divers others went again also into *Spain*, to represent the Necessities, and sollicite for Assistance unto *Guienne*; though 'twere conceived by some, 'twas rather to receive the Money and Rewards which by the Catholick King's generosity, were prodigally dispensed unto as many *French* as came to his Court, which caused many to endeavour more the getting of his Money, than his Service, whereby he was abused: And whosoever shall consider the Sums of Money distributed among the Malecontents of *France*, will find them to have been sufficient to have conquered a whole Kingdom; and notwithstanding were issued only upon expostations, which either through treachery or ignorance were disappointed.

Mean while the Duke of *Vendosme* hastned the building of the Fort *Caser* upon the *Garonne*, and of another in the Countrey about the place where the two Rivers meet, beginning at the rising ground of the House of *Albion*, and from thence making Forts to hinder the Communication of the Places held by the Princes with *Bordeaux*; and to take from them *Larnet*, a place situate

1653. at the Point where the *Dordogne* falls into the *Garonne*, which was garrisoned by 500 *Irish*, under the Command of Colonel *Dillon*: To which purpose upon the 26th of *May* he shipped the Regiments *Melleray* and *Normandy* in Gallies and Brigantines, and by the favour of the Tide, the Cavalier *Albret Marechal de Camp*, and the men under his Command, skirmished in passing by with the Gallies which lay under that Fort; there embarked then the Count *Cominges*, Lieutenant-General, the Brothers Count and Baron of *Montefon*, and the Lord *Carrelet*, who treated with the said Colonel *Dillon* Governor of the place, and perswaded him instead of defending himself, to change his Party, and to put himself and all his Souldiers into the King of *France* his Service; this happened, because the *Irish* Souldiers were extremely discontented, as having been sold like slaves unto the *Spaniard*, and therefore having no tie of Honour, or other Obligation lying upon them.

This Example had been seconded by others of that Nation; by reason of a scruple of Conscience they had to serve the *Spaniard*, who were so much united with the *English*, contrary to the Allegiance they owed their Prince; if *Albret* foreseeing it, had not enforced the Officers of every Regiment to give hostages into their hands.

The loss of *Lermont* was very grievous to the *Bourdelois* for the importance of the place, whereby the Royallists took from them the benefit of the Rivers, in the Command of which consisted their safety or their ruin.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the clemencie of his Majesty, and of his Ministers, made him continue still the Treaty of Peace with those who amongst that crowd of rebellious Spirits, seemed best affected to it, upon persuasion that the hope of Pardon would work more than the fear of punishment. And therefore in the Month of *May*, another General Pardon and Oblivion was published for all in *Bordeaux*, with Expressions, *That his Majesty was more inclined to use Mercy, than Rigour*. Upon this there was a general Assembly made in the Publick Palace, to consult whether it were better to accept thereof, and give an end unto the Publick miseries, or persist in their disobedience. It was thought by men of the best Judgment, that 'twas much more expedient for Subjects to live in obedience under their own natural Prince, than with the shadow of Liberty under a stranger.

The fear of the *Obstinate* kept every one in awe; there were notwithstanding several things debated amongst some of that Council, but the obstinacie of those Plebeians, could not be overcome with Politick considerations. They seemed to be all of them charmed by the *Spaniard*; they inclined to think they should be forthwith freed, they perswaded themselves what they desired; they believed nothing which thwarted their imaginations; and being conceited they had that in their hands, which by false colours was represented to them by the Princes, they concluded no other Oblivion or Amnestie was to be accepted, but that wherein the Prince of *Conde* was included, for whose cause they had taken Arms, and brought a War to their own Doors; and that whoever should speak contrary to this resolution, should as a Traytor to his Country be drowned in the River.

These Persons made account, the offers which the Court made, were an effect of weakness, proceeding from Necessity, and from thence drew great hopes of being able to maintain the Divorce they had made from the King's Obedience; they solicited upon that score General *Cromwel* at *London*, that he would undertake the protection of them; and in case that succeeded according to their hopes, they thought they should be able to make good their own contumacy, and by the assistance of *England*, make themselves free, and independant of their own Sovereign. This Discourse was dictated rather

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ther by Fury, and Passion, then Solid Reason, and accordingly they found themselves in a short time deluded by those vain imaginations.

All wayes of sweetness therefore used by the Court of *France*, to mollifie the obdurate obstinacie of that fierce, untamed people, proving fruitless, they are resolved to use rigour, to prosecute the Warr vigorously against them. There were therefore express Orders sent that they should endeavour by all means to freighten the City on every side, thereby to enforce them by necessity to comply with their duty, since other means would not incline their wills; and above all, that the Maistry of the River should be made good against all attempts the *Spaniard* should make, which would reduce the City to despair, and specially if they could keep things in that posture, till the Vintage, and if the King's Forces could disturb them therein, it would be one of the great damages, and punishments, could be inflicted on them; the Revenues of that City consisting principally in the great plenty of Wines there made, by sale of which unto the *English*, *Hollanders* and others, they raise a very considerable profit.

But in respect 'twas also necessary to provide for the Frontiers towards *Flanders*, where the Prince of *Conde*, united with the *Spaniards*, made extraordinary preparations, and boasted that they would make a very advantageous Campaigne, by reason of the Towns he held in *Champagne*, and the intelligence he had in *Paris*, towards which it was the publick talk he meant to march; The Cardinal therefore with no less diligence, sought to prevent the blow, by making all provisions fitting for it. He considered, that all consisted in the uniting the Forces of the Kingdome, it being very hard to beware of a domestick Enemy; and that therefore if he could not reduce *Conde* (whose Mind was carried away with high pretences, and the advantages and hopes, he drew from *Spain*) unto his duty, 'twas fit to deprive him of the Credit and Party he had in *France*; which being done, he would be then reduced to the condition of being a private Captain onely, to the *Spaniard*.

The Cardinal therefore bent his thoughts in order thereunto, upon two things, the one, to take from him those Places he held in *France*; and the other, to deprive him of those Friends which followed him. Upon this design, there was a General Amnestie granted unto all persons, who repenting their Errour would return unto the King's Obedience. Whereupon the Count of *Tavannes*, who had alwaies declared high for the Prince, and had worthily performed all parts of a Valiant, and undaunted Cavalier, being unsatisfied with him, left his Party, and retired to his own House; The same did also several other of his adherents, perceiving well that nothing can be an act of greater rashness, than to oppose the Sovereign Authority of ones own Prince, to submit unto the obedience of a stranger.

The Prince made shew not to be troubled at it, because he had not Forces sufficient to maintain his Friends, and repair the loss they suffered for him in their own Countrey; and that 'twas necessary for him to keep unto himself that little pittance he had from the *Spaniard*, which being far short of the vast promises were made, though hardly sufficed to maintain himself, in a condition inferior to his Birth and Quality.

He would also himself have made his Peace, if the King's Council would have condescended to his Pretensions, which in such case he would have moderated. But as it was a thing very desirable to gain him, when he had a great Train of discontented *French* that followed him; so now when he was abandoned by all, and as it were a private Captain to the King of *Spain*, his Propositions were no more to be admitted, he being at that time rather a trouble, than advantage to the *Spaniard*, so as he would be able to do less harm abroad, than by returning into *France*.

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As to the first, 'twas thought, that being covetous of Glory, and Reputation, he would ill suit with the *Spaniards*, who are full of Ambition, and Pretensions; that the free and open carriage of a *French-man*, would never be well matcht with the reserved and close deportments of a *Spaniard*; that the imperious absolute demeanour of *Conde*, could not but make him odious unto the *Spanish* Commanders, who are all upon punctilio's; that the Antipathy between the Nations, and difference in Language, would presently put him into disorder, who knew not how to command, and be punctually obeyed, but by *French-men*.

If his Actions should meet with good Success, the Glory of them would make him envied, and suspected, as a Forraigner, in the same manner as *Maximine's* had caused him to be in *France*; And if 'twere otherwise, the damage would be accompanied with scorn, there having been as much spent upon his single person, as would have served to keep an Army. The Jealousie which the *Spaniards* would alwayes have, That he who was not satisfied with being the first Prince of *France*, could not content himself with being a Servant to the King of *Spain*, would keep them in a continual distrust of him, which in a short time would destroy the grounds of Friendship; And this could not happen but with notable advantage unto *France*, because it would at last be brought to this, that either the *Spaniards* must destroy *Conde*, or he to revenge himself must destroy them; so as to leave the Prince in their hands, was a great charge unto them, which instead of being an advantage to them, would puzzle all their Councils and deliberations.

As to the second, if the Prince should be agreed with, and restored to Court, and that the Affairs should prosperously succeed, all the applause would be attributed only to his Direction, so as he would eclipse the Lustre of all others, with the splendour of his Glory; and re-assuming his first thoughts of giving Law to all, without receiving it himself from any, would consequently destroy the order of Government, which in a Monarchy must depend only upon one single Person. Besides that, there would then be no occasion to shew the World, that *France* had other Captains no less Valiant, and Ministers of State as Prudent, as those the King of *Spain* could boast of.

The King would out of his own Clemency have condescended to restore him unto his former degree of Place, and Favour, if *Conde* without farther meddling with the Affairs of the Kingdom, would have resolved quietly to retire himself, and enjoy the benefit of his Estate and Revenues in any Country out of *France*, which was in amity therewith; but being in the flower of his Age, and enured to command, he was too passionately in love with Glory, which is not gained without toil and labour, to be content to sit down, and give himself unto repose and quiet.

France being therefore Regulated by these Maxims, and the Cardinal working by courtous means, and demonstrations of affection, rendered his Ministry full of sweetness, never pretending to take other revenge against his Enemies, but only to let them know he was a good, and virtuous Person, whereby that bitterness against him which by a few seditious persons, Enemies unto the Publick Quiet, had been infused into the minds of many, was in a great measure allayed and sweetned. The first effects whereof were seen at *Paris*, where his Reputation having been more blasted, than in any other place, the Citizens by the remorse of their own Consciences, thought themselves bound to make a publick shew of their Repentance, by making him an open Satisfaction, for the injuries they had by a publick Arrest done to his Reputation the Year before, and in order therunto, invited him upon the 29th of *March* unto a sumptuous Feast in the Town House, being an Honour never used by them but to great Princes.

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The Cardinal went thither, accompanied by the Dukes of *Guise* and *Angoumois*, by the Marshals of *France*, *Estree*, *L'Hopital*, *Villeroi*, *Grammont*, *Moite*, *Haudoucourt*, *Ferte Senneterre*, *Aumont*, *Hoquincourt*, and *Grande*, by the Count of *Servient*, by Monsieur de *Fouquet* *Surintendant des Finances*, Monsieur le *Tellier*, Secretary of State, six Counsellors of the Community, three *Quatreneurs*, and many others.

Then followed the Feast with great Pomp and Order, and with so much shew of affection in the people, of which the *Piazza* in the *Greve* was so full, that being my self there out of curiosity, I heard them publicly bless his Name, praise his management, blame those who had falsely slandered him, with divers other wonderful things, which happen when a people changes the extremity of hatred and contempt, into the excess of honour and esteem. The Cardinal came several times to the windows, and caused pieces of Money to be thrown amongst the people to his great applause; his health was often drunk by all those Citizens, and all those honours were done unto him, which can possibly be rendred unto a first Minister of so high a Condition; whilst he dined, the Seats and Hall were filled with as many of the City Dames as the place would hold, drawn thither by their curiosity, to see a Man they esteemed the Miracle of Nature.

The Cardinal used great Civility towards all, throwing about great quantities of Sweet-meats; at his going through the Hall at parting, he entertained sometimes one, sometimes another, and although he were in view of all in the *Piazza*, there was not amongst all that people heard one, that spake an ill word of him, but I observed, that all applauded, and wished him good success, I heard more than one say, he was a good Friend to *France*, and the *Spaniard's* Scourge. Others said, he had given unto *France* a King, and to the King a good Minister of State, with such like sayings, they ran after his Coach, every one desiring to see him, and to shew himself; the Omen was surely good, and the events proved it to be so, the effects being correspondent to such good wishes.

The Count de *Beaujeu* held about this time Intelligence with one of the Inhabitants of *Rhetel*, and agreed to surprize that place through a hole in the Wall; he drew together 600 Foot and 400 Horse; and on the 4th of *April* at night, came privately thither, and caused some Souldiers to enter through the hole; but being discovered before a sufficient number were got in, the Design failed, and he notwithstanding took in hand another Enterprize.

The Count had been advertised that the *Lorrenois* Commanded by the Chevalier de *Guise*, Brother unto the Duke, leaving their Quarters beyond the *Mose*, and the *Sambre*, were drawing towards the Frontiers of *France*; he therefore advanced that way, and whilst he was at *Charleville*, consulting with the Marquis of *Noirmontier* Governour of that place, with Monsieur de *Busy* *Lamet*, and others, they had news from Monsieur de *Mentegu*, Governour of *Rocroy*, That the Count *Coligny*, Lieutenant-General to *Conde*, was gone to attack *Couvain*, a little Town upon the River *Noiran*, three Leagues distant from *Rocroy*, in the Country of *Liege*, garrisoned by the *French*, who had beaten thence a Regiment of the Enemy, which had been quartered there; and that he had invested it with two Pieces of Cannon: Whereupon gathering together all the Troops which in so short a time could be assembled at *Rocroy*, they marched from thence unto a little rising, distant a quarter of a League from the Camp of those of *Conde's* Party, and put themselves in Battalia, under the covert of a Coppice, from whence *Beaujeu* and *Mentegu*, alighting to discover the posture of the Enemy, saw their Cavalry drawn up in Order beyond the River, and the said Wood.

1653. *Beaujeu* presently considered, That in case he should march with the whole Body, the Horse would then retire under the shelter of the Musquetiers, where the *French* would have much more difficulty to fight them, and therefore thought 'twas best to make the Enemy believe their number was much less, so as believing it to be a small Party, they might ingage to fight them, and follow them into the whole Body behind the Wood; and so it punctually happened, for two Squadrons only being sent out, they were immediately charged by *Coligny's* Troops, the King's men began to skirmish, receiving the Charge with great dexterity.

Conde's men not doubting any Stratagem, advanced so far that they fell in among those by whom they were expected; *Beaujeu*, and the other Commanders, when the time served sallied out, and charged the Enemy with so much fury, that they forthwith put them to flight, spurring hard towards their own Quarters. The Royallists in the Chase took several Prisoners; *Monfr. de la Villeita* at the same time fell upon the Foot, abandoned by their Horse, who were retiring to *Basat*, but being charged, after they fired once, yielded forthwith, and throwing down their Arms, took Quarter as Prisoners of War, in which number was *Coligny* himself, after he had performed all the parts of a valiant Cavalier, in labouring to make those who fled, turn face against the Enemy; he was taken by *Monsieur de Delore* Cornet of the Troop of *Rocroy*; the Colonel *Ghegy* was taken by *Monsieur de Rumilly*; *Monsieur de Buchol* and several other Officers were also Prisoners; and in this Action *Monsieur de Epau*, *Maureuil*, and the Marquis *de Causfort*, carried themselves nobly, they being the Persons who charged the Foot between *Courvin* and *Bosset*. This good Success, joyned to the other whereof we have before treated, gave great satisfaction to the Cardinal, as on the other side it brought great trouble to the Prince of *Conde*, who had there lost above a thousand good Souldiers, and the best of his Officers, amongst whom he heard with great grief of the imprisonment of *Coligny*, his Kinsman, a Person of great valour, and in whom he had great confidence; and the Court taking this as a Presage of good Success, Resolved that the Duke of *Espernon*, Governour-General of *Burgundy*, should undertake the Enterprize of *Bellagarde*.

After the rendring of the Castle of *Dijon*, *Burgundy* had been ever in great trouble, by reason of the plunderings of that Garrison, which continually infested that whole Countrey. The Duke had therefore Garrisoned the Castle of *Pagny*, near unto it; and wanting Force sufficient to take it, he had given ear to some Propositions made by the Prince of *Conde's* Friends to sell him the said Place, which was hard to keep, because it was so far within the King's Countries; but the Treaty being broken off, by reason of the too high demands of the Marquis of *Basteville* Governour of the Place, *Espernon* took order for making of Provisions fit for besieging of it; and considering that those of the *Franche Comté*, notwithstanding their Neutrality, might send and succour it; he sent concerning the same unto the Marquis of *San Martin*, and *Monsieur de Cea*, Principal managers of the Catholick King's Affairs in that Province, from whom being assured, that they had no thought of doing any thing against the Neutrality established, and being also encouraged by the *Burgundians*, who to pull this Thorn out of their sides, offered to find Money and Provisions fit for the Siege; the Duke passed the *Samme* at *San Jean de Losne* the Marquis *d'Uxelles* came from *Chabons to Verdun*, with what Souldiers he could draw from the Neighbouring places, and brought together about four thousand Souldiers, Horse and Foot, under the Command of the said *Uxelles*, and *de Roncerelles*, both Lieutenants-General: The Ninth of May, the Duke possessed the Poss. of *Campblanc*, and *de Pann*, whilest

1653. whilest the others took up their Posts at *Casselles*, and *San George*, and opening the Trench, they made their Approaches to the place, and with their Artillery battered it on two sides, and a little below also on the other side of the River, where *Monsieur de San Quintin* lodged himself with four hundred Foot.

The Besieged defended themselves with great courage, and by their frequent Sallies endeavoured to hinder the King's Forces from advancing towards the Ditch; but *Roncerelles* advancing the Trench unto the Counter-scarp, drained the water out of the Ditch, filled it with Faggots, and sprang a Mine under the Bulwark towards the River.

Basteville having no hopes of Succour, and not being in a condition long to defend himself, sent to the Duke, and let him know, *It had been never practised in a War amongst Christians, to assault a place without first giving a Summons to know if they would freely yield, and therefore he desired to understand upon what ground, they proceeded so severely against him.*

Espernon made answer to him, *That this was usually practised against lawful Enemies, but not against Rebels to the King*; and pretended he would not defer the Assault, for which all things were now ready; but being entreated by the Officers of his Army, not to use such severity which oftentimes casts men into despair; he consented, rather for sparing the lives of his own Souldiers, than of the Enemy; and a Capitulation for the Surrender was agreed upon, *Basteville* marching on the 8th day of June out of the place, with 700 Souldiers with their Arms and Baggage, who were convoy'd unto *Stenay*: The *Burgundians* were much pleased with this Enterprize, having hereby quieted their Province, and *Espernon*, according to the promise he had made them, caused the place to be dismantell'd and uncovered, whereby the passage over the *Samme* became free, and those people were eased of the Contributions they were forced to pay unto that Garrison, to avoid being fired, and ill entreated by the Souldiers, and himself acquired much honour, and a general Commendations by the Action.

The Troops who had served in this Siege were sent, part unto *Marschal Turenne*, who was now ready to take the Field, and part unto the *Marschal de la Ferre Semeterre*, who was already quartered upon the Frontiers of *Lorraine*, and had taken divers Castles of the Territory of *Verdun*, which were held by the Enemy.

To these good Proludiums of fortunate Success, followed another Enterprize very bold and unexpected, executed by Count *Broglia*, Governour of *la Basse*, a Captain of high repute, and experienced valour. He was advertised that the Troops which had been in the Quarters of *Etere*, *la Gorgue*, and the Neighbouring Posts, being appointed to serve in the Prince of *Conde's* Army, were the most part of them drawn thence unto the general Rendezvous, so as there were in those Quarters only Colonel *Murphy*, with about 700 Irish, and about 80 Horse, under the Command of the Baron *de Lambac*; he marched therefore from *la Basse*, with 400 Fire-locks, and 100 Horse, with a Bridge of Boats to pass the River *Lis*, above *Etere* and *Armentiers*, that he might fall upon the Quarters of *Etere* where *Murphy's* Regiment lay. He Commanded *Monsieur de Lavogadre*, a Colonel of *Piemontois*, to pass the River with 350 Fire-locks, and himself staid on the hither side with the 100 Horse, and the remainder of the Foot, to succour and assist where need should be.

Monsieur de la Tronoy, Serjeant-Major of *Basse*, advanced with 100 Fire-locks about midnight the 13th of June, and charged with so much valour, that notwithstanding the Assault was sustained with great courage by the Enemy, yet he drove them to the Church, where they fought two hours,

1653. hours, but at last the French having made themselves Masters of the Church Doors, constrained the Irish all to yield themselves prisoners of War, who were in number 300 Souldiers, 6 Captains, and all the other Officers, Murphy himself escaping by favour of the Night: From thence the same Night the Count advanced unto the Fort of *la Gourgue*, but found it quitted, and so having driven the Countrey thereabouts, and got some Booty, he returned to *La Bassee*, very well pleased to have destroyed that Fort, and taken all those Souldiers and Officers.

The Prince of Conde was startled with this News, and had without doubt forthwith taken the Field, had not the taking of the 300000 Ryals, before mentioned, by the English, retarded the Provisions which were thereby to be made, and in particular of Horses, to remount the Cavalry, and for Artillery, which were afterwards provided with some difficulty in Holland.

The General Turenne, making use of this Conjunction, having caused the Troops to march into the Countrey about *Rheims*, parted from *Paris* the 14th of June, and in a certain place not far distant from *Chillery*, in *Champagne*, consulting with the Marechal de *la Ferte* (who was yet drawing together his Souldiers in the Countrey about *Verdun*) touching the course they were to hold, they concluded to besiege *Rhetel*, to take from the Enemy all means of advancing farther into *Champagne*, being an open Countrey, and full of Corn, as without doubt they would otherwise have done, to their very great advantage.

Turenne advanced to *Chateau Porcien*, and placed himself beyond *Rhetel*, and *Chaumont*, that is a Castle where the Spaniards had a Regiment of Foot, that were recruiting, and 60 Horse in Quarters, who at first sight yielded themselves prisoners of War, without Colours or Baggage. The Marechal de *la Ferte*, came by the Valley of *Bourg*, on t'other side of the River *Aisne*, and there in the Campagne of *Chaumont*, having drawn up all their Troops, they made their approaches to *Rhetel*, on both sides, where the same Night the Regiments of *Picardy*, of *Turenne*, and *Palnau*, possessed themselves of all the Out-Works, raising two Batteries, one near the Port of *Rorroy*, and the other at the River Gate where *La Ferte* was quartered.

There were in the Town 5 or 600 men, under the Command of the Marquis de *Perfan*, who in the Night, was in great danger of being made a prisoner at the taking of the Out-works, they opened in two dayes two breaches, and whilst the French prepared to assault them, the besieged Capitulated, and agreed to march out with Arms, Baggage, and two Pieces of Artillery, and to be convoy'd unto *Stenay*.

The Marshals left there for Governour Monsieur de *Boda*, with his Regiment of French Foot, and themselves went to observe the motions of Conde, and the Spaniards, who during the time of that Siege marched together towards *Hayes & Avennes*, their taking the Field having been delayed as well for the said want of Horse, as for a Treaty they had with a certain Citizen of *Arras*, about surprizing of that City, he had intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*, and played the double spy to deceive the Spaniard, and get money from them.

The intelligence was begun the Year before, and continued untill Conde found himself abused, having parted with above 2000 Doubloons at several times upon that score. The French having notice that the Spaniards were not strong enough to fight their flourishing and numerous Army, marched up towards the Prince, being resolved to assault him before he was reinforced with more men, which he carefully laboured to be, but he drew up his men in Battalia between two Woods, behind a straight Pass which prevented them from taking him in that place of advantage where he first was, and had been

been found, if he had been but one half hour later advertised of the French Armies motion: Whereupon the Marshals returned unto their Quarters, and from thence marched towards *Vervins*, into certain Villages near the Abbey of *Fougny*, from whence drawing to *Vervins*, they lodged near *Ponsy*, and from thence Coasting by *Guise*, they encamped at *Riplemont*, to observe the Enemy who were reinforced by the Army of *Lorraine*, and some Troops from *Flanders*, with which their design was to enter France, upon hope that when they should appear there would many declare for them.

The French Generals therefore being much inferiour in number were to carry themselves very circumspectly, and not to hazard a Battel, which was much the more dangerous, by reason of the consequences would depend upon it, then for the present loss they could receive.

The French Courts aim was to gain time, to resetttle the Affairs of the Kingdome by gaining *Bordeaux*, to hinder Conde from raising new Stirres and Garboiles, by means of his party, and dependance, and to frustrate the Spaniards expectations of ruining France, grounded upon the Credit and Reputation of Conde; which was the onely Butt unto which the Consultations of Spain tended, as believing that Crown with their Dominions and Countreys so divided, and void of Inhabitants, could not in any other manner get an advantage over France, an entire united Countrey, and therefore without sparing of Money, nay even with the prodigal lavishing away thereof, unto the Malecontents of France, they endeavoured to draw others, and by such arts obtain that, which by their own Forces they could not gain.

The Effects notwithstanding corresponded ill with the appearance, because the hopes being reduced unto a few particular persons, who were more greedy of their own profit, than that of others, they sought onely the means how to render themselves necessary unto the King of Spain's Service, and to draw thence advantages, grounded upon this Maxime, That to draw Rewards from Princes, they ought to make them rather hope for, than obtain the fruit of their Endeavours. Things being therefore thus managed, and the Spaniards having made their Provisions for that Years Campagne, there were divers Consultations held between the Princes, and Generals of the Armies, touching the several courses they ought to steer.

The Generals of Spain proposed to undertake some notable Design, and by taking some Town of Importance, by means thereof to make afterwards a farther progress, and upon that foundation to maintain a War in the Enemies Countrey, it was proposed, That Five or Six thousand of the best Souldiers with Expert Captains, should be embarked, and sent forthwith for *Guienne*, to re-inforce the Prince's Forces in that Province, give Courage unto those of *Bordeaux*, and nourish that War, which was the powerfallest Diversion could be given to the Christian King's Forces. But the fears that the Succours of Spain would not be sufficient for that purpose, and the disorder would arise by dismembring the Forces of *Flanders*, made that Proposition to be laid aside.

The Prince of Conde magnifying the Correspondence he had in *Paris*, declared, and was very pressing with pregnant Reasons, That they should forthwith draw the Army together pass the Somme, and marching as near as they could to *Paris*, invite their Partisans to raise some new Sedition in the City, whereby the Court being startled, would easily quit it, and in that confusion marching to *Mantes*, they might seize upon *Pontoise*, *Senlis*, and some Neighbouring places, where their Party being strengthened by those Malecontents, would fall in with them, they might reap singular advantages, and keep the War alive in France.

This Proposition was specious in appearance, and so well represented, that the Council approved of it, thinking that Conde would be seconded by the

1653. effects, as he seemed to be by the desires of many, who applauded his Actions, and could not stop the turbulency of his spirit.

Two notable Difficulties occurred in the execution, the one, that the hearts of many were very much cast down by the Successes of *Bellegard*, and *Rhetel*, who could never have imagined that the King in that Campagne could have Forces, and *Conde* want them; to suffer two Towns to be miserably lost under his nose, whereby the confidence they had in him was much diminished.

The other, That the *French* Army being drawn out into Campagne much stronger then was expected, 'twas very dangerous to pass Rivers, and engage ones self in an Enemy's Countrey, without a place of Retreat upon occasion, being Coasted by an Army (though inferiour in number, yet equal at least to them in valour) of Souldiers, being all *French*, Bold, and Expert, and a Body of 4000 *German* Horse, the remainder of the Renowned Forces of *Saxon Weymar*; and having also to Friend many great Cities, and strong Forts, all most affectionate to his Majesty. Notwithstanding as there is nothing doth so much transport the imagination, as the value we put upon our selves, fomented by a vehement desire, *Conde* was so transported with the opinion of the great Esteem had of him by the People of *France*, that he believed the same alone sufficed to make him Conquerour before he fought. It was therefore resolved to follow this advice, whereupon the *Spanish* Army advancing towards *Cambrai*, and from thence to *Crevecoeur*, and *Catelet*, came at last without opposition to *Fontenoy*, where the River *Somme* rises, being onely two Leagues distant from the *French* Camp.

There were in the *Spanish* Army effectively 30000 men, the Troops of *Lorraine* and *Conde* being taken in; Composed of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Walloons*, *Germans*, *Burgundians*, *Flemmings*, and other Nations, who by the diversity of their Languages, and Fashions, caused in that Camp an harmonious discord: The Equipage was very great of Cannon, Baggage, and Ammunition.

There *Conde* made a halt for some dayes, and faced the *French* Camp, passing the time in frequent, but slight skirmishes, of the Light Horse, who beat about the Countrey with much diligence. His hopes were built upon the Friends, and Intelligence he had in *Paris*, which he thought would infallibly take fire; but he was mistaken in his account, because the King being in the City, and the Cardinal alwaies Vigilant to prevent any Novelty that might arise, there was no motion at all there; neither was there any of the banished persons, who (according to appointment) would come to *Paris*, and head the discontented Persons that remained there. So as the Prince's Designs vanishing, the opinion conceived of him by the *Spanish* Ministers, fell therewith also; finding him not to have that credit and dependance in *France* whereof he boasted, and by which he had promised the effecting of such great matters, and therefore being no less perplexed then confounded, touching the course they were to take, the Armies kept their ground, and onely faced each other for some dayes.

Conde (as being stronger in Men) desired to come unto a General Battel; The *French* would not hazard it with so much disadvantage, but endeavoured onely by Lodging in convenient places, and by the favour of Towns and Forts, to hinder his advance, and make him spend the time unprofitably, so as the one studied the means of coming to a Battel; and the other endeavoured onely to decline it.

This occasion shewed the Excellency and Valour of the two Captains, who made War with Courages emulous of Glory and Reputation, and therein the Conduct of him who was inferiour in Forces, proved, that wise Foresight hath the advantage over Courage.

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1653. But the Courts design was driven at another rate. The Cardinal had nothing more in his mind than the reducing of *Bourdeaux* unto obedience, he knew the quieting of that part, would be a certain preservation to the rest: his opinion was approved by all the Council, and the resolution was taken to stop *Conde* upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, or *Champaigne*, that the Affairs of *Guienne* might not be imbroiled, where all things tended to an happy issue, although the means used by Treaties, and Intelligence had not succeeded.

The Marquis of *Thenbon*, who had defended with Valour, and good Fortune, the new Town of *Agemois* against the Count *d'Harcourt*, being offended, that the Count *Marfin* Arrogated only to himself the glory of having freed that City, by putting into it 200 Horse, whilst the overflowing of the Water had made the Royalists draw farther off, and that by *Marfin's* orders some of his kindreds Houses had been Plundered, amongst whom were those of Monsieur *de Colongis*, and the Widow *Marchionesse* of *Ville Franche*, belonging to *Thenbon* himself by Substitution, came to *Bourdeaux*; and expressing his discontent, was desired by *Conty* to lay aside all Rancour, and thought of Revenge, which he professed to bear in mind towards *Marfin*, but notwithstanding that, and the Sum of 500 Crowns given him towards his losses, he sent Monsieur *de Mondevin* to *Blaye*, to Negotiate some agreement with the Duke *de San Simon*, and also with the Duke *de Vendosme*, who was lately before arrived there.

The business took well, and gave good hope of a happy issue, but the banishment at that time of one *Litherie*, an Advocate who had a hand in it, upon other suspitions, (although this Plot were not discovered) did for the present give a stop unto it; *Thenbon* was solicited by his friends, and those who wished well unto the King, to stay in *Bourdeaux*, to serve them for a Head, not to be Reconciled unto *Marfin*, but to endeavour by all means to be Revenged, because in case he could effect it, and take away his life, the War it self would dye together with him, and upon pretence of a private quarrell, he should do great Service to the publick, and accomplish his own ends by it.

Notwithstanding which he left the Town, as being too much observed in it, leaving there good correspondence, communicated his thoughts unto the Duke of *Candale*, and they agreed, that the Army advancing to *Lormont*, he would get them to be let in, by means of Monsieur *Mousnier*, and Monsieur *du Sault*, who were disgusted, and weary of the Princes Government, and by the assistance of a Counsellor of *Bourdeaux*, who was much offended that he had been imprisoned by *Conty's* orders, although he had been afterwards Released, and received by him with great Courtesie.

These three Monsieus, were all of them principal Frondeurs, and of great Authority, so as 'twas easily by their means, to have struck the stroke, and the rather, because several of the *Olmiers* joyned also with them, and in particular one *Cot*, a great man amongst the Rabble, and one called *Cavalier*, son to a Proctor of the Pallace served for the Messenger, or Carrier of the Letters which passed between the Conspirators, and the King's party.

The Army appeared at *Lormont* ready to have effected the enterprize, but *Cot* having been bribed by the Princes, and *Cavalier*, being taken with the Letters about him, he was as a Spy put to death before the Palace Gate, and all entercourse was broken off; at the same time Monsieur *de Chambon*, who had been by the Prince of *Conde* sent into *Guienne*, to hinder the Count *d'Ognon* from agreeing with the Court, by the offer of 300000 Crowns in Money, and one of his Townes with the Title of Duke,

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1653. ran a fortune not much unlike to this, for having found all his Negotiations fruitless, and being willing to go to *Bordeaux*, where they had an ill opinion of him, for having rendered the City of *Xantes* the year before, he was by the Rabble taken and Tied to the same Gibbet, where they had hanged him, if in the time allowed him for Confession, he had not been relieved by the Prince of *Conty*, who caused him to be forthwith released, and withdrawn from so infamous a death.

Theubon gave not over for all this to set a fort new Engines, for compassing his ends; and together with Count *Marin* one of the King's *Marschal's de Camp*, had frequent intelligence with all those whom he thought fit to serve in this occasion, amongst which pitching upon a Treasurer of *France* called *Filiot*, a Person very bold, and zealous, who passed to and from the City, he made choice of him to Confide in, and to keep a foot the correspondence *Marin* held with the two Brothers *de Chateau*, and with the Counsellor *de Sault*, Son to the Advocate General, who growing desperate to see the Authority of Parliament, submitted to the importunities of the *Olmiera*, was entred into the party, and determined to put himself in the Head of some Citizens, and open one of the Gates to the King's forces.

The business was wisely carried, and the success was in a manner certain, as being managed by Persons in whom the People put their trust, but for as much, as 'tis a Maxime of the *French* Nation, (more frank and open than any other) That secrets in the Breasts of Young Men, are kept like Water in a Sieve, *Chatein*, one of the Brothers, having discovered the business to the Count *d'Auteil* Governour to the Duke *d'Anguien*, 'twas discovered by means of a young Citizen, of whom the Count was enamoured, *Filiot* was taken, and the Counsellor *de Sault*, and both imprisoned: the other Brother, who knew nothing of this discovery, was gone to advertise the Duke of *Candale*, that he should draw to *Bordeaux* with the forces, believing 'twas impossible it should miscarry. The King's forces advanced with so much secrecy and speed, that notwithstanding the discovery of the Plot, if the Prince of *Conty* had not been in person at the Port, they had entered in that Confusion, without the help of any other Complices. This March of *Candale*, did so confirm the certainty there was a Plot, and filled those of the *Olmiera* with so much Rage, that like Fools, and Mad-men, they all ran about furiously in Arms, crying, that better 'twere to suffer Death a thousand times with Armes in their hands, then to be betrayed with so much baseness.

They made presently a Solemn procession to give thanks to God, and charged a *Franciscan* Fryer to make a Sermon exhorting to Union, and Loyalty unto the Country; the Fryer went into the Pulpit, and although he were by Faction a *Frondeur*, and of that judgment, yet being in that moment enlightened by the Eternal Wisdom, he spake in presence of the Princes, Princesses, Frondeurs, and those of the *Olmiera*, so well to dispose them unto Peace, that all were marvellously touched, and confounded, and the People wonderfully Edified at his great Eloquence, and Learning. Whereby 'tis seen that the Divine Providence Concurrs both to the settling, and overthrow of Crowns. The Innocence, and goodness of his Majesty being protected, and the ingratitude of Subjects being there opposed by the Divine Justice.

Filiot's Process was after made, and no sufficient proofs coming against him, he was put upon the Torture, which was Cruelly given him, in the presence of *Durastel* head of the *Olmiera*, and of the Advocate *Pontellier*. When he was first put upon it he swooned, but having implored the help

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1653. of God, and of the blessed Virgin, he found himself so much comforted, and strengthened; that he endured it Valliantly, without discovering any of his Complices. There was no farther proceeding against *de Sault*, the Tears of his Father, and Services done by the Son unto the *Fronde*, prevailing against the punishment due for a Treason against the Princes, which had it taken, would have exposed them unto the fury of the Souldiers without Capitulation.

Conspiracies and Plots having all failed to reduce *Bordeaux* under the King's obedience, and the Forces which *Vendosme* and *Candale* had being of themselves too weak, to overcome a City so strong and obstinate, The Cardinal gave order unto Monsieur *d'Estrades*, Lieutenant General in *Rochel*, to draw what Souldiers he could out of the bordering places, and to March up with them forthwith unto the Duke of *Vendosme*; *Estrades* was extremely diligent, and being a Person very expert in War, and affectionate unto his Majesty's Service, came thither speedily with a good Strength of Men near *Bourg*; the taking of which Place, as necessary towards that of *Bordeaux*, was enterprised by his counsel: But there being a necessity for the vigorous carrying on thereof, to invest it on three sides, and the Foot being sufficient onely to do it upon two, the Duke of *Candale* was desired, That he would furnish Forces necessary for that purpose. The Duke corresponded with all readiness to the Desire of the other Generals, and coming to discourse it with the Duke of *Vendosme*, and *d'Estrades*, in the Fort *Cesar*, he gave Orders to his own Regiment, with that of *Lorrain*, and *Champaigne*, to march, and he himself would be of the Party; having agreed with *Vendosme* touching the Command.

Bourg was Attack't, and on the 29th of June they broke ground on three sides, On the first the Duke of *Vendosme* was with the Regiment of *Britanny*, and that of Monsieur *de Rozacerviere*, *Marschal*, on the second the Duke of *Candale*, with the Regiment of *Champaigne*, and that of Monsieur *de Saint German*, on the third Monsieur *d'Estrades*, with the Regiment of *Douglas*, and that of Monsieur *Saint Romain*; This last Approach was so vigorously advanced, that on the fourth day, Monsieur *Delas* *Marschal de Camp*, lodged on the brink of the Fosse, and cut in sunder a great Pallisadoe in the middle of it, notwithstanding a perpetual shower of Musquet Bullets, and a multitude of Bombo's, Granadoes, and other wild-fires, which were continually rained from the Walls to hinder his attempt. This advance was made by the King's Forces without the help of any Battéry, by the negligence of the Canoners, and the failing of the Pieces, which were but twice discharged.

The besieged were so astonished with this extraordinary Courage of the *French*, and so cowed with the lustre of their Arms and Cloaths, trimmed after the new Mode, that they were in such confusion, it seemed they could do nothing else but gaze upon that gayety, which perhaps was new unto their eyes. *Don Joseph Olorio*, who Commanded there without thinking farther then on his own safety, and to get out of these broils, Capitulated the Third of July, and marched out from thence the 5th, with 800 Men, Arms, Baggage, and two Pieces of Cannon, but to his great blame of Cowardise and baseness, and as such he was by order of the King of *Spain* imprisoned after at *St. Sebastians*, although he justified himself by reason of want of Vituals.

This Important Place being then lost by the *Spaniards* in five dayes onely, for keeping whereof they had laid out a great Sum of Money in fortifying it at *la Royale*, and circling of it with strong Walls, the Generals and Captains of that People were not onely troubled, but all the Malecontents of the

1693. Prince's Party were above measure disturbed, foreseeing that this loss was a true preface of their utter ruine. The French on the other side, proud of so fortunate Success, resolv'd to make a farther progress, and without making stop, resolv'd to take *Libourne*, and thereupon whilst the Duke of Vendosme staid in *Bourg*, to give such Orders as were necessary, and to dispatch away Artillery, and Provisions fitting for the Enterprize; Monsieur d'Estrades with 1200 Foot, and 400 Horse, after two dayes stay, march'd towards it; and in his passage took the Castles of *Savagnac*, and *Laubardemont*, and pass'd the River *Jolle* the 9th of July, the Foot in Boats at *Guistres*, and the Horse a League from thence at the Foord of *Constras*.

The Place was next day view'd, and Quarters set out for the Troops, until the coming of Vendosme, who the 11th day at Night arriv'd with the Cannon and Ammunition, going up the *Dordogne*, and passing happily under the Enemies Fort, not above half Pistol shot off, by the assistance of the Galley, (being one of those appointed for his Guard) which was commanded by Monsieur de la Monnerie, Commissary General of the Admiralty; after which the Trench was begun on that side of the River where the Duke of Vendosme was lodg'd; and the care of this Attack was given to the Count of Montesson, Colonel of the Regiment of *Bretagne*, and a Battery of two pieces of Cannon; d'Estrades attack'd on the other side of the River *Ille*, and Monsieur de St. Romain, assist'd in making the Approaches, and another Battery with the Regiment of *Douglas*.

In this mean time the besieged made a great Salley on that side, with Horse and Foot, but were so briskly repulld, that they durst never after peep abroad. Both the Attacks were advanced with so much vigour, that the second day the French were Masters of two Half-Moons, in one of which they took 17 prisoners, and a breach being there open'd on the Duke's side, and a Mine ready to be sprung on that of d'Estrades, the besieged upon the 17th of July sound'd a Parley, and demand'd the same Terms as were granted unto *Bourg*; but 'twas refus'd them, the French thinking it not reasonable that *Libourne* should think it self equal to *Bourg*; at last it was agreed, That as to the French and Irish Souldiers, they should be Prisoners of Warr; the Officers should have liberty to return to their own houses, and twelve onely should have liberty to carry the Baggage away with them. The Souldiers who were about 800, divid'd themselves under the King's colours, where they voluntarily entred themselves into Service.

The Justice of the King's Cause was visibly approv'd by the facility where-with these two Important Places were gain'd by his Forces, and the diligence and abilities of his Captains appear'd likewise to be very great, and particularly in the Enterprize of *Libourne*, which being Garrison'd by more than 800 Souldiers in pay, was besieged, and taken by an Army of 2200 Foot, and Four hundred Horse, the remainder of the Troops being divid'd, part of them plac'd in Garrison at *Bourg*; part part left to make good the Posts of *Castillon*, and *Monreal*, and the rest Commanded upon several Parties by the Generals, upon the notice they got by Letters of *Marsin* intercepted, and undecipher'd, that his Lieutenants march'd with some Troops of *Perigord* and *Quercy*, unto the relief of that place, which being the principal foundation of the subsistence of *Bordeaux*, was furnish'd with all things necessary for the holding out of a long Siege.

This second loss put all the Inhabitants into a wonderful apprehension, and the Prince's Party lost much of their first Credit, the people crying out, That in lieu of the Succour which they hop'd for, they were contriving to cast them into the slavery abominated by them.

The Citizens therefore made several Assemblies, and examining the state of

1693. of their Affairs, found clearly that their hopes of subsistence were very small without speedy Succour, which could not be elsewhere had but from *Spain*, or *England*; they therefore sent away to sollicite the Catholique King's Generals for their promised Succours; and fail'd not to request of General *Cromwell*, That he would open the Passage of the River, and give maintenance unto that City which would bring so great advantages to England. But the Spaniards who desired very much to perform this Request, wanted Forces, and the English who could with ease have done it, had no thoughts of putting it in execution.

The French who saw well that Expedition was the Mother of Success and were sensible that either the Spaniard might get Forces, or the English an inclination to succour *Bordeaux*, dispos'd themselves with extraordinary diligence, to put in execution all those things which might serve to reduce that People speedily under obedience, and therefore *Libourne* being taken, they quarter'd their Troops as near as possibly they could to *Bordeaux*, that they might incommode the Citizens, and deprive them of all communication with the Countrey.

The Duke of Vendosme held the Castle of *Lermont*, all the Countrey between the two Seas, and by means of the Fleet, was Master of the River; The Duke of Candale, with his Forces divid'd upon the principal Passes, was Master of all the Avenues, having to back them the Fort *Cesar*, the *Bourg* of *Blanquefort*, and the Quarter of *Begle*, and thereby hindred the City from receiving any Relief on that side, where they had before got it, and expect'd it afresh from *Spain*, and the Count de *Marin* was sent to take the Castle of *la Teste de Certes*, wherein was that Garrison which had facilitated the Count de *Fiesco* his passage formerly.

But although 'twere certain, that Force was the securest means to restore the King's Authority within that City; yet considering it might be long first, 'twas thought fit to try the means for reducing the Inhabitants unto a voluntary submission. The House of *Esperson* had in it a great number of Creatures, and well-affected persons, gain'd by their long abiding in those Parts, who notwithstanding the Seditious Cabals, had always retain'd their good affections; Which made it easie for the Duke of Candale (a Prince generally beloved for his Virtuous and Noble Qualities) to set on foot a Treaty upon this design, with the well dispos'd Citizens.

By means therefore of Friends and Confidants, (there being many others dispos'd to Peace) they thought fit to attempt the means of bringing it about.

The multitudes of Country people running into the City for fear of the Souldiers, serv'd wonderfully to make the scarcity of Provisions appear, because the Corn being with great dexterity bought up, and hidden in private houses, and the Mills being out of order by biding of the stones, and other implements, the Bakers were not able to find Bread sufficient to furnish such a multitude; whereupon the throng of people, who were present at the distribution of it, began to think that the want was extream great, and that therefore the publick safety was more to be considered, then private interests. The Provision for the Hospitals was also neglected, and those Poor were sent unto their doors, who were thought to be most interest'd in the continuance of the Warr; which was so done, that with their pitiful Outcries, they might let them see 'twas necessary (not being able to resist longer against so great an extremity of Miseries) to moderate their own particular obstinacy, which had been the cause of bringing it upon them.

The sight of this Crowd of Poor, and Beggars, whispering at their doors who were look'd on as the beginners of the Warr, wrought very much towards

1653. wards the disposing of them unto Peace, beginning now to fear that those very persons of whom they had made use to disturb the publick quiet, would fall upon themselves, and plunder their houses, it was also proposed to the Religious, *That they would expose the Blessed Sacrament in their Churches covered with a black Vail, so the end it should appear that God detested and abhorred this Warr.* But the Prince's Council, and the *Frondeurs*, having notice thereof, caused it to be exposed in the Great Church, and supplications to be made for a general Peace; which was the pretence they made use of, to abuse the ignorant multitude.

This Revolution lasted until *Wednesday* the 9th of *July*, on which day after many private Conferences, several Merchants met in the *Palace de la Bourse*, laying, *'Twas necessary to shut up Shop, considering there could be no farther business done during the Warr.*

The Prince of *Conty* having notice of these Murmurings, made a Cavalcade through the City, but it passed no farther; and the next day one *du Bas*, having been seized on by his order for having cried out, *Peace*, before the *Palace of Justice*, all the Neighbouring Quarter took Arms, and required his enlargement.

This *du Bas* plotted with a Conventual Frier *Minim*, called Frier *Romain*, who having made some intelligence with the Count *d'Autel*, shewed unto several of the Citizens a Paper which he said was from the Prince of *Conty*, whereby he gave him liberty to have meetings, that he might give him notice of all things that might concern his Party; but the matter was otherwise handled, in regard the Frier had no design but to discover thereby who were good subjects, and who were ill-affected to the King, whereof *Bas* and others taking notice, they were reserved, and would not communicate any thing of importance to the Frier.

The good Reputation *du Bas* had in the publick Vogue, moved the Citizens to make that stirre, and to demand his release, threatening some novelty in case they were not satisfied herein; *Conty* and *Marsin* got to Horse, together with the greatest part of the Nobility, and Officers of the Army, all the City Companies were commanded to take Arms, the greatest part of whom had some of the *Olmiera* for their Captains, but it so happened, that the Butchers under Command of *Gilbert*, and one Master *Isaac*, armed with Musquets and other Arms, cried out for *Peace*, and that if any had particular disquits, they should revenge themselves by their own Arms, without engaging therein the Lives of the whole City. And a *Hollander*, married in *Bourdeaux*, told *Marsin* to his face, *That they knew how to dye, but would not dye unrevenged; and that being free, they would not dye tamely.* Wherewithal being startled, they concluded that after Dinner all those of the *Olmiera* should meet in the Town-House.

There several Expedients were proposed, and the plurality of voices agreed in this, *That the Citizens dwelling in the Quarter called de la Rochelle, and the New Street, should be assaulted, and Cannon drawn up against them.* The Prince of *Conty* liked not the Advice, and thought it better to expect the Judges, and Consuls of the Exchange, who with much submission, came to Petition him, *That he would not suffer the good Citizens to be outraged, nor comply with those of the Olmeira, who were about him, and made their boasts that they would plunder their houses.* The Merchants appeared, and Petitioned for Peace, *That they might avoid greater disorders.* The Prince answered, *That he desired not to keep any in subjection by force, which he could with ease do, but that if they were constant to his Brother the Prince of Conde, and himself, he would protect their Interests, and by being united, all those difficulties would be overcome; which whilst they were at variance among themselves, daily augmented, and would cast them into inextricable*

1653. cable difficulties; but that he would consider with his Council, what was fit to be resolved upon in this Conjunction.

The Count *de Fiesco* was in this interim dispatched from the Court of *Spain*, and imbarcking himself upon a Frigate at *St. Sebastians*, he was come unto the Port of the *Teste de Busch*, there finding all the Countrey in Arms for the King, he landed, and had much ado to save himself, leaving the Frigate to the discretion of those Countreymen, by whom he was seized, and all the persons in her made prisoners: The great Guns in her were made use of to batter the Castle of the *Teste de Busch*, and another place near thereunto called *Sertes*, garrisoned by the Prince's Souldiers, that they might keep open this Pass for those that went, and returned from *Biscay*. To these Countrey Forces, were sent a Recruit of 600 Foot, under the Command of the Count *de Marin*, by whom these two Castles (which much favoured the Spaniards landing) were in five or six dayes taken.

Fiesco coming to *Bourdeaux* the 12th of *July*, went instantly with the Prince of *Conty* unto the Town-House, and highly magnifying the Catholick King's Power, he assured those of the *Olmiera*, *Of a Speedy, and Powerful supply of Men, Money, Shipping, and all other manner of Provisions, which he had seen himself all in good order, and left under sayl in their course at the height of the Port of Passage, so as the Wind blowing fair, it could not be far behind.* Upon this News it was resolved to have a General Meeting of the Companies of the City, where *Fiesco* made the same relation, assuring them, *That this was no relation of a Gazet, but an assured certainty; himself having been present at Council, and at the execution of the Orders which were thereupon given from the Court of Spain.*

These Passages were by well-meaning men listened unto with horreur; yet some Counsellors of Parliament being revived with these hopes, said, *They ought not to proceed farther in the Proposals for Peace, made by a Party of the Citizens, for fear of abusing the Favours of his Catholick Majesty under whose protection all things would surely be concluded with an entire Liberty, and Quiet.* But notwithstanding this, the Presidial (which is a Magistracy composed of above Thirty Counsellors, and Officers of Note, to whom belongs the ordinary administration of Justice) next morning made a deputation unto the Prince of *Conty*, desiring him *that Peace might be concluded, and that belief should not be given so lightly to the report of Fiesco, transported with the Passion he had for upholding of the disobedience against his natural Sovereign.* After which, all the Religious went to perform the same Office, for the Publick safety, and repose.

The Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrew* made the same Request, but their Deputies were threatned by *Granant* the Goldsmith, a principal person amongst the Seditious; there came also Ministers from the *Hugonots*, who in all these occasions shewed themselves very zealous and affectionate to the King's Service. The Prince of *Conty* answered to all, *That himself also desired Peace, but such, as should be lasting and secure; that when the same could be obtained with fit security, he would be more ready than any other to embrace it.* At which time he also sent unto the *Marquess de Santa Cruz* (General of the Spanish Army) several Expresses, to represent unto him the Necessity of a speedy Succour, any small delay whereof would bring all things unto the utmost extremity, and therefore the resolution was to be forthwith taken; that himself was ready, and resolved if any new Stirrs happened, in case *Baltissar* would march out with some Troops of Horse, to go with the Duke of Anguieu his Nephew unto *Tartas*, and so by Land unto the Frontiers of *Spain*.

This was a bold and hazardous Attempt, and as such was opposed not onely by the Princesses, but by *Lenet* and *Marsin* himself. Mean while the Citizens

1653. Citizens being weary of the Indiscretions and Tyranny of the Rabble of the *Olmiera*, by the advice of the *Vilconte de Virlade*, a Councillor of State, and of *Monfieur de Bacalan*, Advocate General *du Chambre des Edicts*, and several other persons, devoted to the King's Service, took a resolution to make themselves Masters of the City Gates, by being present at the changing of the Guards with their Servants armed, that so they might be stronger in number, as they were superiours in valour to the Captains of the Guards, who were all of them of the *Olmiera*, who were lifted by the Prince of *Conde*, and paid by him, that he might have them true and faithful to him; these were extraordinarily astonished and amazed, seeing a number of Persons of Quality, with Halberts on their shoulders, Pistols, and other Arms about them; to list themselves, and serve in the same manner as the meanest of the common people; whereupon some of the Captains of the *Olmiera* offered to go along with them, and demand Peace.

There were some of the Citizens who seeing themselves Masters of the Ports, desired to bring in the King's Forces that they might with more ease shake off the Yoke; but the rest who were as willing to preserve the Prince of *Conty*, and his Family, as to free their Countrey, opposed such violent courses, and endeavoured to have the Peace concluded upon Honourable Terms, and not by fallhood, and conspiracies, whereby the City might be exposed unto the fury of the Souldiers, with danger to the Prince's life, who being of a bold undaunted spirit, would according to his wonted custome, run upon the least noise, and expose himself unto the greatest danger.

And therefore these moderate Persons insisted, That the things resolved upon were to be executed vigorously, but with good order, rendring to the Prince and his Family the Respects due to their Royal Birth, and endeavouring to gain all persons by sweet means, such as might procure most advantage to their Countrey; and gain most Glory to their Actions.

In the mean time *Marsin*, and *Fiesco*, had resolved to bring Souldiers into the City, that might reduce the Inhabitants by force unto their wills; and to the end they might more freely vent their fury, had a design upon the Prince of *Conty* his liberty, and the lives of *Monfieur de Saracin*, and the Abbot of *Colnac*, his Confidants.

The Prince was advertised thereof by the Fathers of the Society, and desired, That for his safety he would please to lye either in the Town-House, or retire himself into their Colledge which was near unto it.

But the *Vilconte de Virlade* being advertised of all this, was the first who took Arms, and with his Friends seized upon the *Port de Chapelle Rouge*, through which they were to have let in the said Forces. He Treated also with the *Irish*, who were the persons that should have struck the stroke, and by perswading them that *Marsin* intended to put them into the hands of the *English* their Enemies and Persecutors (with whom he Treated by means of *Francars*, and *Blarn*, Deputies of the *Olmiera* who were in *England*) brought them to take employment under his Majesty.

The Disgusts between the Prince of *Conty*, and *Marsin*, sprang from *Marsin's* ever growing in his Pretensions, whereby *Lenet* and he, arrogating to themselves all the Authority, treated the Prince as he had been a liveless Statue, so as *Conty* and the Dutchess of *Longueville* his Sister, not being able longer to support the insolence of these two persons, wrote Letters testifying their resentments to the Prince of *Conde*, That he might take some order for their satisfaction, which could not be otherwise but by removal of those two persons, or by permitting them to retire themselves.

The Prince was two moneths ere he returned an answer, and then did it contrary to what they expected, writing onely in general terms, desiring them

them to lay aside all animosities, and study Peace; and declaring, That he intended *Marsin* should Command all things relating to the War, and *Lenet* those touching the Finances; and *Monfieur de Chouppes* having also written to him touching the abuses of *Marsin* and *Lenet*, he sent unto them the Original Letters.

This was sufficient to have given occasion unto the Prince and Dutchess, to leave their Brother's Party, who besides seemed not to confide in them; but these Princes used more prudence and moderation than they were bound unto, and quite contrary to what *Conde* had done, would never Treat about any Union with the Court for themselves separately, as the Prince their Brother had done, who without acquainting them therewith, (by means of the Dutchess of *Chastillon*, the Duke of *Rocheaucourt*, and *Monfieur de Gancourt*) had the Year before held a secret Treaty for making his own peace. But they remained constant even to the last extremity, having besides *Monfieur de Chouppes*, and the Marquis of *Lusignan*, dispatched *Monfieur de Brequigny* unto the Catholick Court, and *Monfieur de Fay* unto the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, then at *St. Sebastians*, where the Baron of *Batteville*, unsatisfied that any other should enjoy the fruit and honour of his Labours, cast in new difficulties to the Resolutions of the Spanish Court, who according to their usual delays, entertained the Princes and their Party onely with hopes.

These differences continuing between the Princes, and the Ministers of *Conde*, were in part the means that gave more life, and boldness, to the Merchants Meetings in the Common Bourse, that being thought the most convenient place (because the Town House was taken up by the Council of the *Olmiera*, and the Palace of Justice by the *Frondeurs*) *Monfieur Lenet* went twice to speak with them, to sow divisions amongst them, by insinuating to the Merchants that he approved what they went about, so it were done without engaging therein the Advocates, and others of the Long-Robe, who as Interested Persons, would draw all the glory of the Action to themselves, and leave the trouble of it unto them; he represented to others their own interests, the power of *Conde*, and his good affections towards the City, endeavouring to gain all Parties, partly by Terrour, and partly by jealousies, and hopes; but all these endeavours, and Negotiations hindred not the concourse, and meeting, of the well affected Party in this Assembly: Wherefore finding that all things went cross to his intentions, and that the Citizens were altogether bent to Peace, instead of confiding in the Prince of *Conty*, who stood firm unto the Interests of his Brother and Family, notwithstanding his ill usage by him, he raised several suspicions of him with the Princesses, and (which was the worst Counsel could be taken as things then stood) being himself Universally hated, cast forth many slanders against the said Prince, to discredit the onely stay that could support them, sowing discords in his House, and amongst the People well affected to him, and endeavouring and by paltry means to Circumvent them. *Fiesco* took a Lodging in the New street amongst the Merchants, that he might be nearer at hand to perswade them, that to make a secure Peace, 'twas necessary to follow the Counsels of *Marsin*, a Person of tried experience; and not those of *Conty* a raw young man.

They caused also some of the *Frondeurs* in whom they most confided, to be present at those Assemblies in the Bourse, amongst whom were also some of the Counsellors of the Parliament that staid at *Bourdeaux*; to occasion some differences, and trouble amongst them, thereby to gain time wherein they had placed all their hopes; and they wrought also with one *Ramont*, who stood Sentinel in the Town-House, to stop one *Doriol* from entering there; though he was one of the *Olmiera*, because he did not second their opinions,

1653. which was so ill taken by his his Companions, and all the *Olmiera*, that they commanded him out of the City, and having discovered that *Marsin* had tampered with many of the People, they made by common consent, a general meeting in the *Burse* upon the 19th day of July, of all the Companies of the City.

Being met, there was present among them the Cavalier *Todias*, a Jurate, and occasion being thereupon taken that a City Magistrate rendered the meeting Legal, they enjoined him to accept a deputation from them to the Prince of *Conty*, to signify unto him the good Citizens resolution to Treat a Peace, to desire he would approve the design, and consent that the Obstacle which both within and without the City was a hindrance to it (which was the *Olmiera*) might be removed, and abolished: That the Captains and Officers might be changed, it being a thing very unseemly, and unreasonable, that so many Persons of Birth, and Quality, who went Personally to the Guard for the publick security, should be commanded by those Mean, Seditious, Plebeians, and that Persons of worth, and merit, might supply their places. It was afterwards concluded, that all those who were there present, should be esteemed as Deputies from all the Companies of the City, and should from day to day assemble together as principal Counsellors of the same.

These to the number of 30, together with several of the principal Artificers, went together towards the Dutchess of *Longueville* House, where the Prince of *Conty* then was; a small number of them staying behind in the *Burse*. Where Monsieur de *Virlade*, Monsieur de *Bucalan*, together with the Baron de *la Adogreth*, and young *Tierang*, Son to the *Hugonot* Minister, concluded, that it was necessary to do some bold thing; and thereupon whilst the Deputies were going thither, they cryed out to as many as they saw in the Court and street before the Palace of Justice, and in the Market-place, *Vive le Roy, & la Paix*, distributing to all they met, pieces of White Ribon for a Sign. The Deputies were encouraged by this noise, and the Cavalier *Todias*, with much freedom represented unto the Prince of *Conty*, the miseries, which were occasioned as well by the King's forces, as by those of the Princes who were lodged under the Walls, and principally by the tumultuous *Olmieists*, who in one year had committed so many Scandalous Actions, as would remain a stain upon them for many Ages. That the good and peaceable Citizens, could no longer suffer the Licentious carriage of the Souldiery, and therefore besought him in the name of all, to take some fit expedient for the general comfort and relief, assuring him of the affection, and constancy of all the Citizens towards his Highness, and the interests of the Prince his Brother, the Duke of *Anjouen* his Nephew, the Princess of *Conde*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville* his Sister.

The Princes Answer was, That he desired them next day to meet at the Arch-Bishops Palace, to agree upon the means how a durable Peace might be concluded. As the Deputies went out of *Longueville* House, they met with those who cryed out, *Peace*, with whom they joyned, every one taking some white Sign, and in a moment there was nothing heard throughout the City, but *Vive le Roy & la Paix, & meure L'Olmier*; the Women, Children, and all others, took some white mark, and who had nothing else, got a piece of Rag, or white Paper; and on the contrary the *Olmieists*, and those of the Princes party, got a piece of Sky Colour, or Labella, for a distinction.

The Sunday following by the Princes order, there met in Counsel, the Counts *Adams*, de *More*, *Fiesco*, *Mais d'Aubell*, the Marquiss of *Lusignan*, the Colonel *Batbasar*, the Counsellors *Ramont*, du *Duc*, and *Espagnet*, who had met at the *Burse*. There was also called unto this Counsel the President de *Tresne*

1653. *Tresne*, who upon pretence either of a True, or Feigned disease, had kept himself for two years concealed at home, the affairs was there discouried upon, and debated, with variety of opinions. Some of the *Frondeurs* to keep the Matter from coming to a resolution, either through ignorance, or malice, desired to delay the time that the matter might not come unto a Vote, which being suspected by *Virlade*, who was sufficiently informed of *Marsin*'s Arts, and knew of what importance the time was which was unprofitably wasted, he staid with some of his friends in the *Burse*, and besides those who were with him the day before, got together the *Montieurs*, *Lacrup*, Father and Son, the Brothers of the *Lesfriges*, *Cosages*, and several Persons fit for Action, with whom (that he might encourage the Deputies then in the Arch-Bishops Palace, and give some fright unto *Marsin*, and his party) together with about 2000 Persons got together by their perswasions, he caused the House of *Blaru*, who was the Deputy in *England*, to be assaulted, that so the report which he had caused to be given out being increased, might be a motive unto the Prince of *Conty*, and the whole Assembly, to satisfy the Citizens desires, but the People fickle and changing like the Wind, quickly gave proof of their inconstancy, and abandoned them in the middle of the Action.

The Heads of the enterprize, endeavoured to Rally the People but in vain, and in the mean time Night drew on, no resolution being taken, *Virlade* bet thought himself to give some Doubloons unto Monsieur de *Cabanieux* his Kinsman, that he should Assemble some of his Companions, and go unto St. Michaels Steeple, where taking down the Red Banner advanced there by those of the *Olmiera*, he should in Lieu of that Bloody, and Fatal Colour, fix there a White Banner with the Armes of *France*, which being punctually executed there, and upon the Steeples of *San Remy*, and *San Pierre*, by the Parish Priests there who were well affected to the King, as also upon the Gate near to the *Burse*, gave them so great an apprehension, that even *Marsin* himself, who was averse from Peace, condescended unto all that was required by the Merchants Deputies, upon the apprehension he had of some surprize intended towards him.

Twelve Deputies were thereupon picked out to consult together with the Princes Counsel, touching the terms fit for the concluding of a Peace; But *Marsin* perceiving the fear he had to have been groundless, meeting the same Night in the Town-House (where the Prince of *Conty* lodged) with the officers of the Army, and other heads of the *Olmiera*, they Treated together touching the means to disturb the designs of those, who were well affected to his Majesty.

Those of the *Olmiera* proposed to have all persons to be Seised, and Executed, who had Assembled in the *Burse*, *Marsin*, and *Fiesco*, would have a middle course taken, that they should stand upon their defence, and bringing Forces into the City, should lodge them in the streets about the Town-house, unto the quarter of *Sant Eulalia* towards the Bishops Palace, and the Castle de *Ha*, where the inhabitants were not suspected; they resolved also to make use of an arrest of Parliament made about the *Frondeurs*, which prohibited all Assemblies as unlawful and Seditious, which were made upon pretence of making remonstrances unto the King for Peace, that so the *Olmiera* might Unite themselves with the remainder of the Parliament against the other Citizens.

The Prince of *Conty* liked not the bringing in of Forces, as a thing which would make the Citizens desperate, and oblige them to let in the Dukes of *Vendosme*, and *Candale*, which would be the utter Ruine, and Desolation of the City. But 'twas concluded that they should make use of the resolutions of the Parliament, the Councillors whereof going to meet next Morning, were hindred by a Company of Citizens, who told them, that the Parlia-

1653. ment was now in *Agen*, and not at *Bordeaux*. *Virlade* caused a *Corps de Guard* to be put upon the Palace of Justice, to hinder the Councillors from meeting there, and at the *Burse* Gate, caused Monsieur *Lovergnac* an Advocate to read a Letter from the Duke of *Candale*, wherein he proffered them his Mediation, and a general Act of Oblivion. The people though they accepted not thereof, prayed *Virlade* and *Bacalan*, to appear as their Tribunes, in those Councils which were held for publick Affairs in the Archbishops Palace.

Affairs in *Bordeaux* standing in this posture, and the major part of the Citizens being for Peace, the French Generals thought fit for strengthening of those good intentions, and disabling the seditious persons of the *Olmiera*, from interrupting of them, to advance the Troops from the Quarter *de la Begle*, towards the Port *de San Julian*, and at the same time to draw up the Fleet towards *Lormont*.

This Resolution was forthwith put in execution, *Candale's* Troops marching before by Land, who were about 4000 Foot, and 200 Horse, under the Command of three Lieutenants General *Canillac*, *Marin*, and *Bougy*, and of *Coudray Monpensier*, who Commanded the Horse, because the Count *de Marinville*, who was Lieutenant General, under whom were 1500 Foot, and about 1200 Horse, who came from *Catalonia*, stirred not from his Quarters at *Blanquefort*, the dust which the Horse marching raised mounting into the Aire in Clouds, and the noise of the Artillery from the Ships, and Gallies, against the Post of *Bacalan*, was seen, and heard with so much confusion and terrour, that the *Frondeurs*, and some Counsellours of Parliament who were at the *Burse*, presently broke up the Assembly, all pale, and troubled, reproaching the rest that under colour of Peace, they endeavoured a Surprize and Delolation of the City.

Virlade used his utmost endeavours to have the Officers at the Ports (who were of the *Olmiera*) to be changed; but he, and the Advocate *Dalon*, were the onely men of that opinion, and consulting with him finding their designs were now discovered, and that the people were in a rage against them, he resolved to go unto the Town-House, and there with some of his Friends to endeavour the naming of new Captains. He found there the Prince of *Conty*, and represented to him the Confusion wherein the City was, disordered within, and attacked by the King's Forces without, that the Citizens not being willing to obey those who were now Captains, nor the Sergeant Major *Periera*, he besought him for his own security, to accept of those few Captains whom in the Cities name he tendered to him, giving him some jealousy of the Jurates pretensions against his authority, in case they should have the power to choose those persons as they desired.

The Prince to free himself from him, in a time wherein Surprises were to be feared, received their Oaths; they then went to Council in the Archbishop's Palace, and Treated upon the Expedients for having Peace. *Virlade* offered himself to go, and negotiate with the Duke of *Candale*, without expecting a Passport, or losing time: *Marfin* thought to spoil his design, by giving him Monsieur *de Baz*, a Colonel, and his great Confident, for a Companion, But *Virlade* went away at Midnight, onely with the Prince's Pass, without *de Baz*. Monsieur *de Bacalan* was also named to go unto the Duke of *Vendosme*, together with Monsieur *de Calapian*, Brother of the Marquiss of *Lusignan*, a Colonel, in whom *Marfin* had also a great interest.

Virlade declared unto *Candale* the Intentions of the City, who were ready to return unto his Majesty's Obedience, and presented unto him the Commission he had from them to Treat with him, as also a Letter of Credence from the Prince of *Conty*, whereby to prevent a Conspiracy against his life, and

1653. and liberty, by some who have absented themselves from *Bordeaux*, but were now returned unto it; he declared his willingness to Treat with the Duke, being his particular Friend, for the security of all those of his Party, and did farther humbly beseech him, That he would interpose his Authority, that the good Citizens might receive Effects rather of the Clemency, than of the Justice of his Majesty.

The Duke received these Expressions with much Courtesie, and professing himself to be a Friend, and Servant, of the Prince of *Conty*, made unto him all demonstrations of Esteem which were requisite to a good correspondence. But there being a necessity that in order to Treating of a Peace, a Truce should first precede, *Virlade* being earnest with him to grant it, the Duke answered, That he would resolve nothing therein without the Duke of *Vendosme*, with whom he had a perfect good intelligence. But whilest these things were acting, the Souldiers were strictly charged not to stirre out of their Quarters, nor commit any act of Hostility against the Lives or Goods of the *Borde-lois*.

He sent also the Cavalier *de Muns*, Captain of his Guard, to complement the Prince, and assure the Citizens of his good Inclinations towards them, and of a sincere interposition with his Majesty in their favour, from thence the said Captain passed to the Duke of *Vendosme*, to give him an account of what was doing: Monsieur *de Bacalan* made the same submissions and protests unto the Duke of *Vendosme*, in the name of the Citizens, which were received by him with all expressions of Kindness and Favour, which were natural unto him.

The same day Monsieur *de Gourville* came from Court into the Duke of *Vendosme's* Quarters, and desiring to pass over unto the Duke of *Candale*, sent into *Bordeaux* to demand a Pass, that being much the shorter way, the curiosity of the Commanders was the cause they sent him a Passport to come through the City, every one being desirous to hear some News, of what had happened since their separation from the Prince of *Conty*; and because the house where Monsieur *Lenet* lay was next unto the place where he alighted, he visited him first, and staid all Night with him, which gave some suspicion unto the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, they thought that coming from Court he might bring some Orders to Treat with *Marfin*, and *Lenet*, who stood then upon very bad terms with *Conty*, and *Longueville*, who being visited by him the next morning, were very earnest to know what Orders he brought: but *Gourville* professing that he would not have meddled in any thing of that kind, without acquainting them, and that they ought to consider him as a person depending solely upon his Majesty's Service, the same did very much increase their jealousy and apprehension.

The curiosity of these Princes kept him in a long discourse of several things, which wrought the same effect in the minds of *Marfin*, and *Lenet*, as his conversation before with *Lenet* had done in theirs; and the rather, because having treated of nothing at all with them, they fancied, the Orders were to treat onely with the Prince, so as both the one, and the other, remained equally suspicious of each other; *Gourville* went on in his Journey, and together with Monsieur *de Bas*, (the Colonel who was by *Marfin* sent to take notice of *Virlade's* actings) came to the Duke of *Candale*, by whom he was most civilly received, and communicating with him touching those things were to be done for the King's Service in *Bordeaux*, and by agreement with *Virlade*, got a suspension of Arms for three dayes, in which time the Duke pretended that he would confer personally with *Vendosme*, to adjust the Articles for a Truce, not onely for the City, but also for the whole Province of *Guienne*. Mean while the Prince of *Conty* went to the *Burse*, and

1653. and there took a white Riband with the general satisfaction; but being informed of the great inconveniences occasioned by the frequent commerce of the King's Officers and Souldiers in the City, he prohibited by advice of the Citizens, that any should be admitted without *Passports*.

Virlada being returned to *Bourdeaux*, informed the Prince of his Negotiations with *Candale*, and communicated the same also unto the Citizens; *Marsin* being troubled to see that Treaty near a conclusion, which by so many artifices he had endeavoured to protract, or quite break off, would not consent that any answer should be made out of the Archbishop's Palace, whereupon *Virlada* to animate the people, and make them fond of Peace, published another Writing from the Duke of *Candale*, whereby he gave permission unto the Citizens to go securely unto their Country houses, about their Vintage, and distributed Passes to as many as required them.

The Duke of *Vendosme* sent also Monsieur de *Butin*, his Secretary, into *Bourdeaux*, to acquaint the Citizens with the good inclinations he had to favour them, but that he would not Treat without the Duke of *Candale* his consent, and to the end the *Propositions* might be with the more ease examined, and agreed, That the Duke of *Candale* and he would meet together, and not part till the Treaty were concluded, or broken off; *Butin* was received with great applause, but Cavalier *Todis* principal Jurate declared, It was against the Rules of Warr, and their own interest, to make a shew of so much fondness after Peace. The Secretary was also sent again, and *Vendosme's* Letter was directed to the Prince of *Conty*. *Marsin* appearing at the Council called in the Archbishop's Palace, reproved *Virlada*, That he had suffered in his presence, *Feran* the Hugonot Minister to speak unto the Duke of *Candale*, against the Princes Party; and added, That 'twas a demonstration made it evident, that the Hugonots hated the Spaniard, which was against the Common interest, considering there was no Succour to be expected from any other place then Spain; but that both he, and *Feran*, would be therein disowned by the other Townesmen.

Virlada answered, That he was Servant to the King, and a good French-man, and therefore he assured himself that honest men would never blame him; and what the bad said he little cared. The relations which *Virlada* and *Bacalan* made of their Negotiations, were a great trouble to *Marsin*, who foresaw therein the loss of his cause, and that the major part of the Inhabitants were disposed to return unto his Majesty's obedience.

There was a Passport then demanded for *Vendosme's* Galley to go and bring the Duke of *Candale* unto *Begle*; *Marsin* opposed it, saying there might be some Treason therein, and offered that he should be carried in the Town-Shipping. *Virlada*, and *Bacalan*, disliked that Proposition, and said, That 'twas not reasonable the King's General should be carried by any other Shipping than his Majesties: Wherewith *Marsin* being more incensed, there passed a Contest, and high words between the parties, and he made instance that the said Deputies might be changed; but they being well liked of by the Loyal Party, were not removed but confirmed in their Employment, and the Articles of the Truce were set down, the substance whereof was, That all Hostility should cease till the conclusion or breach of the Treaty; That the Souldiers should not have Commerce with the Inhabitants, unless they had Pass-Ports from the Generals. That after the King's Forces were drawn off, Quarters should be given to those of the Princes & Leagues from *Bourdeaux*. That during the Truce Provisions should go freely into the City. That Pass-Ports should be given to some for *Flanders*, to give notice hereof unto the Prince of *Conde*; and for Spain, unto the Catholick King, That *Balthasar* with his Troops might retire to *Tartas*. There was a dispute about the Article touching Pass-Ports for Spain, and 'twas changed by the Prince of *Conty*, who agreed, That notice should

should be given to the Spanish Admiral, with a desire that he would not set sail for 1653: *Bourdeaux*, because he should be there neither assisted, nor received.

All these things were wonderfully displeasing to *Marsin*, and to all the other constant Servants of *Conde*, and such as were averie unto the Peace; they therefore caused new whippers and divisions to arise in the City, setting about Cabals to overthrow all good concord and agreement; these represented that there was sufficient store of Corn in the Town for three Months; that the want of provisions, and Diseases got into the King's Army daily increased, so as they could not long subsist, nor make head against the least attack of the Spanish Fleet, which was hourly expected stored with all provisions of Victuals, Money, and Souldiers, so as holding of but some few dayes, they might obtain a much more advantageous Peace. That in *Flanders*, the Prince of *Conde* with a powerful Army was able to march up even to *Paris*, without hinderance, by reason of the weakness of the King's Army, and disaffection of the people to *Mazarine*. They went on detesting the Propositions of the Peace now in hand, as unworthy the name of their Union, & contrary unto their promises, so often reiterated unto the Prince of *Conde* not to abandon him; That this was onely the effect of a Conspiracy by some few persons, corrupted by the Court, and disposed to better their own Fortunes by the publick ruine; That they were to beware of their offers as of the Syrens Song, and that when one hath highly displeased his Prince, there was no better counsel then to endeavour never to see him, but in Picture.

On the other side, those who knew the artifices of the Seditious persons; held forth other Reasons, they alledged, That things were now brought near to the extremity, which was, that they should through inadvertence either fall into the hands, and under the insupportable Yoke of the Spaniard, or become a miserable prey to the Arms, and Indignation of their own King, that the Town could not fall under a greater Tyranny then was exercised among them by the Prince's Troops, who in fine sought nothing else then to satisfy the furious raging desire they had to deprive them of their Goods and Honour, and leave them in a languishing and miserable condition. That being 'twas impossible the City should be reduced unto worse terms, they ought to lay hold on the fair opportunity offered to redeem them from such evident danger, whilst the Generals with unexpected kindness offered to all the favours of his Majesty's Clemency, and esteemed it a glory to themselves rather to have obtained their Pardon, than to have been the instruments of his Majesty's revenge upon them; That the time was now come wherein they might cancel all the dishonourable blemishes of Rebellion, by making it appear that 'twas rather the violent effects of a few turbulent spirits, than the inclination of the generality.

That *Marsin* as a stranger, for his own interest (whereof he plainly shewed himself much carefuller then of the Princes) endeavoured to bring things unto the extremity, by the false and counterfeit pretences of a relief, which were rather to be abhorred, then entertained, since by giving a farther nourishment unto the War, it would precipitate the people into an Eternal inextricable confusion, wherein their own Revenues would be totally destroyed, the same consisting in their Traffick with strangers, and their Vintage, whereof the one was now shut up, and interrupted, and the other would be totally destroyed if they were hindered from gathering of their Grapes. They added, That the Princes professing to have care of the peoples good, would not desire that for the interest of a few Partisans of theirs, so many Innocent Persons should be destroyed, and they being of so high Birth, and Quality, might when they would submit, be restored unto their former greatness, and Authority in France, wherein whoever was a French-man,

had

1653. had an Antipathy against the *Spaniard*, who rejoiced at these troubles, and sought his own advantage by it, alluring the unwary with the Lustre of his Gold, and flattering hopes, rather than by strong effective Succours; and they concluded, that having a Sovereign bestowed upon them by God Almighty, they were not to doubt but he would perform those Great and Magnanimous Actions, which consisted principally in forgetting injuries, and pardoning offences.

These reasons which were avowed by almost all the Citizens in publick declarations, added to the fear of being again outraged by those of the *Olmiera*, if they should by the assistance of Forraign Forces rise again, made them to issue out a Total prohibition of any Assembly of the *Olmiera*, and with much diligence to renew all the Captaines of the Quarters, and keep a strict Watch at the Gates, to hinder the entry of all stranger Souldiers.

The Colonel *Balthazar* was also privately Treated withal in the Duke of *Candale*'s name, that they might gain him, he being a frank and generous Person, who in case he were re-united with *Marfin*, could do more hurt then any other, but by reason of several disgusts received, was not then in good intelligence with him.

Virlada being in this mean while returned to *Begle*, that he might accompany the Duke of *Candale* to *Lormont*, and be present at the Treaty of the general Truce; the Duke had notice sent him at Mid-night by an express Courier from *Vendosme*, that 35 Sail of *Spaniards* were in sight of *Blaye*, whereupon the Truce of 3 days being now expired, *Candale* thought fit to give them another without limitation of time, which should continue till the conclusion of the Peace; and publications of the *Amnestie*; this he did to engage the Citizens in a Treaty, before they were advertised of the Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet, least otherwise they might change their opinion, and concur with the heads of the contrary party.

He therefore concluded, and carefully settled the same, and dispatched *Virlada* into *Bordeaux*, to draw from the Prince of *Conty* a precise resolution, and a publick declaration for the King's service.

Being come unto the City he found it in great Commotion, by the Artifices of *Marfin*, who having been at the *Burse* together with *Lenet*, to excuse themselves from the practices imputed to them, had in part satisfied them, and removed the jealousies conceived of them, and by distributing Money amongst the common people, had gained a good part of them, and particularly those of the Confraternity of *St. James*, being there numerous enough above 1500 Persons, in the procession usually made on that Saint's day; and had thereupon caused them to tie Red Ribbons in their Hats, and appointed them to cry through the streets, and in the Procession it self, *Vive les Princes*.

Virlada being much troubled with this Novelty, went to them with the Trumpet from *Candale*, from some of them he took their Red strings, giving them White in lieu thereof, and by distributing Money amongst them, made them cry *Vive le Roy & la paix*, from thence going to the Town-house where the Prince of *Conty* was, he was earnest with him to declare himself either for Peace or War, that he as his servant could not chooe but let him know, the danger wherein he stood was very great, *Marfin* desiring to make himself Master of the Town, though with the Ruine of his Highness, and therefore he desired him to continue the suspension of Arms which being to last till the conclusion of the Peace, rendred him secure, and took from the King's Generals all occasions to attempt any Enterprize, or Plot, which in that troublesome time might with ease be put in execution, to the endangering of himself, and his friends, or at least with very little honour to him.

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1653. These occasions entred far into the Prince's mind, replete with generosity, and greatness, and therefore much inclined to receive such Counsels as were fortified with reason, and with justice, which together with the persuasions of *Gourville*, who had about the same time been very earnest with him to cast off all thoughts to the contrary, made him at last resolve to underwrite the suspension of Arms, which was published, and the Prince went unto the *Burse*, to make a publick declaration of the Treaties.

There was afterwards read the Articles of Peace which were to be proposed, as also a Renuntiation from the Citizens of all Treaties with the *English*, or *Spaniards*, and this was done in publick with much frankness by the Prince, and followed by great acclamations from the people.

The Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet was not yet known in *Bordeaux*, and those who knew the inconstancy o'th' people, used all possible means to hide it from them; the Duke of *Candale* went to *Lormont*, and together with the Duke of *Vendosme*, signed the Articles of the Truce in the same Terms they were presented, excepting onely the giving of quarters unto the Princes Troops, the passport for *Balthazar*, and Licence to bring Victuals, and provisions into the City.

The time was afterwards agreed upon when they should meet with the Deputies to Treat upon the Articles of Peace, and the designs of the Seditious persons, and of the *Spaniards* being thus broken, the *French* Generals were highly satisfied, and the rather because 'twas much to be suspected that if the *Spanish* Fleet had appeared sooner, they might have easily relieved *Bordeaux*, and ruined all the King's Affairs in *Guienne*, whose interest would also have suffered very much in other parts of the Kingdom, by so potent a diversion.

The *Spanish* Shipping cast Anchor at the mouth of the *Garonne*, and the Generals thereof being advertised of the *Bourdelois* their resolutions, as they were ready by the Tide of Flood to attempt relieving of them, were confounded, and astonished, and that they might not with so much danger engage themselves into the River not being certain to be received as friends, but rather to be used as Enemies, continued still at Anchor, sending with all care unto the Court of *Spain*, to give them notice of this alteration of Affairs, and receive orders what was to be done in this Conjunction; they dispatched also news of it unto the *Spanish* Ministers in *Flanders*, and to the Prince of *Conde*, who then found all his hopes were blasted, as being well assured the *Spanish* Shipping would never pass into *Bordeaux*, nor get any advantage in case they fought.

Upon the 27th of *July* the Deputies being in number 12, to whom was added the foresaid Viscount de *Virlada*, to Negotiate with the Generals, proposed the Articles of Peace, the chief amongst them being the Cavalier *Todias*. One of the Citizens called *Baratan*, was by the Prince of *Conty*'s permission sent to give notice unto the *Spanish* Fleet, that the City had quitted all Leagues, and Confederacies concluded with the King of *Spain*, and renounced all succours promised by him.

The Articles of Peace being read by the Generals, there were found amongst some demands so prejudicial to the King's Authority, that they were upon the point of dismissing the Deputies without a word speaking, but it being doubted that the *Bourdelois* would desperately throw themselves upon the *Spaniards*, who were now so near at hand, they took a middle course which was more proper, that is to continue the Treaty, and come unto a conference, in which those things which could not be granted should be referred unto his Majesty, rather then dismiss the Deputies, which would have given great boldness to *Marfin*, and disgust unto the people, and

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1653. and when the well affected Citizens should find their hopes deluded, 'twas thought they would be easily induced, to admit the *Spanish* succours.

They therefore recalled the Deputies, and after they had offered them a general Oblivion for the inhabitants, in the same form 'twas granted to the *Parisians*, and as 'twas Registred in the Parliament transferred to *Agen*, unto the Princes, and Princesses, and all others of their party, such Passports as they could desire, unto the Generals, and *French* Officers, Licence to retire themselves unto their Houses, and to the foreign Forces leave to depart the Kingdom, they promised the next day to examine in a Conference the Articles of the peace, which being made known to the Prince of *Conty*, and the inhabitants in an Assembly at the *Burse*, all the Articles were in two Sessions agreed, and set down in manner following.

Upon the first, and second, after reading of the King's Declaration in 1650, it was agreed that a General Pardon and Oblivion should be granted to all the *Bourdelois*, together with a confirmation of their Priviledges. Upon the third, which concerned the person of the Prince of *Conde*, and his indemnity, 'twas referred unto the King, but to the end he might have notice of the present Treaty, a Courier was to go with a *Pass-Port* unto the Court, and from thence with his Majesty's Pals unto him in *Flanders*. In case the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* would be comprehended in the *Amnestie* of *Bourdeaux*, 'twas allowed unto them; or if they desired it apart, it should be granted to them in the best form, and verified for them; and those who depended on them, in the Parliament of *Paris*, as also that for the *Bourdelois*, in the Parliament of *Guienne*: To the Duke of *Anguien*, and the Princess his Mother, Passports should be granted for their security, or stay, in case they would settle their abode in any part of the Kingdom. Unto *Marſin*, Licence to go unto the Country of *Liege*, whereof he was a Native, either by Sea or Land; The like unto the Count de *Mora*, the Marquess of *Lusignan*, *Lenet*, and others, in case they refused the *Amnestie*.

There grew some difficulty about the *Gens d'Armes* of the Prince's Guard, and the Regiment of *Anguien*; the Generals pretending that those being the King's Troops ought to be disbanded, or take pay under his Majesty; but the example of the Capitulation at *Bellagarde*, made them consent to give them Billet for Quarters in *France* unto the Frontiers, the Regiment of *Marchis*, and de *Marsac*, together with all others of the Princes party were disbanded.

Unto the *Irish* was licence also given to retire into *Spain*, but they had privately (as hath been said) agreed already with the *French* Generals. The Castles were restored, the prisoners freed, but the demolition of the Fort *Cesar*, *Bourg*, *Libourne*, and other places, was referred to the King's pleasure.

There was a long dispute touching the returning of the Parliament to *Bourdeaux*, and upon the Article for taking off the imposition settled at *Blaye*, of two Crowns upon every Tun of Wines; the reimbursement of Debts contracted during the Warr, upon Rents, and Merchandises, touching the revocation of the discharge of Taxes, and Tithes, for ten years, and the suppression of the Court of *Aides*; all which Articles being of high importance, were referred to his Majesty, that such course might be taken in them, as to his Majesty should seem most fitting.

The Generals also refused to include in this Treaty the New Town of *Agen*, and other Cities of the Princes party, saying, *They were at their own free choice to accept the Amnestie, and submit voluntarily unto his Majesty's Authority.*

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1653. After this Conference the Duke of *Vendosme* asked of the Deputies, *How the City would be satisfied, these Articles being agreed unto, the King's Amnestie being granted in that manner, and the Souldiery being retired.* This was for a long time debated in the Town-House upon the 29th of July, where the Prince of *Conty*, together with the Duke of *Anguien*, and *Lenet*, being present, the Proposition from the Generals was examined. The Contents thereof was, *That these Articles being under-written, they should rely upon their words as Persons of Honour; and that in regard time would be spent in writing, and receiving an answer with the King's confirmation, the Generals should forthwith enter into the City, and they would then allow them Victuals, and safe Conducts for the Princes, and Licence for their Troops to retire; but in case they would expect his Majesty's Declaration before they suffered them to enter, they intended not in such case to permit them to be relieved with Victuals, nor to suffer any to go out of the City but their Deputies.*

Upon this the Councillors of Parliament that remained in *Bourdeaux*, being all of them *Frondeurs*, and principally *Monsieurs d'Espagnet*, and de *Saux*, maintained, *That in this case 'twas better to have Warr, than a doubtful incertain Peace; and that they ought not to consent that the King's Declaration should be registred elsewhere than in the Parliament sitting at Bourdeaux, or that the Generals should be permitted to enter into the City.*

In this Intrigue, they took for the best Expedient to cause the Peace to be forthwith published, to expect the King's Ratification thereof, and give Hostages mutually, but not to permit the Generals to enter the City. They added to this (because the people began to rise in Tumults, desiring an end of the Treaty, and of their miseries) a Request, *That the Troops might draw off, and that some dayes might be allowed unto the Princes for adjusting of their businesses.* But the *French* Generals refusing to condescend to this Demand, answered, *That unless the Peace were intirely settled, the King's Forces could not draw off from Bourdeaux; and that as long as the Princes, Princesses, Marſin, Lenet, and others, were in the City, they could grant them nothing but the Cessation of Arms agreed by the Truce of the 30th of July.*

The Prince of *Conty*, who had signed a Treaty for himself, and all his Family with *Gourville*, declared in the Assembly of the *Burse*, *That he would trust unto the General's Parol, and desired not that for any interest of his, or of his Family, the Citizens should be hindred from coming to an end of their Miseries, by drawing off their Forces from them; That as for himself, he was resolved forthwith to leave the City, and retire himself to Cadillac.* It was also declared by the Cavalier *Todias*, *That the Princess of Conde would retire her self unto L'Esparre, and the Dutcheſs of Longueville to Plaffac, there to expect Passports or the Amnestie.* Which coming after, *Longueville* by consent of the Duke her Husband, went to reside out of the noise of Troubles in a Monastery of Nuns, in the *Fauxbourg* of the City of *Moulins*, in the *Burbonese*.

The Deputies therefore returning that day, they concluded, *That the Dukes might conformably to the Conditions, their own Quality, and the Honour due to the King's Commands, enter into the City whensoever they should please, and that the Princes Souldiers should retire as they desired.* The Passports were brought unto the Princess of *Conde*, Duke d' *Anguien*, *Marſin*, and *Lenet*, by *Monsieur de Comminges*.

The same day the Duke of *Vendosme* sent the Count of *Montefon*, and the Duke of *Candale*, the Count of *Marinville* to Court, for the Ratifications which were necessary. The Manner of the General's Entry into the City, and of their Reception there, being afterwards agreed upon the first of August: *Virlada* brought from the Duke of *Candale* unto the Citizens, a general freedom for their Goods in the Countrey, and liberty for bringing in provi-

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1653. fions, although the Generals made not their Entry untill the third of *August*, The Prince of *Conty* being the day before retired to *Cadillac*, the Princess of *Conde* towards *Castillon* upon *Medoc*, to take Shipping, and the Dutchess of *Longueville* attended by Monsieur de *Comminges*, went to *Plassac*.

Alter this, Courriers were dispatched unto the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, to give them notice of this agreement. The Entry of the Generals being then agreed, they came thither upon the third of *August*, *Vendoisme* from *Lormont*, and *Candale* from *Begle*, accompanied with the principal Commanders of the Army, and their Guards of Horse and Foot, and alighted in the Convent of the discaled Carmelites, where they were received by the whole Body of the City out of the Port de *Chappelle Rouge*, and brought with Acclamations of *Vive le Roy*, through the City Companies standing in Arms, which made up above 12000 Foot, unto the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew*, where *Te Deum* was sung, and an Eloquent Sermon preached by the Father *Tihier*, Exhorting all to continue constant in his Majesty's Service, and to enjoy the sweets of Peace: From thence the Dukes were conducted unto the Lodgings prepared for them, comforting with their lovely and grateful preience, that whole City, wherein the Sun (having as it were a horror of the passed tumults) seemed not to shine forth with his accustomed cheerful splendour.

There each of the Dukes received severally the complements of all the Companies of the City, and were Treated with a huge Supper, with so great abundance of all delicacies, as made it evident, that not want, but abundance of Affection and Loyalty, had occasioned the opening of the Gates unto them.

On the other side the Dukes to shew a grateful correspondence, presently discharged their own Guards, and gave order that the Citizens should mount the Guards at their Lodgings, and did what they could to make it appear that they confided in them; that being the principal thing which nourishes good will in subjects, and with letting them see the Force of their affection, obliges them to a return of love for those, who are desirous of their safety.

The next day in presence of the Bishop of *Tule* six new Jurates were chosen, all persons of worth, who during the late Revolutions had rendered themselves very remarkable for their Loyalty; afterwards the Assemblies in the *Burse* being now ended, they returned again unto the usual place in the Town-house, new purged of all that Infamy, and the Plagues, which had been practised there, during the meetings of the *Olmiera*.

The Princess of *Conde* having in this interim left *Bordeaux*, embarked in the Ship called *Saint Saviour*, to go unto *Castillon* upon *Medoc*, with the Duke of *Anguien* her Son, accompanied by Monsieur *Lenet*, and convoyed till she took Ship by Monsieur de *Bousquet*, *Savagnac* with 200 Horse, *Marfin* went into *Spain* by Sea, and the Count *Fiesco* took Post thither.

The Prince of *Conty* (who would not conclude any Treaty apart from his Family, without comprehending therein the Prince his Brother, so as a time might be allowed unto him to accept the *Amnestie*) seeing that the Dutchess of *Longueville*, *Marfin*, and *Lenet* himself, were ready to conclude one for themselves without including him therein; He therefore proposed to conclude with Monsieur *Gourville*, that the Princess of *Conde*, and Duke d' *Anguien*, should with security Retire to *Stenay*, or any other place depending upon the Prince her Husband; that *Lenet* should have the same Liberty to go away either by Sea, or Land; and also that *Marfin* might likewise go into *Holland*, or the Country of *Leige*, leaving his Wife in *Normandy*. That it should be Lawful for the Prince of *Conty* himself, to Retire unto any of his Houses so he accepted of the *Amnestie*, which was also to be accepted

1653. cepted by the Dutchess of *Longueville*, who was to have Licence to go unto *Newcastle* in *Switzerland*, or any other place where she should be directed by the Duke her Husband. He on his part promised that he, and the Princesses, would by themselves, their friends, and dependents, co-operate to the submission of *Bordeaux*, and give the Citizens free Liberty to make their agreements; but that in case the Peace were not concluded upon by the Town before the 17th day of *August*, that yet the Prince, and those of his party should *Bona fide* execute their parts; which agreement was subscribed by them and by the Duke of *Candale* upon the 25th of *July*.

The Prince of *Conty* coming to *Cadillac*, found there Monsieur de *Langlade*, Secretary to Cardinal *Mazarine* sent about the Treaties at *Bordeaux*, but falling sick he could not be present at the conclusion in the City.

Mean while Colonel *Baltasser* finding that things went very ill with the Princes, and his disgusts with *Marfin* still encreasing, entred into a Treaty after the Citizens by permission from the Princes had begun theirs, and came over to the King's Service together with 600 Foot, and 400 Horse. This was concluded at the same time with that of *Bordeaux*, and the *Irisb* also at the same time entred themselves into his Majesty's pay; *Baltasser* had received great disgusts from the Prince of *Conde*, all things being communicated onely with *Marfin*, himself being in the mean time ill paid, and less regarded by the Prince's Ministers. *Baltasser* did also another service of importance to the King's interests, by causing Monsieur de *la Roche*, who was in the City of *Perigueux*, with 100 Foot, and 60 Dragoons, to return under his Majesty's Command.

He by reason of a suspicion entred into his mind that the Marquess of *Chanlo* Governour of the place, intended to clap him up, came out with several of his friends and joyned with the King's Forces, and was in a great measure the cause of a Treaty which began with the inhabitants of the said City, to reduce it under his Majesty's Obedience.

The Brother of Father *Tihier* the Jesuite guided the Hall, who went about not only disposing the minds of the Citizens, but watching narrowly for all occasions, Father *Bertaut* was his partner in this employment, who Officiated for the said Father *Tihier* being then sick: There was also a secret Treaty begun with the *Irisb* of the Garrison; but the Governour who suspected, and therefore kept a watchful Eye over them, upon some jealousy conceived, caused the Captains to be arrested, and divided the Common Souldiers amongst his Confidants.

The Duke of *Candale* who being of a generous Soul, hated to overcome even Enemies by Deceit, and Treachery, liked not these ways, but resolved to besiege the City, and have the Glory to have won it by the Sword in a fair War. He had already caused Cannon to be Shipped, and sent away the Marquess de *Sansbeuf* to invest it with part of the Forces, Commanded by the Marquess of *Cavillac*, and Count of St. *Germain*. But the Citizens knowing how great a prejudice the City would suffer by expecting a Siege, resolved according to the example of the *Bourdellois*, to put themselves in Arms, and take the Guard of the Ports from the Souldiers of the Garrison.

The Governour having notice of this Novelty, who was upon a Treaty about quitting that Country, and getting leave to march his men unto the Prince of *Conde* his Patrone, presently drew all his men into a Body, put them in Battalia in the great *Piazza*, and being something heated with Wine as coming from a Wedding Feast, went hastily accompanied only with his Page, and one of the Consuls of the Town, unto the House of Monsieur de *Budon* procureur General, to know what Assembly was made upon such occasions without his privity. He was kept out of *Budon*'s house, and told there was

1653. no meeting there, but endeavouring to come in by Force, some Pistols were discharged upon him by friends of the Procureur General who were then with him, and he fell dead. Whereupon the inhabitants taking heart began to run about the streets, and cry *Vive le Roy, & la paix*, and committed Barbarous outrages upon the Body.

The Souldiers by this sad dismal change were so confounded and disheartened, that although Monsieur *de la Baune* Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Conde*, endeavoured with much Gallantry to keep in a Body, and oppose the peoples fury, yet in a short time they threw down their Arms, and disbanded, some here, some there, the Town remaining without opposition in the hands of the Citizens, who forthwith writ unto the Marquess *de la Douze*, one of the prime Lords of that Country, desiring him that he would procure their Deputies access unto the Duke of *Candale*, from whose hands they would receive the *Amnestie* and put themselves under his Majesties obedience, which was done; one called *Magot* being Broken upon the Wheel; 16 of the most Seditious persons banished, and a new Election being made of Officers, and Captains of the Quarters.

Perigeanx lyes upon the River *Isle*, which divides the City into two parts; the Situation of it is something raised, upon a rising ground in a Champagne Country, compassed with good fortifications made by the Prince of *Conde's* care, who repaired it with the addition of new works; the people Fierce, and War-like, as are all the *Gascons*, who become good, and stout Souldiers; this City is numbred amongst the most Antient, and Noble Towns of *Guienne*.

The *Villeneuf d'Agenois*, which was grown Proud with having resisted, and broken the designs of Count *d'Harcourt* against it, after it had been quitted by the Marquess *de Theuillon* (emulating the fury of the *Olmiera*, in imitation of those inhabitants had taken some Companies into their pay, made their brags that they would by that means keep themselves free) was also in great likelihood of being surpris'd by the Count *de Valliac*, who had made an agreement with some Citizens, that having seized upon a Tower thought to have brought him in, but the design being discovered took no effect.

The Troops conducted by the Marquess *d'Aubeterre* chanced to draw near unto it, at the time when their Corn being Ripe (wherein the Town is very rich) the people were just going out to Harvest, whereupon they fearing to be deprived of their Rents, without which they could not live at ease, preferred the fear of Misery, before the Ambition of being free, and sent Deputies unto the Prince of *Conty*, desiring him either to send them relief, or make their Peace, but *Bourdeaux* being now reduced, and the Prince having retired to *Cavillac*, and laid down Arms, the persons employed were brought to the said Count *Valliac*, and from thence unto the Duke of *Candale*, who sent thither Monsieur *de Ribere*, a Councillor of State, and Officer of the Army, with whom the *Amnestie* was concluded, but upon condition, that the Walls should be thrown down, the fortifications dismantled, and the Citizens who had offended because they were Purse-proud, should pay 4000 Doubloons, reserving also a Liberty to dispose of 20 persons Prisoners, two of which were hanged up by the Neck upon the publick Gallows.

Villeneuf d'Agenois stands in a spacious Plain, compassed with Antient, but strong Walls, bathed by the *Loth*, a River which rising in the Mountain of *Genodan*, after it hath with a Rapid course passed through the Provinces of *Rovergne*, and *Quercy*, comes to run calmly in *Agenois*, and loose its Name in the *Garronne*; not being Navigable before it comes to the *Villeneuf*. It was

was heretofore very plentiful of excellent Fish, and particularly of *Pikes*, 1653. but after the Fishing of them was forbidden by St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Cahors*, and that the people refused to obey him, it hath been constantly observed, and found true, that there hath never more been any there. The people is there very numerous, because the Commerce for Corn, and fruits, is more abundant there than in any other part, and the Citizens being thereby wonderfully enriched, were swelled to a great height of Pride and Insolence.

Whilest the Dukes of *Vendosme* and *Candale* were ordering the Affairs of *Bourdeaux*, with all mildness and sweetness possible, being notwithstanding watchful over the Actions of some, who full of perfidiousness were by the sweet harmony of their Virtues rendred more Barbarous and Savage, the Chevalier *Carteret*, an English-man, had notice that one *Edward* sent from the Parliament of *England*, was hid somewhere about the Country, privately blowing the coals of that Rebellion, which was not yet totally extinguished, in the minds of some Seditious persons, whereupon a little Felouke being by chance taken with Letters from *Lenet* to this same *Edward*, which invited him unto a Council was to held aboard the Admiral of *Spain*: There were also taken two Citizens of *Bourdeaux*, with Billets from *Lenet* to several persons in that City, and particularly unto some Women, in which their intentions of re-uniting themselves with the *Spaniards*, and fomenting the hopes of the *Frondeurs*, being sufficiently manifested, the same gave occasion to the said Dukes to open their Eyes, and apply themselves with all diligence to minister fitting Remedies, for making up those Wounds which were not as yet sufficiently healed.

Espagnet, after the Procession of the 15th of *August*, was imprisoned, and with a good Guard sent unto the Castle of *Angoulesme*. There were Passports given unto divers persons suspected of plotting some new Conspiracy, and amongst these were the Counsellors *de Duc*, *Morpin*, and *La Chese*. Some Troops were ordered to march into the *Meiau*, that they might go aboard the King's Shipping, and fight the Spanish Fleet which rid at Anchor in sight of *Royan*, a little place, but wonderfully strong, with a Castle seated upon a rising ground, which makes it more defensible, being a place of great Importance, having on the right hand *Xaintonge*, and on the left, the Country of *Medoc*: Other Souldiers were put into *Xaintonge* it self, where all the Countrey was in Arms, for fear the *Spaniards* should land; and all other the inconveniences which might happen, were so well provided against, that Rebellion could take no footing, nor disturb the publick quiet and contentment, which was generally in *Bourdeaux*, where they were grown wise at their own costs; the conveniences of good order being no where so well known, as where disorders have been experienced.

Whilest the Affairs in *Guienne* passed in the manner above rehearsed, the two Armies encamped upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*, with different designs. The *Spaniards*, and the Prince of *Conde*, having a great confidence in their Forces, which consisted in an Army of above 30000 Combatants, took up large Quarters, and endeavoured to draw the French Army unto a Battel, because in case they got the Victory, they thought they might march unto the Gates of *Paris*, to give countenance unto those whose minds were yet set upon Troubles, and fill all the Countrey with terror and confusion, by breaking into the heart of *France*, before any thing could be done in *Guienne* to the advantage of the King.

But the number of Counsellors differed in their Opinions touching the way they were to take for the effecting of it; because, although the Prince of *Conde* was firm in his Opinion, That they ought to advance, without engaging them-

1653. themselves in the attacking of any Place before they came unto the Seine; the Spaniards notwithstanding, were very wary in concurring with the bold venturous thoughts of this Warlike Prince, being loth either to engage their Army into some dangerous Pass, or to elevate Conde himself with too much Glory, as being jealous of his inconstancy. After many consults touching the course they were to hold, it was at last unanimously resolv'd, To endeavour by all means the forcing of the Enemy unto a Battel, according to the event whereof, they might afterwards proceed to farther resolutions. With these Designs therefore the Armies advancing, and confronting of each other, staid eight or ten dayes, having no other obstacle to hinder their encountering, but the River Oyse which ran between them.

The Marechal Turenne (although inferiour in number to the Spanish Army) would have have accepted of the Battel, to which his noble Courage did provoke him, had not his daring spirit been restrained by that staid Experience which (though young in years) he had (to his great glory) gained in Two and twenty pitch'd Battels, wherein he had commanded, and he was forbidden by express Orders from the Cardinal, who seeing the Fortune of the Kingdom to depend upon that Army, would not expose to the uncertainty of an Encounter upon so much disadvantage, all his past labours, present condition, and future hopes. And thereupon following the opinion of that wise Roman, who destroyed the Carthaginian Army with holding it at a bay, without concerning himself for publick rumours, he contented himself with galling them sometimes in the flank, sometimes in front, and sometimes in the rear; with enforcing them sometimes to Quarter close together, sometimes to enlarge themselves; to hinder their Marches, reduce them into want of Victuals, and finally to overthrow all the designs they had projected against France.

But there being in Turenne, as well as the Prince of Conde, a most ardent desire of glory, he could not satisfy his Mind without giving some proof of his Courage upon some occasion, and therefore he passed the River one day with between 700 and 800 Horse, and joyning with the great Guard he kept beyond the River, charged that of the Enemy kept upon the head of the Marsh of Fonsomme, beat them into the grofs of the Spanish Army, took many prisoners, and with incomparable Courage and Conduct made a safe retreat to his own Quarters.

Upon the 24th of July, the King, Cardinal, and the whole Court came to the Army, where he was received with extraordinary Duty and Applause, by 100 Squadrons of Horse, and 18 Battalions of Foot drawn out, which made up in all 16000 Combatants, consisting of Old Souldiers inured unto the Warr, Expert Officers, and Noble Persons, who were Volunteers. Turenne being willing to give them the Divertisement of a Skirmish, which was wonderfully desired by his Majesty, who was full of Lively Martial thoughts, passed the Oyse at a Ford, with the Guard of Cavalry, *Gens d'Armes*, and about 1000 Horse drawn out of the Army, charged upon, and beat up the same Guard of Conde, who taking it for granted, that the French Generals upon his Majesty's arrival were resolv'd to give Battel, drew up all his Army, and stood firm, observing the motion of the French until the King retir'd, and that 'twas known to have been onely a party, at which time they were troubled, they had not advanced and tried their Fortune.

His Majesty staid all that day in the Camp, filling all persons, by the Majesty of his presence, with Courage and Desire, to do something which might signalize them in his Service.

He Dined that day in Turenne's Quarters with a good number of the principal Commanders, who sat at Table with him; at Night he Supped in those

those of the Marechal de la Ferte Senneterre with the same order, and lodged in Turenne's Quarters in the midst of the Army, and went the next day from thence towards Paris.

Two or three dayes after the King's departure, the Spanish Army rose from these Posts, and took their March directly towards San Simon, and Serocourt, Passes upon the River Somme, between Ham, and San Quintin; That of France followed it, marching the way of Fera, lodged at Chery, and Maion, and passing the Oyse in the same place where it makes a little Island; and a little higher at Verduel, it drew up in Battalia a little above Travessy, where it encamped, alwayes observing the Enemy that he might not have time to invest any place, or throw up Works about it as they desired to have done, after they perceived the difficulty of drawing the French to a pitched Battail.

Conde doubting least Turenne should be upon his Back as they filed along by San Simon, was careful in the passage, and took up Quarters onely a league from Ham, which gave great apprehension that he thought of besieging that most Important place, situated upon the Somme between St. Quintin, and Peronne.

This Motion obliged the French Generals to advance unto Chauny, a Town upon the Oyse, and from thence to coast unto Noyon, chief Town of a County, strong in Men, and situate upon the same River, where they made a halt some dayes, during which (the Spaniards making head against them) the Prince of Conde went with 6000 men to Magny, and from thence to Roze, a walled Town upon the head of the River Moreul, and approaching it on three sides, got it by Surrender in 15 hours, there being none but the Inhabitants, and some Gentlemen of the Countrey thereabouts who ran in, to defend it; and being without Parapets, or other Fortifications.

The taking of this being understood by the French Generals, they suspecting the Attack of some place upon the Somme, marched to Magny. Conde designing the Enterprize of Corbie, a most Important place Royally built, seated upon the Somme, between Peronne and Amiens, made shew of marching with part of the Army and Artillery upon the way of Beauvais, a City, the Metropolis of a rich County, one of the strongest and wealthiest of France, bathed by the River Therin, that he might cause the French to draw off from the Post which they had taken, and at the same time clap about Corbie.

Turenne who by long experience was able to discover the Prince's Arts, and knew full well that he would not engage himself into France with so many strong Towns behind him, and an Army in flank, instead of marching after him, as it might seem probable he should have done, after he had consulted with the Marechal his Colleague, upon the 9th of August marched that very Night to Magny, where they made the rejoycings due for the good News of the Reduction of Bourdeaux, which filled all their Minds with confidence of good success, and presently passing the River, dispatched the Count Schomberg, Lieutenant of the Company of the Scotch Guard, with 400 Horse, and 200 Foot, to reinforce Corbie, and prevent the Prince's designs upon it.

All the French Army marched at the same time towards Ham, passed the River by night, and quartered on the other side, where having notice, that the Count de Maile, with a great Convoy of Ammunition, and Victuals, 4000 men drawn out of the Garrisons of Flanders, and 6000 Freebooters, was parted from Cambray, to reinforce the Spanish Camp before any place they should besiege, presently with the best part of the Horse, and a party of choice Foot, Turenne at break of day, put himself upon his march that way

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where

1653. where the said Convoy was to pass, to look for, and fight it, which was the best thing he could have done, and would have spoiled all the Enemies designs.

Conde perceiving the French march, as he that had a perfect knowledge of the manner of proceeding of Turenne, and the best part of the other Captains, who had formerly served under his Command, perceived that his design was discovered, and suspecting what the Enemy might enterprize, made a sudden turn, and with the lightest of the Horse marched presently towards the Somme, sending notice by Polinet his *Ajutant di Camera* to the said Count de Maile, to return unto Cambray without passing farther: Polinet in his return the same day, was taken Prisoner by a party of the King's Forces, and it being known by him, and after confirmed by the Scouts, who had been to discover even to the Gates of Cambray, that Maile was retired, and that the Prince having cast two Bridges of Boats over the Somme, had passed it, and was Lodged upon the banks thereof between Corbie, and Bre, Turenne with all speed returned unto his Camp, which was now advancing towards him, and together with the Marechal Ferte Senneterre, secured their Baggage under the Walls of Peronne, and encamped about a little Village not far distant thence, and neer the Spanish Army, from whence they took the advantage of a Scite proper for them to fight in, if they should be enforced unto a Battel.

The Prince verily thought to have then taken Turenne unprovided, and force him to fight, and with that belief he marched hastily all Night so long a march, that the next morning in sight of Peronne, he found the Enemies altogether unadvertised of his coming, as having thought it impossible he should have come so soon, but he forbore to attack the French Camp, not so much because his men were extraordinarily tired, and weary, as because Fuenfaldagne would not give way to it, doubting the Lorrainois would not fight, it having been insinuated to him by some Letters received from France, that Cardinal Mazarine by great promises of Money, and other means, had under-hand gained the Duke of Lorraine, so as from thence grew the beginning of the Disgusts between Conde, and the Count; Conde pretending that the opposition made unto those earnest desires of his to make use of the opportunity, proceeded from fear, not from a prudent foresight or just reason.

The Prince took up his Post at Mount St. Quintin, an Abby upon a Hill, but found it so well provided that he thought not fit to assault it with so much disadvantage, Conde notwithstanding made shew of being come expressly to attack it, to stop Turenne there untill he might receive the Convoy from Cambray, without which there was no likelihood of being able to lay Siege to any place, and in the mean time, whilst with slight skirmishes he endeavoured to give credit to that report, he caused his Van to march the straight way towards St. Quintin, leaving the King's Army on the right hand, and a great Wood between them.

Turenne being watchful to all occasions, not willing that the Enemy should advance before him, which was the design of Conde, marched with so much hast, as he got before unto that Post which he intended to have seized, and by that means obliged him to make a stand, and so the Armies were again brought to front each other, separated by nothing but a little Valley easie of access, upon which the French put a great guard over against a Wood, which ended near to the Spanish Camp not above a Musket shot from it.

There the two Armies made a halt three or four days, which they passed with great care, and watchfulness; Conde, and the Spanish Generalls, not being willing to make any attempt upon that place the Marechals of France had chosen.

1653. The 14th day of August there happened a great Skirmish wherein the two Counts de Russey ingaged themselves too far, and Turenne's Lieutenant Colonel was killed; the same day the Prince of Taranto, the Marquess de Basseville, and the Count Duraz, were upon Conde's out Guard, and being desirous to see and salute the Marechal Turenne, who was advanced to his main Guard, they desired that favour by a Trumpet, which was civilly granted to them, receiving them with his wonted affability, and they discoursed and complemented each other Reciprocally. Some Gentlemen also of the King's Camp went to salute the Prince of Conde, who came within 200 paces of Turenne, with a desire of speaking to him; but he making shew of business, set spurs to his Horse, and went thence without expecting the invitation, which the Prince gave order should be sent unto him to that purpose, by one of his Gentlemen.

The 25th day of August two hours before day the Prince raised his Camp, and took his march towards St. Quintin, of which Turenne having notice, and suspecting the attack of some of those places, he caused the Count Beaujeu presently to repass the Somme with 1200 Horse, and 600 Foot, with orders to keep near unto Ham, and St. Quintin, that he might relieve any Town should be invested, and the French Generals repassed the River at Peronne, marching all Night, and the next day strait to Ham. Beaujeu coming to St. Quintin, heard that the Count Duraz had drawn out 2000 of the Enemies Horse, and was advanced with them to invest Guise, whereupon with great diligence crossing the Ferte, he put into that Town a seasonable Recruit of a good number of men, whereof Conde having notice, suddenly recalled the Count after he had held that Town invested for 12 hours space.

The Prince finding that his designs were still defeated, and much disappointed to find in the King's Captains Wit, and Valour, equal to that wherein till then he had conceived himself unmatched by any, resolved to make another trial, advancing the Army within a League of Ham, and extending it in length along a little River which there falls into the Somme, with a resolution to attack that place, or in case the King's forces should come to relieve it, to fall upon them, and with Sword in hand to determine their emulation and differences, upon that Campagne. He was no sooner come to the designed Post, but that he saw all the French Army in his flank, and the Count Beaujeu on his Rear, who having repassed the Oyse, had taken up his Post at Fargy, to be ready at hand upon all accidents.

The Armies rested there looking on each other three weeks without making any attempt, because Conde, and the Spanish Generals, being now hopeless to break into France as they imagined, to give Battle, nor take any place upon the Somme, by reason of the great vigilancy, and wariness of the French Commanders, their counsels were very confused and variable. Conde had insinuated unto the Spanish Ministers and Captains, that when they entered into France he should meet with the applause, and assistance of the people, so as their way should be made, rather by their voluntary yielding, than the Sword; but they not only failed therein, but exasperating the Countrey by the rapine, and violence, used by the Armies, had caused an Universal hatred of the people against him, which being discovered by the Spaniards, they abandoned the thoughts of advancing, and the rather because distrusts, or emulation falling between the Prince, and the Count Fuenfaldagne, they seemed not to proceed with the usual agreement, their bloods being stirred, and jealousies between them being rekindled, by some brisk words and threatening gesture used by the Prince unto the Count.

'Twas a great corrosive unto the Princes generous mind, when he considered that his former credit, which was much lessened by the said unfortunate rencounters, would be totally lost, if with so great Forces, and such prepara-

1653. ration, a Campaign should be unprofitably spent, which in its first beginning seemed to promise to great advantages, and glory unto Spain, and to much ruine and destruction to France, and thereupon in a full Council of Warr, he propoted the Enterprize of Rocroy, and brought Warlick and Politick Reasons for the maintenance of his Opinion: He said, *He had been informed the Garrison was very weak, because the Chevalier Montaign, Governour of the place, upon the confidence he should not be attacked, had sent out the King's Regiment unto Rhetel, that in 12 dayes at farthest they might win it; that 'twas not hard to invest it, there being no River to pass, and the Siege would be very easie, the place standing between great Woods, so as whoever could first gain the entrance of them, would defend them with much ease, and make good the Field Line; and that Rocroy was a place of great Importance, being a Key unto the Frontier of Picardy, by which (although France could receive small damage, yet) the Interests of Spain would be much advantaged, because the French by means of that Town, brought all the Neighbouring Countrey, and the moyety of Luxembour Province under Contribution.*

The Considerations of the Prince were very good, and his words (by reason of the great Esteem had of his Valour) were received by all the Captains as an Oracle; but the Spaniards, who use not to put their feet into the water, till they have sounded the bottom, and who have prudence for the unseparable companion of all their Actions, though they inclined unto the Proposition, yet seemed not totally to approve it, considering that a Siege, consuming Men, Money, and the patience of their Souldiers, if it should last longer than was expected, would so lessen their Army, as they should be no longer Masters of the Field, wherein was placed the sole hopes of those, who upon that ground were endeavouring new Cabals in France.

Some were of the opinion, that the Army living upon the Enemies cost in his Countrey, they should endeavour by money and promises, to make use of the intelligence they had, and gain thereby a profitable Conquest; which could not be entire without penetrating into the Bowels of France, and dividing the great, and opulent City of Paris, from a Union with the King. But this design having been at first attempted took no effect, and now there was no ground to hope it, the rather, because by the Pacification of Guienne, the Prince's party was much declined, and the Cardinal's credit highly increased. Wherefore the Enterprize of Rocroy was resolved, and to that purpose the Count of Ligneville went with 3000 Horse upon the 5th of September by break of day to invest it at unawares, being followed by the gross of the Army, which was a thing so unexpected, and little foreseen by the Governour, that 100 of the best Souldiers of the Garrison who were gone out to scour the Countrey according to their usual custome, were excluded. The French Generals used their utmost diligence to put in some supply of Men, but wayes being narrow, and hard to pass, they could not do it.

All Passes being taken by the Spaniard, the Prince of Conde lodged himself in a place called *L'Engheue*, the Count *Fuensaldagne* fate down in the Field, where heretofore had been fought that Famous Battel got by the French, extending his Quarters from the place of Battail to *Getdesse*; The *Lorenois* shut up all the space from thence unto the Prince of Conde's Post: The Quarters of the Army being thus disposed, the Circumvallation was presently begun, which in four dayes was entirely finished, and the 11th of September they began to open the Trenches, and at the same time attacked the Bulwarks *du Chene*, *del Perdu*, and the Half-Moon or Ravelin between them.

In the Besiegers Camp there commanded over the Spaniards, the Count *Fuensaldagne* General, Count *Garcies* Lieutenant General, the Prince of *Ligny*

1653. in the third place, and the Prince *Ulric of Wirtemburgh* Captain General of the German Horse: Over the *Lorain* Troops the Count of *Ligneville*, And over those of the Prince of Conde, the Marquiss of *Batteville*, the Counts of *Briole*, and *Duraz*, together with the Prince of *Taranto*, who after left the Camp, being disgusted with the Spaniards because they would not admit him into a Command, which had been conferr'd upon him by the Prince. Rocroy was very well provided with Victuals, Munition, Artillery, and good thick Walls, but thin of defendants, the Garrison consisting onely of 450 Foot, 50 Horse, and 30 Townesmen armed, to which were added 90 Peasants, that were run in thither for relief, the Ditch full of Water, the Earth without being all spungy, and as it were moorish, but 4 or 5 foot deep, all a chalk clay.

The French Generals upon the first motion of the Enemies Army, saw presently they could have no design but upon Rocroy, and therefore it being impossible to hinder the Siege, and much more to relieve it, they marched presently unto the *Fera*, crossed the River, and by the way of *Heppe*, *d'Auchenne*, and *Polineux*, came to *Armely*, from whence they sent away a Body of Men to joyn with the Count de *Grand Pre*, who was already from the *Fera* advanced to invest *Mousson*; The Prince of Conde foresaw that *Turenne* to recompence the loss of Rocroy, would endeavour to take *Mousson*, and therefore gave order unto the Count de *Briole*, to go before-hand with 400 Horse, and 1200 Foot unto *Stenay*, and joyn with the Forces of the Marquiss of *Perfan*, who were gone thither after the rendring of *Rhetel*, and together with them to be watchful unto the preservation of all the Neighbouring places, which were held by his Forces, and thereupon as soon as they had notice of the King's Armies march, *Briole* went to *Beaumont*, a Town distant from *Mousson* about a league, and from thence put with care some Companies of Foot into the Town, returning with the remainder into *Stenay*, that he might be ready upon occasion to re-inforce the Garrisons of *Clermont*, and *St. Menaud*, if the French finding the Garrison of *Mousson* to be well mann'd, should turn their Forces upon either of these Towns; But notwithstanding this, all the French Army went before it, dividing themselves into four Quarters, one in *Amblemont* where *Turenne* lodged; the second at *Faux* where *Ferte Senneterre* placed himself; the third by the River, commanded by the Marquiss *d'Uxelles*, Lieutenant-General, and the fourth in the *Fauxbourg* beyond the *Mose*, into which the Count de *Plessis*, Son to the Marechal of that name, entred with his Regiment of Foot, and some Dragoons.

And in regard 'twas necessary for keeping of that *Fauxbourg*, to secure themselves from the damage they might receive from the besieged, by means of a great Redoubt which they kept at the end of the Bridge, *Turenne* passed the *Mose*, and caused it to be assaulted with so much courage, and good order, that they carried it, the defendants retiring themselves into the Town, by taking of which Redoubt, the Bridge being rendred altogether useless to the Enemy, and the Quarters in the said *Fauxbourg* being secured, the Count *Baaujeu* who with a Body of Horse was lodged at *Lobbe*, four leagues from Rocroy, to observe the motion of the Spaniard, came also to *Mousson*, and with his Horse took up his Quarters in the said *Fauxbourg*.

Mousson lyes upon the River *Mose*, a branch of which runs through the Town, and the other runs on the right side of it. There is a fair Bridge, at the head of which was the said Redoubt, that commanded the *Fauxbourg*, which was a little divided from it: It is encompassed with strong Walls and Towers, built after the ancient manner, lined with Earth in several places, and flanked with several Bulwarks and Ravelins, after the ancient manner, the Ditches are on the one side, watered by the River it self which runs into them with a gentle current, it is besides encompassed with out-works, which reach

1553. reach from one side, to the other of the River, with Bulwarks and Half-Moons; There was within it 1500 Foot, good men, and 200 Horse, under the command of Colonel *Volsse*, a German, with sufficient provision of all things, and 18 Pieces of Artillery.

The French having taken the Redoubt, and secured the *Fauxbourg*, opened their Trenches, and in four or five dayes made themselves Masters of the out-works, and lodged upon the Bank of the Ditch; on two sides whereof they planted three Batteries. The Marquess of *Castellan* Lieutenant General, lodged at the side of the Ditch towards the River, possessing a Half-Moon which was abandoned by those that had the keeping of it, and endeavoured to get unto the foot of the Wall to undermine it; but he was then hindered, by the Valiant defence which those within made with Fire-works, and Granado's, which forced the Assailants to break the Counter-scarf made up of Stone, and to pass the Ditch covered by Galleries unto the Pallisado: in which Action the *Vidame de Laon*, Son of the Count *Bouffy*, Nephew to the Marechal *Turenne*, a bold couragious young man, of about 17 or 18 years of Age, was killed with a Musket shot. The French also made another attempt against a great Tower, and passing the Ditch without a Gallery undermined a Corner of it, and giving Fire thereto, by means thereof lodged in a part of the said Tower, continuing their Mine to blow it absolutely up; as they did also on the other side with an extraordinary diligence, that they might carry this place before *Rocroy* were lost: And the Mines being now brought unto a good pass, and ready to have Fire given to them, the besieged, fearing they should not be able to resist an assault, resolved to make Terms, and render the Town, which was done the 26th day of *September*, 18 days after the Siege, the Governour marching out with about 1400 Souldiers, all well appointed.

Whilst the French were intent upon the taking of this Town, the Spaniards were not wanting in their care about the business of *Rocroy*, hoping to compel the besieged to yield it before the taking of *Mousson*; which had it happened, they would then with ease have compassed their desires: having therefore finished their trenches, their approaches, and raised their Batteries, on which were placed 23 pieces of Cannon, two planted upon the brink of the Ditch, and three in the Campagne, the 16th of *September* the Prince of *Conde* caused the hollow way to be attacked by 4000 Souldiers, and a post to be taken up upon the Counter-scarf, assailing the half Moon between the said two Bulwarks, which was worthily defended by the besieged; the Governour wanting neither Experience, nor Valour, by frequent Sallies rendered the access more difficult, than was imagined by the Spanish Captains; between whom, and *Conde*, some difference arising by reason of the misunderstandings between him, and *Fuensaldagne*. The Arch-Duke himself came to the Camp, to remove by his presence and dexterity, all bitterness out of the Prince's mind, but if on the one side this coming quieted the trouble of *Conde's* mind, it raised notwithstanding on the other side a greater discontentment in his Breast, as thinking that his presence diminished that Glory, which he thought in taking of that place was due onely unto himself, whereof he gave apparent sign, refusing to take the word from the Arch-Duke: at which he being not a little troubled, gave order to the Prince of *Wirtenburg*, who was lodged in *Conde's* Quarters, not to obey his orders. But this business was adjusted by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was at that time in the Spanish Camp by this expedient, That the word should be given neither by the Arch-Duke, nor Prince, but by a Person appointed for that purpose by them both.

The first sally which the besieged made, was upon the said lodging taken up upon the Counter-scarf towards the point of the Half-Moon, being of 60 able men all Armed with Sythes, put upon strong Poles, with which Entering into

into that work they cut in pieces all those who were the foremost in it. 1653.

These men were led by the Chevalier *de Cuma*, seconded by Monsieur *de Champagne*, and Monsieur *de Bourmonville* Major of the Town, whom the Governour himself countenanced, and assisted, by the Artillery of the Neighbouring ramparts, there sallied out also after this, Captain *Delvincourt* with 45 Souldiers, and two that threw Granado's, and entering into another Post, advanced by the besieged against the Bulwark *de Chene*, under the Pallisado at the entrance into the Ditch, put to Sword all he found in it.

But notwithstanding these good Encounters, the besiegers ceased not to redouble their Forces, and to advance against the Walls of the Bulwark's, to make breaches by Mining, and so to give an assault: The besieged also made another Sally upon the Spaniards quarters, where they did great damage, and took a Lieutenant Colonel, and a Spanish Captain Prisoners; all which notwithstanding, the besiegers next day made two Bridges of Faggots over the Ditch, got over it, and Mined the Walls on the face of the said Bulwarks, one of which was countermined by those within, the other in the Bulwark *de Chene* was fired, and took good effect, the Governour was also shot in the head with a Musket Bullet, but he ceased not for all that to cause himself to be carried in a Seat, wheresoever his presence was necessary.

In the mean time two breaches in the face of the Bulwarks were made, and fiercely assaulted by the besiegers, and with no less constancy defended by the besieged. The same Night after they had been repulsed from another assault given to the Half-Moon, having lodged themselves upon the point thereof they became Masters of it, because the besieged not being able to maintain it, thought fit to quit it; especially because there was no Port of Communication, which made them doubt that not being able to defend it, those men would be all lost; which was a matter of great consequence, considering the need which they had of them. Finally the Governour having taken view of his men which were fit for Service, and finding they exceeded not 300, seeing the breaches in the Bulwarks opened, and an attack begun upon the *Curtain*, which had only a dry Ditch, the same Night when they were ready to give the assault, resolved to Capitulate, and yield the Town, which was concluded the 30th of *September*, and he marched out the first of *October* with 220 Souldiers, upon Honourable Terms, and was convoy'd to *Charleville*.

This Enterprize cost the Spaniards dear, because according to the common opinion they lost 2000 men who were killed, and 7000, or 8000 by sickness, and that ran away, so as in the last assaults they were forced to bring the Horse up to the breaches, who dismounted, came to fight with Boots on their Legs, and Pistols in their hands, whereby 'twas thought the Conquest was rather hurtful, than profitable, considering that in the beginning of the Campagne with such a numerous, and well appointed Army, they might have gone into the heart of *France*, and thereby have given Fuel unto the intestine discontents, which had been much more advantageous unto the Catholick King's Interests, than the taking of one simple Town, with the loss of so great a number of men, and the expence of so much Money, and Ammunition; it being computed that there past no day wherein there was not at least 500 great shot made, so as all things being considered, the taking of *Mousson* by the French, with the loss of a few men, and with that Reputation which in War is looked on as the Life, and Soul of Armies, was esteemed to be a thing of greater consequence.

Mean while the pang's wherewith the resolute couragious heart of *Conde* was tormented, were very great, who blamed the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, that he had taken an entire, and secure Victory out of his hands, he said his prudence was void of daring, that he was envious of his Glory, and distrustful

1653. ful of his Actions, and among his friends he would make his complaints, that he had engaged himself with a Nation, whose manners, and Genius, were so different from the *French*, and sigh to be ith head of 10000 of his own Countrymen, with whom he could have done more service than with 15000 Strangers, and to be kept from it by engaging himself amongst a people, where never any stranger was exempt from Envy, and from Emulation, and where no *French-man* could ever yet Enjoy a lasting quiet.

This Town was after put into the Prince's own hands, Garrison'd by the Forces depending on him, and the Government thereof given unto the Duke of *Anguien* his Son, not without some resentment, of divers who had served the Crown of *Spain*, who discoursing politickly amongst themselves would say, that they had lost *Moufon*, and were not Masters of *Rocroy*, because it being in the hands of *Conde*, 'twould rather be a means to encrease his pretensions, by the jealousy would be had of him that he might the better make his peace with *France* by being Master of that Town, than any way make him more constant to the *Spanish* Service. The *Spaniards* were forced to take this course because (conceiving that after those disgusts which he had taken, he did not press things with his wonted earnestness, and that in case that Enterprize could not be suddenly effected there might happen some disaster to the Army) they thought fit to engage him with the promise of that place, to give a quick dispatch unto the Siege, *Rocroy* being taken, the *Spanish* Army staid there some days, to throw down the Line of Circumvallation, and repair the Breaches, and after (in regard it was much weakened and harrassed out) retired into the Country of *Avennes*, to refresh themselves, the Prince of *Conde* remaining in *Rocroy*, sick of a quartane Ague.

The Court made this Voyage to *Amiens*, to take the Government of that City and Citadel, from the Duke of *Channes*, who had thrust himself into the possession of it after his Brother's death, and seemed willing to keep it against the will of the King's Council, and although the said Duke, having a great estate in *France*, and his mind well affected to the King's Service, was not conceived to have any other design but onely to give some jealousy unto the Court, and make his profit thereby (being a thing much more usually practised in *France* than elsewhere) yet 'twas thought good Policy to secure themselves against the very shadow of those, who might by their change of thoughts, any way prejudice the Sovereign Authority.

And although the Duke had sent to Court the Letters written to him by the Prince of *Conde* full of promises, and hopes, if he would enter into his party, yet 'twas however esteemed to be a reasonable Service, to be entirely secured of that most important Town, which was by this means done without noise, the Duke himself being content to quit it unto Monsieur de *Bar*, and accept the Government of *Dourlans*, which the said *Bar* had, with the addition of the Title of his Majesty's Lieutenant General in that part of the Province which lyes about the said Town, and being paid for all the Armes, and Ammunition, which were bought into the Citadel upon his account.

Moufon being in this manner gained, the Marechal *Turenne* left there a Garrison of 500, or 600 Foot, with the Count de *Grand Pre* his Regiment, and made him Governour, and he with the Army past the *Mose*, and marched directly towards *Maziers*, and being lodged thereabouts, he had news of the taking of *Rocroy*, at the same time the Count de *Navailles*, advanced to *Pervins* with 1500 Combatants, and *Turenne*, after the said taking, marched near to *Aubigny*, that he might be near at hand to observe the motion of the Enemy, and hinder him from making of any other attempt, and there he made a halt two days; *Turenne* being at *Maziers*, sent the Marquess d'*Uxelles* from the Army with 1200 men, unto the Castle of *Bousancy*, which being

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not to be relieved from the Garrisons of *Stenay*, *Clermont*, and *St. Menhaud* 1653. (because they were watched by Monsieur de *St. Maur* with a body of Horse) presently yielded, without expecting the coming of the Cannon.

The King who was the first of September came out of *Paris*, and after the Voyage of *Amiens* had been at *Soissons*, came the 30th of the Month unto *Laon*, to give countenance unto the relief of *Rocroy*, which was intended to have been attempted, and for which purpose the Duke of *Elbeuf* had been sent for from *Picardy*, who with about 3000 men incamped thereabouts, and with them also joyned the most part of his Majesties Guards, but the Town being rendred before all things were in a readiness, the thoughts of that Enterprize ceased, and they changed them for another design, undertaken by the Cardinal with great courage, and undaunted boldness.

The Court thought good to entertain themselves out of *Paris*, that they might more vigorously assist the Army with Forces, and with Counsel. The resolutions being soon made, and a great number of Nobility following the King, besides his ordinary Guards of Horse, and Foot, both which would be ready to assist on all occasions.

It had not been amiss that their Majesties had staid in *Paris*, to crush the accidents might happen in that City, where the sinister intentions of some against the Government were not entirely quelled, principally because the Arch-Bishop, being in a declining Age, and *Retz* being to succeed him, the same might cause new motions amongst the people, upon pretence they could not be without their Pastour, who was highly valued, and esteemed, for his generosity. But there being a necessity of going into the Campaign, the Court thought that they might prevent all accidents, and deprive *Paris* of that Prelate, who had such high and wandering thoughts, by offering him his liberty, and the King's favour, upon condition he would renounce the hope of his future succession, and would go to *Rome* with promise to stay there without returning into *France*; in recompence whereof there was something offered him of equal value, although his Uncle were yet living; and an *Auda de Costa* that he might live splendidly.

The Cardinal although he suffered the troubles of a Prison, preferred the glory of constancy, before his own private gains, and being full of hope to see the face of things changed quickly, either by the Arch-Bishops death, or endeavour of his friends at *Rome*, who were emulous of Cardinal *Mazarine*; was fixed not to quit his Dignity, declaring that he would for his Majesty do that, or any other thing, to the effusion of his blood; but that knowing it to be only the Artifice, and interest of *Mazarine*, he could not swallow so bitter a Pill presented to him by his mortal Enemy. The Pope notwithstanding he inclined not much unto the satisfaction of *France*, declared, that the proposition seemed to him fair, and fit to be embraced, and the Prisoner had notice of it; but this would not suffice to make him lay aside the bitterness he had conceived in his mind, which by constant suffering of the blows of adverse fortune, increased in him the opinion of being more generous and daring; and having found means to write unto the Congregation of Cardinals in *Rome* Letters full of complaint, and earnest desires to be assisted by their protection, whereof he thought he ought not to be deprived, by reason of that prejudice the example might bring unto the Dignity of Cardinals; One of the Cardinals of great credit, seeing they were about to answer him, & to think of some expedient in his favour, declar'd in giv'nig his opinion, That he could not see any reason why they should engage themselves in that Affaire, which was rather to prejudice the Dignity of Holy Church, then advantage the Prisoner; since they could give him no other assistance but by words, which would persuade much better by the way of sweetness, then of rigour.

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He said farther, *That although the Cardinal Mazarine had fallen into the same, and worse intrigues with the Parliament, there was nothing done for his assistance, although the Service of the King his Master were also concern'd in it, and that therefore they had much less reason to interest themselves in behalf of Retz, who stood in opposition against his Majesty.*

The said Cardinals advice being considered, and approved of as the best, the resolution taken was, *That his Holiness should be desired, to exhort the King, by Fatherly admonitions to grant his liberty.* His most Christian Majesty shewed himself most ready to do it, and after several Negotiations, at last the Dutches of Chevreux undertook it, together with that of Charles Duke of Lorraine, and although he was afterwards, as shall be shewed, arrested by the Spaniard, yet that for the Cardinal was not intermitted, but was at last concluded upon this condition, That he should renounce the Office of being Coadjutor of Paris, other benefices of the value of the Arch-Bishoprick of Paris (which amounted to a considerable Sum) being conferred upon him in lieu thereof.

This affair was upon the point of being ended, and all the difficulty rested only upon two points, one was touching the number of the benefices, and the other about the security to be given for performance of his Parole. The death of the Arch-Bishop his Uncle brought some change in it, the Curates of Paris (being all of his Faction) and his friends having spread abroad some new rumours, but *de Retz* notwithstanding resolved to accept of the conditions offered to him, and coming out of the Bois de Vincennes, was consigned into the hands of the Marechal de Mallery, who brought him to Nantes, to abide there till the conditions were performed, after which it was resolved to send him unto Rome, and give him money for his Voyage, and for an *Ayuda de Costa*; but he going afterwards privately from the said City, all things were left at large, as in its proper place shall be declared.

In the mean time Cardinal Mazarine's Enemies seeing all the Artifices, and Cabals used by them to ruine him were come to nothing, resolved by fraud, and treachery to take away his life, which being effected, and he once out o'th' way, they hoped then to compass their ends, which by the Cardinal's providence had hitherto been disappointed; and 'twas a publick report that the Prince of Conde made use of such means, upon the knowledge, or at least suspicion, that the Cardinal had made the like attempt upon him; which time notwithstanding shewed to be false, and an invention onely of the common Enemy.

For the giving of this stroke there were hired, or perswaded, one Rigau, and another called Bertau, who being resolved to attempt it, began to haunt the Louvre, that they might spy out a fit time, and place for putting it in Execution. It happened that some Letters were casually intercepted which gave cause of suspicion sufficient to seize upon them, after which upon Examination they confessed they had resolved to kill the Cardinal by stabbing him with Knives, as he went up (which he did every night) to the King's lodgings by a private narrow pair of stairs.

They were condemned unto the deserved punishment of the Gallows, and being broken upon the Wheel in Paris, near the Bastile, the 11th of October in the great street of St. Anthony.

The Cardinal Mazarine (who by reason of the mildness of his nature and the Character he bears of being a Prince of Holy Church) abhorres these bloody Spectacles, did what lay in him to procure their pardon, and would surely have obtained it, if being so enormous a Crime, it had been grantable without a notable prejudice to justice, which in such cases must not at all give way to pity.

There followed after divers other Executions in Paris, done upon several persons

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persons who were imprisoned for heynous Crimes; but without doubt the effects of the King's clemency were much the greater; those being many more in number who were pardoned, than who were punished.

I cannot here omit the mentioning of one, who being condemned to be beheaded, pretended by his Ambition to Triumph over death, he, before he was brought out to Execution, with an undaunted boldness, as if he had been going to a Wedding, dressed himself up, shaved, turned up his Mustacio's, powdered his hair, and made his boasts, *That Civil Men, though suffering ignominious death, ought to dye honourable.*

And although to encourage subjects by too much levity to a relapse into their former errors, be by some qualified with the name of a false Maxime, yet that could not discourage the King's Ministers from using it, because to generous minds the occasions of meriting the thanks of such as are obliged are much more welcome than the imprecations of those who suffer, which having drawn down Heavenly favours on them, hath let us see those miracles which have rendred his Government most happy, who having inherited the Title of *Most Christian*, hath joyned unto it the glorious appellation of *Most Clement*.

Truly they may be well called miracles which were seen in France in the year 1653, because whilst it seemed likely that the Kingdom combated every way by furious storms should fall in pieces, it became suddenly more serene, and every way more glorious than before, because being (by the quieting of Bourdeaux, and all Guienne) freed from that powerful diversion which employed so many Forces, those being now at liberty, have secured all the borders from those dangers wherewith they were threatned, and marching into Catalonia, and Lombardy, have interrupted all those designs the Spanish party hoped for from their precedent Victories. The Ministers of which Crown, were thought to have committed a great oversight, in that they had not four years before agreed unto a general Peace, the ease whereof tempering the fierce, and stirring nature of the French, would have proved much more useful to them, than the necessitating of them to a War, which raising the desires of it in a youthful King, and so a great number of young Nobility, may probably make the effects thereof bitter unto them, it being certain that no Victories are so severely prosecuted, as those which are in prosecution of a just revenge.

The same time that the Affairs of Warr in Catalonia, Guienne, and Champagne, passed in the manner before related, the French concerns also in Piedmont put on a better face; so as there was no farther cause of fear that the Piemontois should for want of considerable assistance, be forced to free themselves from the Inconveniences of Warr, by making some agreement with the Spaniard, for that the Count de Quincé being gone (as hath been said) into Piedmont, and some French Troops being joyned to him, he advanced into the Enemies Countrey with between 5000 and 6000 Men, and incamping at Annone, upon the Banks of the Tanaro, for about a moneths time, during which he staid there, he infested continually the Countrey about Alexandria with frequent parties sent into those parts, after which quitting that Post, he returned to Monferrat, and passing the Po at Verna, went to incamp above Crescentino, to observe the Marquis Caracene, who having taken the Field with 8000 Souldiers, was marched to Fontani, and Palazzo, three miles distant, where the Armies staid some dayes, observing each other, in which mean time the French sent abroad several parties, and particularly one even to Vercelli of 1500 Horse. Before he dislodged thence, drawing up all his Horse in the Plain of Bertola, about a Cannon shot from the Spanish Camp, he sent to desie the Marquis Caracene to fight a Battel;

1653. but he holding a Maxime, *That the French Fury was to be stopped by the Spanish Gravity*, made a mock of him.

These attempts of the *French* being vanished without effect, *Quincè* re-passed the *Po* in July, and entered again into *Monferrat*, crossing the *Tanaro* upon a Bridge of Boats near *Asti*, and from thence staying two dayes at *Rochetta*, went to encamp at *Monberfel*.

Upon notice of this march by the *French*, the Marquis *Caracene* passed the *Po* again with his Forces near to *Pontestura*, and having marched cross *Monferrat*, went to lodge at *Felizzano*, intending to cross *Tanaro* at *Rochetta*, but finding opposition from the Enemy, he went to pass lower towards *Alexandria*, advancing unto *Nizza della Paglia*: *Quincè* stayed at *Castel Nuovo Brusato*, observing his motions about 15 dayes, there being daily skirmishes between the Horse of either party. But *Caracene* being at last resolved to break into *Piedmont*, and by that diversion to make the *French* quit *Monferrat*, passing the *Po* at *Pontestura*, he began to scour over the Countrey thereabouts; but that sufficed not to make *Quincè* stirre, who judging that it would be of great prejudice to his Affairs to bring his men to make the Warr in a Friends Countrey, took a contrary course, he sent his Baggage into *Asti*, and fording over the *Tanaro* at *Rochetta*, and after passing *Bormida*, came by the way of *Novi*, unto *Saravalle*, a great Town above *Alexandria* in the Confines of the *Genouese* Countrey, between the Rivers of *Sirvia*, and *Orba*, and having sacked it, went towards *Tortona*, and *Castel nuovo de Scrivia*, taking great Booties in those Towns where he was not expected. *Caracene* was thereby forced to quit his designs in *Piedmont*, and march in all hast to *Alexandria*, gathering together all the Garrisons, and forraign Souldiers to cut off the retreat of the *French* towards *Nizza*; but *Quincè* advertised thereof, marched by *Cassino de Strada*, by *Aicqui*, and by the Valley of *Bisagno*, to the said Town of *Nizza*, whither the *Spanish* Army was already come, for which cause the *French* retired that Night to *St. Spesaro*, and went with great care to get the Pass of Our Lady at *Tenello*, and prevent the Enemy, who came thither just as the *French* had seized it with their Vanguard, where they began to skirmish, but with great reservedness of the *Spanish* side, because they would not engage in a Battel with the *French*, who although they were inferiour in number, had the advantage in the Experience and valour of their Horse. *Quincè* went from thence directly towards *Alba*, and thence between *Alba* and *Asti*, quartering his Troops all along the Banks of *Tanaro*, and there the *French* staid till the arrival of the *Mareschal de Grance*, who passing the *Alpes* with a Recruit of 1200 good Men, upon the 18th of September came to the Army, where informing himself of the condition wherein the *Spanish* stood, which incamped upon the same Frontier, and endeavoured to get farther into *Piedmont*, he had notice that *Caracene* having left *Montenegro*, was upon his march to gain a Pass over *Tanaro*, at a place called *La Rochetta*, with design to go to *Felizzano*.

He thereupon presently called a Council of War, wherein it was resolved not onely to hinder his advance, but also to enforce him unto a general Battel, and put all unto a hazard; whereupon he sent the Marquis *Monpesat*, Lieutenant General, and Commander of the Rear-Guard, upon the 23. of September, to seize upon the places of most advantage, and having himself put the rest of the Army into order of Battail upon the Campagne, which is sufficiently spacious, he advanced with 4. Squadrons to take notice how many passed, being accompanied by the Marquis *Vardes*, who was that day of the Guard, and commanded as Lieutenant General.

He came without contest unto the rising ground, which commands all the Neighbouring Campagne, and having there discovered that *Caracene* began to

1653. to pass with the Van-guard over a Bridge of Boats, and was followed by the Foot, led by the Lieutenant General *Don Vincenzo Monsury*, the Horse fording over the River a little lower with the Duke de *Sesto*, General of the *Gens d'Arms*, and Count *Galeazzo Trotti*, General of the *Neapolitan* Horse, he thought he would not give the *Spaniards* time to pass with all their men, because they might then leise upon the Campagne, and either force the *French* to retreat, or fight with disadvantage; and therefore advanced presently with the Gros of the Army.

Caracene not being able to prevent the *French* by reason of the time spent in passing of the River, and two hours lost in expectation of the Bridge of Boats, pretended to make a halt there, and expect him in the advantage of those Posts he thought most convenient to defend his Camp, which had now passed the River; and because he had not time to draw out his Army into the Plain, and that the place beyond the *Tanaro* was something narrow, accommodating himself unto the time and place, he drew his Horse up in Squadrons behind his Foot. He then presently seized upon two Houses, and placed there the Regiments of *Don Lewis*, and *Don Inigo de Velandia*, and in the space between the Houses, the Regiments of *Don Joseph Velasco*, and *Don Diego d'Arragon*, and *de Belin*, with a design of uniting them together by a Breast work to be cast up; but that for want of time was left imperfect.

The *Mareschal* considering the posture of the Enemy, and that his Vanguard which was advanced, might by the advantage of the Hill put some disorder into the *Spanish* Camp, which was commanded by it, yet not within Musquet shot, though he had onely two small Pieces, which were not very proper for that business, put his Army presently in order into two Divisions.

Unto the Marquis of *Monpesat*, he gave the care of the Right Wing thereof, composed of the Regiments of *Navarre*, *Peirault*, *Aiguebonne*, the King's Guards of *Swisses*, the Squadron of the *Mareschal's* own Guard, the Regiments of *Orleans*, *Feron*, Prince *Maurice* of *Savoy*, *Marcoussè*, *Fernes*, and *Epinchat*.

The Left was Commanded by the Marquis de *Vardes*, consisting of the Regiments of Foot of *Orleans*, *Lionois*, and *Quincè*; and the Horse were the Regiments of *St. André*, *Bregi*, and *Villa Francesi*, on the left hand of which stood all the Free Companies, the Troops of the *Savoy* Horse under the Command of their General the Marquis de *Monte*, a *Veronnois*, to whom were also joyned the Foot of the Regiments of the Marquis *Monpesat*, and of the Marquis de *Villa*, Lieutenant General of the *Savoy* Horse.

In the second division stood the Regiment de *Saux*, to second the Regiment of *Navarre*, with the Regiments of *Carignan*, and *de Sault*, and on the left that of *Grance*, seconded the Regiments of *Orleans*, and *Lionnois*, having with them in the same division the Guards of *Savoy*, the *Gens d'Armes d'Ordinance* of *France*, together with the Regiments of *Ris*, *Deunely*, and *St. Aignan*.

In this order the *French* marched on, and charged briskly upon three Companies of light Horse, and some Files of Musquetiers that were advanced unto the top of the Hill, and pursued them into the Gros of *Benavides*, *Velandia*, and *Belin*, who received the *French* with so much courage and fierceness, with their Pikes, and with Musket shot through divers holes in the Walls of the said houses, which flanked upon them, that *Monpesat*, perceiving 'twas impossible to make any farther impression upon them retired, and the *French* resolved to endeavour the gaining of a little Church, or Chappel, which stood towards the River, not above 20 paces distant from the Houses, where *Caracene* had placed two Files of Musquetiers, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, to guard it, with orders that if they were attacked they should retire unto a body

1653. body drawn up in Battle-ray, and composed of the Regiments of *Don Carlo d'Este*, *Don Joseph Brancario*, *Daniel Asti*, the Count of *Santillana*, and the forraign Souldiers of the state of *Milan*.

Grance caused the said Chappel to be attacked by 200 chosen Foot, seconded by some Horse, and forthwith took it, the Mulquetiers who were placed there retiring themselves (according to their orders) unto the grofs which stood firm, and kept their Post; he then drew out his Company of *Gens d'Armes*, about 30 paces from the left Wing of the *Spanish* Troops, and at the same time gave a vigorous charge with his Foot, hoping that if they could make any impression upon the Enemy, the *French* Cavalry might break in, and totally confound them; but meeting with a certain Slough, made by a Brook which runs into the *Tanaro*, he was constrained to make a stop, at the same time when the Troops of *Savoy* charged between the River, and the *Spaniards* right Wing, in a place that was more open, where with the first volley of the Enemies shot, the *Marquess de Monte*, a Cavalier of great conduct, by reason of his long experience, and much renowned for his many famous Actions, was unhappily shot by a Musket Bullet in his head, whereof he forthwith died; the *Marquess Villa* was slightly hurt in the Arm, besides the Count de *Medavy*, Son to the Mareschal, *Monsieur de Buffy* Major General of a *Brigade*, and several other officers who were also hurt. Whereupon *Grance* finding the constancy, and resolution of the *Spaniards*, animated by the presence of *Caracene* their General, (who like a Valiant Captain engaged himself in the first ranks where greatest danger was) drew up the second division with the two field pieces, one of which at the first shot, was rendered useless by the breaking of the Carriage, and the *French* continued shooting with the other, but to so little purpose, that being every where Nobly repulsed, at last with the declining of the Sun their fury slackened, wanting also Artillery, and Ammunition, it being observed that the *Swissers* for want of Bullets, shot away almost all the Buttons from their Coats, and they retired to the Campagne upon the Hill, where they encamped that night in Battalia, and the next morning marched towards *Montemagno*, and *Grana*; there died of *French* in this action, the said *Marquess Monte*, and 4 Captains, and divers Officers, together with some considerable number of Souldiers, which was not precisely known, and above 100 wounded, amongst whom were several Commanders.

The *Marquess Monpesat* had his horse killed under him, and his Hat shot through with a Musket Bullet, and so had also *Monsieur d'Epinchat*, and the Captain of the Mareschal's Guard. The *Spaniards* lost fewer Souldiers, and few or no Officers, but there were many hurt, and amongst others the *Marquess* himself, received a slight hurt with a Musket Bullet.

After this Action the *French* Army staid 17 days at *Montemagno*, and neither party being in a condition to do any considerable thing, all this Campagne was spent in marches, and Countermarches, from one place to another: The *French* desiring to live in the Territory of *Milan* upon their Enemies Country, and the *Spaniards* to hinder them from doing of it; during which time there fell out several Skirmishes between them, with various success.

The *French* after dislodged from *Montemagno*, and went to *Fubine*, being always coasted by the *Spanish* Army, who at the same time leaving *Felixzano* were a front of them, and there some *Burgundian* Officers, having a desire to wait upon the Mareschal *Grance*, as being known unto him, and his friends, by Licence of the *Marquess Caracene* went, and spoke with him, as did also afterwards the *Marquess* himself, and the Mareschal, both the one, and the other, being accompanied by the prime men in either Army, they continued

continued together in conference about two hours, with much civility, and complements. The *French* being all of them much taken as well with the Valour, as great courtesie of *Caracene*, by whom he was highly valued, as a generous and prudent Captain, so as many of the *French* laid to the *Spaniards* themselves, That 'twas great pity he was not a *French-man*.

This conference being past, the *French* Army marched to *San Salvador*, and from thence, the *Marquess Monpesat* three days after, with 500 Horse, and as many Foot, scoured all the Country thereabouts, Pillaging several Towns, and gathering together a great quantity of victuals; the Army staid for those three days at *San Salvador*, that of *Spain* being always in the Flank of it, with design either to distress it for want of Victuals, or take it in some place of disadvantage, and fight it, in which time there past continual Skirmishes between the Scouts of either party. But the *French* afterwards perceiving that by reason of the great vigilancy of the *Spanish* Captains, they could gain little in that Country, retired towards *Monferrat*, unto *Moncalvo*, and for as much as *Grance* had strict orders from Court that he should be sure to Winter in the State of *Milan*, he marched to *Gabbiano*, and casting a Bridge of Boats over the *Po*, a little below *Crescentino*, the *French* passed toward *Sesia* to plunder, and live in the Enemies Country, took the Castle of *Carpigna*, Garrisoned by two *Italian* Companies, run over all the Country even to the Gates of *Novara*, and made several other marches without any other Action between them, but only some skirmishes, which from time to time fell out between the parties, because the *Spaniards* intending to hinder the *French* from taking up their Winter quarters in the State of *Milan*, were sometimes in Flank, sometimes in Front, and other whiles upon their backs, with so much inconvenience and trouble to them, that at last finding themselves not so strong, as was necessary to maintain the Posts which they had taken, and the season growing very bitter, they were forced to retire into *Piedmont*, where lying too heavy upon the Duke of *Savoy* his Subjects, the *French* Horse was sent beyond the Mountains to Winter in *Daulphine*, *Bress*, and *Dombes*, and so ended the Campagne for this year 1653, with some resentment of the Court, who intended that the Troops should (what ever became of it) maintain themselves upon the Enemies charges that Winter in the State of *Milan*.

In this mean time the Courriers who brought the Letters and Capitulations of *Bourdeaux* were come to Court, and *Monsieur de Las*, (who was dispatched from the Generals, and *Monsieur d'Estrades*) having made his relation of all passages, the *Amnestie* was presently dispatched unto the *Burdellois*, containing an entire abolition of all their Crimes, none being accepted in it but the Councillor *Trancours*, and *Blaru*, and *Desert*, Merchants, who were sent by the *Olmiera* into *England*, and also *Duna Festa*, and *Villars*, heads of that Faction, and *Clerac*, who was deputed by them into *Spain*; it was farther ordered, that the Citizens should renew their oaths of Fealty unto the King, and rebuild the Castles *Trombesta*, and *de Ha*, as being necessary to repress all popular risings, and to protect and defend the good, and able Citizens, it being evident, that in all Cities the Common People are ever Enemies to those persons who have most to lose.

This declaration of the King's being proposed to *Monsieur La Vic* Advocate General who was then in *Bourdeaux*, that he might make the process against those two spies from *Marfin*, and *Lenet*, sent back into the City, and verifie it; Every one expected from the Parliament proofs of their submission, which might cancel the memory of their passed disobedience: But *La Vic* willing to make use of this occasion to render himself necessary, raised such scruples and intrigues, by his propositions, which were interlaced in such manner

1653. manner with his conclusions, that some of the Counsellors of Parliament took thence occasion to restrain the King's Will, with such Glosses, Comments, and Modifications, that it appeared they would be, not the Interpreters, but Moderators and Disposers of the Kings Favours, so as none should be thanked for them, but themselves.

They did particularly excite the people not to suffer the yoke of the Castles, ordering that new Instances should be made to Court for demolishing the Forts in the City, and that in case the King were absolutely resolved to impose that Slavery upon them, yet that those Places should not be under the command of the Governour of the Province.

This reflexion was not pleasing to the King's Ministers, and much less the Condition, That the publishing of the *Amnestie* should be put off, until the residence of the Parliament should be established, as if their return to *Bordeaux* (which was so much the more suspected by the Court, by how much 'twas more earnestly desired by them) were necessary for the security of the people, or for rendering the King's Pardon valid.

These Actions of the Parliament, and these their so extravagant undertakings, were highly resented by the Duke's of *Vendosme* and *Candale*, as if it had been a flat disobedience; whereupon they presently gave order to the Counsellors which had retired to *Reolle*, to return unto their residence in *Bordeaux*: The said *de Vie*, who was believed Author of this bold attempt, for his own particular ends, was forbid to stay in *Bordeaux*; and the Original Declaration being got out of the Parliament Notary his hand, was by Order from the Generals, published by the ordinary Magistrates of the City.

The Court being as much surprised with this disorder, as disgusted with the Parliament of *Guienne*, whose most faithful Members appeared to be rebellious, by a severe Decree of Council on the 26th of *September*, gave them a fore mortification, commanding them not to intermeddle in any thing whatsoever which concerned the State.

The Generals in the mean time seeing the nearness of the Troops to be a trouble to the City, resolved to draw them off, and the Warr in that Province being ended by the taking of *Peregueaux*, the Count *Bougy*, Lieutenant General was by Order from Court sent away with between 5000 and 6000 Horse and Foot towards the Frontiers of *Flanders*; 3000 Foot, and 1200 Horse more marched towards *Catalonia*, and there remained onely part of *Vendosme's* Army in the Countrey (vulgarly styled, *That between the two Seas*;) ready to be put on Shipboard in case the *Spaniards* continued in the *Garonne*, from whence two Leagues distant from *Blaye* they landed, and burnt some Works belonging to the Duke *San Simon*; and on the other side they went up into the *Medoc*, and burnt the Country thereabouts.

Vendosme during this time, had taken a view of his Shipping lying under the Fort *Cesar*, and together with those which had been provided in *Bordeaux* during the Siege, proposed to fight the *Spaniards*, which was extremely desired by the Duke of *Candale*, and Monsieur *d'Estrades*, who for that design had brought Seven hundred Marriners from the Islands of *Rochel* under his Government: But the Sea-Captains represented, *That the Forces were unequal in the number of great Ships; and that although the French Shipping were more, yet they were less, so as the Spaniards had great advantage with their Gallies full of fresh men, whereby they would be easily Masters of them, the King's Ships being neither well furnished with Men, nor sufficiently fitted with Cordage and other Trimming; and supposing the Spaniard should stand out to Sea, or keep in the Mouth of the River where they were, the Gallies, armed Shallops, and other lesser Shipping would be of no use, which notwithstanding where the River was narrower, and barred with Sand, would be able well to assail them in case the Spaniards should advance higher.*

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To end these differences and disputes made by the Captains of the Ships, Monsieur *d'Estrades* undertook to gather a number of Mariners fit to fight, and to serve with them himself upon the Shipping; but whilst he executed the Duke of *Vendosme's* Order to bring them, the *Spaniards* were suddenly seen to hoist sail, and advance towards *Blaye*, up to *Pauliac*, not as at first, 5. or 6. at a time to fetch Water, but it seemed that the whole Body of the Fleet would go against the *French*, at a time when for the ease of *Bordeaux*, the Duke of *Vendosme* had sent his men unto *Xaintoigne*; but they being with all speed recalled, and some Regiments advanced to go on Shipboard, the *Spaniards* retired unto the Foss of *Verdon*.

The Duke of *Vendosme* had himself viewed the *Spanish* Vessels upon the 26th of *September*, and he had sent the Chevalier *Carteret*, an *English*-man, to inform himself at a nearer distance of their condition. He found there were 28 Great, and strong Galeons, but by some prisoners taken in the Isle of *Patiras*, 'twas understood that an Infirmary called the *Scuvuy*, which seises on their Joynts, was much amongst them. They landed notwithstanding at *St. Surin de Cadurna*, in *Medoc*, where they burnt some houses, before the King's Forces were in a condition to repulse them, or plant some Cannon against them, which the Duke of *Vendosme* had appointed for that purpose. Who preparing himself to go against them, had sent some Galeots to *St. Surin de Mortagne*, and to *Mortagne* it self, to make provision of Corn. *Marsin* being come to the *Spanish* Fleet, had a design upon that Town, landed 3000 men, surprised the Ten *French* Galeots come to fetch Corn for the Army and Fleet, forced the Castle, and sacked some houses; but doubting after that Monsieur *de Breval*, a *Mareschal de Camp*, should come upon him with the Regiment of *Normandy*, quartered a side hand of it, he abandoned the Posts that he had taken; and if *Breval* had had the least number of Horse to cut off the *Spaniards* passage, they being unprovided of Horse, and laden with Booty, he might have given them a total Rout.

Marsin made some Barricadoes in a Meadow which reached unto the River, having the Channel of *Mortagne* which covered him on the one side, and on the other his own men drawn up in Battalia. He sustained the Skirmish with Courage sufficient, Imbarqued the Goods, and Plunder of that miserable Town, losing notwithstanding some Foot in his Retreat, taken by that Regiment of *Normandy*, who as the *Spaniards* imbarked and thereby grew fewer, fell upon them.

Monsieur *L'Estrades* gathered in this time out of the Towns under his Government about *Rochel*, and *Brouages*, about 1200 Mariners, who being got together, and put a Shipboard, 'twas resolved that they should presently set sail to fight, or chase away the *Spaniard*.

The Duke of *Vendosme* went aboard the Admiral, and having Shipped his Men, they set sail against the *Spaniard*, who being surprized at this unexpected resolution, set fire to some Barks, and small Boats, and by the favour of the wind retired. *Vendosme* followed them to the Rivers Mouth, and there saw that they divided themselves into two Squadrons, one directing their course towards *Biscay*, and the other towards *Dunkirk*.

The Duke took land at *Royon*, and whilst he staid there to know certain newes of the Enemies Fleet, the Vice-Admiral of *Spain* called *San Salvador*, which came from *St. Sebastians*, accompanied by a Foyst laden with Victuals and other Provisions, entred into the River, not knowing that the *Spanish* Fleet was gone, and engaged her self so far amongst the *French* Shipping, that the said two Ships being laid aboard, after some resistance were forced both of them to strike Sail, and yield.

There was aboard the said Vice-Admiral, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and aboard the

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1653. the *Foyt* 700 Marriners, and provisions of Viçtuals for a month for the whole Fleet. After the taking of these *Swisses*, the *French* Shipping went into the River *Sudre*, and the Duke of *Vendusme* returned to Court.

Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* for his great merits was declared Maiore of *Bordeaux*, a place much eſteemed, and of great importance, being the principal amongſt all the inhabitants, Maiore ſignifying head, and Governour of the City; the Mareſchal's of *France de Matignon*, *d'Ornano*, and *de Roquelaure*, having heretofore enjoyed that Office. The ſtirs in *Bordeaux* were thus quieted, and the people enjoying the fruits of that Peace granted unto them by the King's favour; the Plague coming into the City, allayed much the gult of their reſpoſe, the freedom of Commerce being interrupted thereby, and by the Calamity of all the Neighbouring Towns, who taſted of the ſame Calamity, and were almoſt diſpeopled by it.

The Deputies of *Bordeaux* coming afterwards unto the Court, which was then at *Chalons in Champaigne*; were received by their Majeſties with ſuch demonſtrations of clemency, and affection, as took from their memory, the ſhame of their paſt errors, and gave them courage to expect favours from his Majeſties Bounty; in the mean time the Parliament of *Guienne* which was retired to *Reole*, received the provisions for the Government of *Limouſin*, granted by his Majeſtie unto the Mareſchal *Turenne*.

He by the vigour of his Sword, and prudence of his Counſels, kept the Frontier quiet, from all attempts of the Enemy, and encamped always where he might obſerve the Prince of *Conde's* motions, who though he were retired a little to reſreſh his Souldiers, had not yet laid aſide the thoughts, of taking the field aſreſh, and at leaſt to keep his Winter quarters in *France*.

But the Cardinal *Mazarine* finding himſelf, by the happy ſucceſs in *Guienne*, freed from that ſtrong diverſion, which was given to the King's Forces in thoſe parts, and being now at liberty with all the Forces to repel the Prince of *Conde's* bold deſigns, and take from him all the Credit he had in *France*, having called all the Generals unto a Council in his Abbey at *Laon*, propoſed unto them that he deſired before the Forces drew into their Winter quarters, it being as yet Autumn, which in *France* is uſed to be mild open weather, to attempt the taking of *St. Menhau*, from the Prince of *Conde*, as that which having in it a ſtrong Garrifon, ſcourd all the Country thereabouts, and drew great contributions not only from the open Towns, but from thoſe alſo that were Walled.

The opinion of the greateſt part of the Commanders who met in Council, was not to engage in any Enterprize that year, becauſe the *Spaniards* though much weakened by the Siege of *Rocroy*, might draw out again, and returning with conſiderable Forces, might either raiſe the Siege, which would much prejudice the reputation of the Army, or by way of diverſion recompence the loſs of it, with ſomething which would be of more importance.

The Cardinal oppoſed this opinion, and let them ſee, that with the Armies of the two Mareſchals *Turenne*, and *Ferte Seneterre*, they might make head againſt the *Spaniſh* Army, and at the ſame time inveſt *St. Menhau* with the King's Guards, and ſome few Forces added to them, and afterwards the Forces which were expected from *Guienne*, and new Levies from *Germany* being joyned to them, they might beſiege the Town, and carry it, whereby all *Champaigne* would be freed from the Plunderings, and damage, which they ſuffered by that Garrifon.

This opinion prevailing, the Court returned from *Laon*, unto *Soiſſons*, and from thence upon the 20th of *October* went to *Chalons*, mean while the Marqueſs *Caſtelnaud* drew out with about 1500 men from *Turenne's* Army, and was ſent towards *St. Menhau*, and *St. Mor* alſo did the like with 900 Horſe, and ſome Foot, provided by the Cardinal, and they with theſe Forces the

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next morning blocked up *St. Menhau*, making four quarters about it, but without drawing any line about it, becauſe the Armies of *Turenne*, and *Ferte Seneterre*, ſtanding to cover, and defend the beſiegers, they pretended to take it by ſtorm without a Siege.

And although it appeared ridiculous, that 3500 men ſhould attempt to beſiege a City with a ſtrong Caſtle, Garrifoned by above 1500 men, under the command of brave Chieftains, the Marqueſs de *Fortz*, Governour of the City, and Monſieur de *Montal* Commander in the Caſtle, but who directed all as being *Conde's* greateſt Confident; they undertook the matter notwithstanding with ſo much readineſs, and courage, that the iſſue of it made it apparent how great the Judgment, and ability of the Cardinal was, who himſelf alone (contrary to the opinion of all the other Commanders) made them engage in this deſign.

There commanded then in the King's Camp as Lieutenants General, the Marqueſſes of *Caſtelnaud*, and *Uxelles*, the Count of *Navailles*, and Monſieur *St. Mor*, the provisions for the Camp were brought from *Chalons*, and for want of Horſes, and Carts, all the Country being ruined by the War, they made uſe of the Court Carriages, a thing extraordinary, and which not being foreſeen by the Enemy, made them conſtantly believe that 'twas a vain Enterprize, being reſolved upon without means convenient to perform it, principally becauſe *Clermont* was on the left hand, the Garrifon whereof ſcourd the *Campaign*, and incommoded all the Neighbouring Country, having amongſt other exploits, one day taken divers of the Court-horſes under Carts of Ammunition, and Viçtuals, going to the *French* Camp.

The Mareſchal *Turenne*, in reſpect the Cardinal had undertaken the ſaid Siege, roſe from *Aubigny*, and with between 6, and 7000 men, put himſelf to obſerve the motion of the *Spaniards*, who ſeemed as if they would go towards *Rocroy*. The Mareſchal de *la Ferte*, placed himſelf with his body between the *Moſe*, and *Clermont*, to countenance the beſiegers. The Count *Beaujeu* marched farther into *Picardy* with about 2500 choiſen Souldiers, to guard the Frontier places: The Duke d'*Elbeuf*, and the Count d'*Albonne* his Son, with their men, kept ſometimes at *Rofan*, ſometimes at *Mon Cornet*, and ſometimes at other Poſts, according as the buſineſs moſt required.

The 26th of *October* the King accompanied by the Cardinal, and a good number of principal Cavaliers of the Court, went to the Camp to ſee the poſture of it, and to give countenance to the Siege, he lodged in the Abbey of *Cicuffy*, belonging to the Cardinal *Bicht*; and from thence went to the riſing of a Hill, under which was the quarter of Marqueſs *Caſtelnaud*; from whence ſome Cavaliers went in bravery within a Muſket ſhot of the Walls, and amongſt them the Count de *Guiche*, eldeſt Son of the Mareſchal *Gramont*, though a youth not above 15 years of Age, being all fire, and ſpirit, advanced his Horſe before the reſt, and without fear diſcharged his Piſtol upon the Enemies Guard, and returned without hurt unto his Majeſty, who was much edified to ſee ſo extraordinary a Courage, which to the *French* Nobility uſes to be an unſeparable companion of their high Birth. And there being a Council of War held in his Majeſties preſence, they reſolved to ſend Monſieur de *Villequier* with a Summons to the beſieged, and a particular demand unto the Marqueſs de *Fortz*, to give up the Town unto his Majeſty.

This Marqueſs, by the mediation of Monſieur de *Vauboissart* his Brother-in-law, who was Governour of *Chalons*, treated to make his peace with the Court, and the buſineſs was upon the point agreed, but the Town being blocked up, juſt as he expected the Prince of *Conde's* conſent unto the agreement, he thought he could not with his honour quit it, but as a generous Cavalier ſtand in defence thereof, he returned therefore that anſwer, and

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1653. that *Montal* might have no occasion to suspect his Faith; he declared that he would in that Siege serve as a private Souldier, leaving the care and Government of all to him; which he did, exposing himself always to the greatest dangers.

The King returning upon the 28th of *October* to *Chalons*, upon the first of *November* the *French* began to break ground, and make their approaches on two sides, and planted their Batteries against the City, but with little profit, by reason of the brisk defence the besieged made by sallies, and other oppositions, which made the Enterprize seem difficult.

Upon news brought that the *French* besieged this Town, the Prince of *Conde* who (as hath been said) was troubled with a Quartane Ague, gave order unto the Counts *Briole*, and *Duraz*, that drawing together what strength could be gotten out of the neighbouring quarters, they should endeavour to put some relief into the Town, and the whilst he with the *Spanish* Generals would gather together all their Forces, not so much to defend that place, as to be able to take up Quarters within *France*.

The said Counts by assistance of the *Lorenos*, got together 3000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and advanced to accomplish their design, which without doubt had taken, if the Cardinals diligence had not prevented them, who having notice thereof upon the 4th of *November* at Night from the Count *Grand Pre*, Governour of *Mousson*, presently leapt out of Bed, and gave orders about it; he dispatch'd presently Monsieur d'Orlé Lieutenant of his Guard to *Vitry*, to make the Count *Brugy* with the Forces of *Guienne* come in all haste unto the King's Camp, he commanded the *Gens d'Armes*, and Horse of his Majesties Guards, and his own, and all the Gentlemen of his House to march immediately. He forthwith sent Courriers all about, that from all places Souldiers should come, and re-inforce the King's Army, to the command of which he appointed the *Mareschal du Plessis Pralin*, in whose fidelity, and experienced Valour, he had great confidence; so as by break of day all the Souldiery, and as many Gentlemen as were about the Court, were Horfed and Armed, with a readiness equal unto the quickness of their Life, and Spirit.

The *Mareschal* went from *Chalons* after Dinner the same day, and being accompanied by a good number of Volunteers, and the said Guards, marched towards the Camp to be there at Night the most privately he could, and that he might be ready to fight them the next morning, at which time they were expected; but the Commanders of *Conde's* Troops moved not at all, being perhaps in fear of being encountred, and inclosed by *Mareschal Ferte Sammarre*, who by the Cardinals Order, was drawn off from the Army with 3000 Horse, and 500 choise Dragoons, and marched to get between *Clermont* and *St. Menhaud*, being a fit place to charge upon the Enemies Rear, in case they had engaged themselves in any design against the Army that besieged the Town.

The next day all the Troops of *Guienne* came up, being in number Eleven Regiments of Horse, and Ten of Foot, all Old tried Souldiers, so as the Army being now re-inforced by these, and other Recruits which came from *Germany*, *Conde* could not undertake to relieve it without a full Army, and that with evident danger of being drawn to a pitch'd Battel; then much desired by the *French*, but abhorred by the *Spaniards*, who should then have run to great a hazard, and therefore were very wary in seconding the daring Councils of the Prince of *Conde*, about fighting a Battail, or the undertaking of any hazardous design; and especially it being about a Town belonging to the Prince himself, they were not willing to venture their Souldiers for anothers benefit: To which was added, That the *Lorenos* pretending to have done sufficient for that Campaign, were resolved not to draw again out of their Quarters.

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1653. Upon the arrival of the *Mareschal du Plessis*, the Siege was taken up with greater vigour, being notably defended by *Montal*, with frequent Sallies, and losses on both sides; and better he would have done, had not a Magazine of Ammunition been blowed up the Night before the 6th of *November*, by means of a Cannon Bullet shot into it, or some other accident, the same being variously reported. The *French* assaulted vigorously the Half-Moon before the Port du Bois, and at the same time got into the Ditch on the other side; but the Besieged sallying out upon their backs hindered their work, and took prisoner Monsieur d'Orlé, a Lieutenant of the Guards; and hurt several other Souldiers and Officers, amongst whom was Monsieur de Pontet, a Captain of the said Guards. Upon the 16th day they made a Sally upon the Guard of Monsieur de Nancré, who commanded then in the approach, but were with some loss beaten back, which happened also in another Salley, made upon the Trench kept by the Regiments de Guard two days after, where they were repulsed by Monsieur de Charmon, a Captain of that Regiment, with the loss of some Souldiers, and of Monsieur de la Garde, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment de Burgoigne. Which was also seconded by the death of Monsieur Demon, Sergeant Major of the Town, who was next day killed in the Ditch, as he went to discover which way they might go with most security, to interrupt the Works of the Besiegers.

The Marquis *Castelnau* in the mean time attacked a Work called *Ferra Cavalli*, and having carried it, got into the Ditch, and made a Gallery to defend the Miners; which succeeded well, after they had beaten back two Sallies of the Besieged, who were many of them killed upon the place. The Regiments d'Uxelles, and Dampierre, on the other side, took the Half-Moon on the right side of the breach called *La Exvelape*, whereupon the *French* being on the one side ready to give the Assault, and a Mine ready to blow up the Bastion on the other, the Besieged wanting Powder, demanded a Parley, and offered to give up the Town, if in Eight dayes they were not relieved: which being refused by the *Mareschal*, who gave order for prosecution of his Works; Upon the 25th day, *Montal* without any reserve, agreed to march out of the Town, with Arms, and Baggage; which he did upon the 27th of *November* towards *Rocroy*, being followed but by few *French*, because the greatest part of those who served him, accepted the *Amnestie*, and either went into the King's Service, or their own houses, as did also the Marquis de Forz, Monsieur de Taissy, Geneste, and others, who being invited by the King's Clemency, cast from their minds all kind of bitterness, and found that the true happiness of Subjects, consists in their entire obedience to their Sovereign.

Together with this Enterprize of *St. Menhaud*, ended the Campaign 1653; which in the beginning of it was likely to have proved very prejudicial, and fatal, to the King's Interests, by reason of the inequality of Forces, and the Diversion in *Guienne*, which was the most part of it under the Princes, so as the more hard and improbable a matter 'twas to hinder the Enemies Progress, so much the greater Glory resulted by it unto the Prudence of the Cardinal, and valour of the Commanders, who were able to gain so considerable advantages, and having through so many disasters and crosses accidents of Fortune, brought things unto so good an end, we cannot choose but hope for the continuance of good success, since the malignity of the times can never be so great, but that it will be overcome by the constant endeavours of Wit, and Prudence.

By taking of this Town, the Countrey thereabouts was freed from the Contributions they were enforced to pay unto this Garrison, to avoid the mischiefs which otherwise they did unto them.

During this Siege, the Cardinal failed not with incredible diligence to have

1653. have an eye to all, and to give such Orders as were convenient for the good Government of the Kingdom. He dispatcht Courriers into *Provence*, to make them with their Gallies carry necessary Provisions into *Rosà*, doubting least the *Spaniard* after the happy relief of *Girone*, should lay Siege to that important place, he sent the Captain of his own Guard to *Brisac*, to conclude the Negotiation with Count *d'Harcourt*, and get that considerable Fort to be left freely unto his Majesties disposing; he applied to *Bordeaux* such remedies as were proper for curing the unquietness of that people, to make them taste the Sweet of Peace, that they might thereby better know the bitterness of their passed troubles: Orders being afterwards given out for the Souldiers Winter Quarters with the least trouble that might be unto the Subjects, he returned with the King to *Paris*, where his Majesty was received as in Triumph, with the incredible applause of every one, and with so much admiration of the Cardinal's Abilities, that his Name was rendred Venerable, and immortal, by the Hands, and Tongues of those, who had before exclaimed against him.

Whilst the Cardinal *Mazarine* was employed about the business of the Campaign, and intent upon the Enterprize of St. *Menhard*, the Countesses of *Mancini*, and *Martinozze*, his Sisters, with a Daughter of the latter Countess, who after *Barbarine's* alliance with the Pope had left *Rome*, came into *Provence*, being honoured in all places where they passed, and particularly in *Genova*, with all those marks of honour, and esteem, proper unto the generosity of that State, and due unto the merit of their Brother, and their own worthy qualities, being Ladies endued amongst their many other Vertues, with an admirable Modesty, and excellent Deportment; they staid in *Provence* for some days, and coming to *Paris* when the Court was returned thither, were received with an Affectionate courtesie, not onely by the Grandees of the Court, but also by his Royal Majesty.

The Affairs standing in the posture hath been related, the Prince of *Conty* was in *Cadillac*, where Monsieur de *Langlada* the Cardinal's Secretary lay sick, amongst other discourses which past between them, the Prince discovered to him the design he had to make his Peace at Court, and put in execution the last Advice he had received from the Mouth of his dying Father, which consisted in this, *That he should always stand for the King's Interests, and never swerve from the Obedience due unto his Prince.*

He revolved in his mind upon the example of his Brother, who whilst he had contained himself within his Duty, had been Fortunate, and Glorious. He considered, That the misfortune of his Family, deceived by their Friends, who for their own particular Interests had made a separation between him, and his Brother, reduced him unto the necessity, either to be in an ill condition, wherefoever he should live, without Favour or Trust at Court, or to take unfitting means for returning with glory and advantage to his first obedience, and preserve his Family in that condition, wherein his Father had by great endeavours left it, and from whence *Conde* was about with so much inadvertency, to throw it headlong.

He foresaw that to retire himself into *Spain*, would be contrary unto his Genius, and 'twould be to expose himself absolutely to the revenge of a Brother, who prepossessed by Count *Marsin*, blinded by *Zenet*, and full himself of sinister impressions against him, would make a scorn of him, and of those Eminent Services he had done him in Emergencies of high Importance, having with an admirable dexterity kept up his Party with a few Men, and little Money, amidst the aversion of the People, who were tired even to extremity, with the Miseries of War; he thought that by retiring into *Italy*, or any part of his own Lands in *France*, he should never be able to avoid the continual

1653. continual suspitions would be had of him by the Court; so as either one way, or t'other, his life in the flower of his Age would prove unhappy, idle, and unworthy of his Lively Spirit, and Courageous Heart, which made him capable of all Noble Actions; revolving therefore with himself, what was Essential to his own Interest, and weighing prudently what was fit for him to do, he found the onely means to preserve himself in a condition fit for a Prince, such as he was, would be to follow the example of the Prince his Brother, and to unite himself with the first Minister, by the strict ties of an Alliance, which would consequently restore him to the Favour of his Royal Majesty.

He gave a hint of these thoughts unto *Langlada*, but opened himself after with greater confidence unto the Duke of *Candale*, with whom he professed to have a particular tie of Friendship; neither was he deceived in his thought, for the Duke concurring in opinion with him, approved his thoughts as well projected, and firmly grounded, praising the Resolution with frank sincerity, notwithstanding the Duke himself were far proceeded in a Treaty with the same party the Prince proposed, and did extremely desire the conclusion of it.

The Prince for all this thought it not fit to discover his thoughts so suddenly unto the Court, but onely sent thither Monsieur *Menil* the Captain of his Guard, onely to pass Complements, but without Letters of Credence, or other Instructions. *Menil* was received with great kindness, and he having informed himself touching the sense, not onely of their Majesties, but also of the Cardinal, and all the other Ministers, assured the Prince, *That he had found so great an inclination in the Cardinal towards him, that he might certainly assure himself of an eternal Oblivion of all things past, and of the renewing a sincere Affection towards his Person.* Upon these informations he resolved to dispatch thither Monsieur de *Sarasin* his Steward, in whose Fidelity and Prudence he had great confidence, that he might make some Overtures; and speak more freely of those things which he before hinted in *Cadillac*, unto *Langlada*.

Sarasin found the good inclination of the Court, and in consequence thereof after some Journeys to, and fro, made by him, and *Langlada*, the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Conty*, and the Countess *Martinozzi* Niece to the Cardinal, was so far advanced, that it was no longer doubted. This News being heard by those who were envious of the repose, and glory, of both Prince, and Cardinal, they attempted with great malignity to sow tares, and foment suspitions between them. Some of them representing unto the Abbot *Ondedei*, *That all this was but an Artifice; That Conty held secret Intelligence with his Brother, and the Dutches his Sister; and that the effect would never be correspondent to the appearance.* But the advantage being reciprocal, and the inclinations between the parties equal, the spight of those who maligned them was at last overcome, and the stipulation of the contract was concluded by his Majestie himself, to whose good pleasure the Cardinal referred his will, having already wholly sacrificed himself unto his Service; and if the execution thereof was delayed, it proceeded from the Prince of *Conty* his good Nature, who would not be present at the making of his Brother's Process, who was accused and declared guilty of High Treason, by the Parliament of *Paris*.

1654. The Prince got his coming to Court to be put off until the end of *Carneval*, and then coming thither was received with all imaginable applauses and content, the first Friday in *Lent* the Ceremony of their Handfasting and Betrothing was performed, with a Dowry of 200000 Crowns given to the Princess by her Uncle, and 50000 more by the King's Bounty; to which was added

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added a Pension equal to the Church-Livings, which (being a considerable Summe) were resigned by the Prince into the King's hands: After followed the Marriage, which was honoured by the presence of the King, Queen, Duke of *Anjou*, and all the Princes, and great Lords about the Court; where there were none so stung with Envy, or possessed with Rancour, or ill will, that durst find fault with this Conjunction, because the Merits of the Uncle from the Crown, were altogether unparallel'd, and the Beauty of the Bride was accompanied by all those excellent Conditions, that are able to enforce Praise and Commendations, even from Envious persons and Detractors.

The Queen her self would needs do that Honour unto the Princess, to put her into Bed; and by her Incomparable Kindness, to give testimony of the Content this Marriage brought her.

The King after made a gracious Gift unto the Bridegroom of all the Goods and Charges of the Prince his Brother, which were Confiscate; but he with an exemplar greatness of Mind, refused the Favour, despising all Riches and Dignities, which might accrue unto him by such spoils; to let his Brother know, That in his Heart there reigned no other Interest but that of Reputation and Honour, which ought to be the onely guide unto the Actions of Moderate and Prudent persons.

The dayes following were spent in the most lively expressions could be made of general Contentment for the re-union of this Branch unto the Royal Stock, which was accompanied with Balls, Musick, and other Recreations befitting a Royal, and Majestick Court; And in honour of these Nuptials, there followed after many Poems composed by several persons, and amongst others by Monsieur *Amaltei* in *France*, and Monsieur *Torcigliani* in *Italy*, the two most famous *Virtuosi* of this present Age.

At the same time that *Paris* was all in coy by reason of this Marriage, and the good Success of the *Campaigna*; at *Brussels* on the contrary, all were in Sadness, and apprehension, occasioned by the fear they had conceived of some sinister Accident, by reason of the Imprisonment of *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, which happened in manner following.

This Prince lived in *Flanders* with *Maximes* directed unto the taking of the Common people, conversing with persons of mean condition, and shunning the converse of Noble-men, which by the Nobility was attributed to an extravagancy of humour, with the Common people it got a vogue. But his courses were much the more observed by the Ministers of *Spain*, because he approved not the Form of their Government. To which was joyned a particular difference he had with the Prince of *Conde*, which produced many inconveniences, and in particular spoiled all Plots that were well laid, one of them hindring alwaies the designs of the other.

The Count *Fuensaldagne* in all his Negotiations with the said Duke received ever doubtful answers; he was alwaies willing to feed him onely with hopes and promises; and making shew of great distrust, would alwaies have his money before-hand, when he was to do any Service with his Force; it was known that Cardinal *Mazarine* caused him to be Treated with underhand, to make him quit the *Spaniard*, and put himself under the Protection of *France*.

The Prince of *Conde*, who had particular Information of all that passed by his Friends in the Court of *France*, and served the Catholick King with all fidelity and truth, could not endure that any prejudice should be done unto the *Spanish* Interests, more than his own concerns; and 'twas the common Opinion in *Flanders*, That both he, and the Kings Ministers there being advertised of it, gave notice thereof unto the Emperour's Court, and that of *Spain*, representing to them, That 'twas necessary to come unto a speedy resolution,

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resolution, to avoid the blow might be expected from the Duke unto his Majesty's prejudice.

After several meetings and consultations in the said Courts, it was resolved, That they should secure his Person in *Flanders*, as soon as it might be done without confusion or trouble. This Order was some time before come from *Spain*, but could not be as then effected.

Finally, In the Campaigne 1653, it was discovered that he had made an Agreement with *France*, That in case the Armies came to fight, the *Lorenois* should stand Neuters, without assisting either Party: And the suspicion thereof, was the occasion that when the Armies faced each other, the *Spaniards* (as hath been said) durst not ingage the *French*, nor make use of the opportunity they had to fight *Turenne*, but the Forces of both sides (after the taking of *St. Menhaud* by the *French*) being gone into their Winter-quarters, & the Duke being in *Brussels*, an Arrest upon his person was resolved to be executed in manner following.

First, 'twas agreed with the Count *Ligneville*, Commander-General of the *Loranois* (who had a particular Antipathy against the *French* Nation) that in case any change of Quarters should be made among the *Spanish* Souldiery, he would take order that his men should not move, and then they caused some Troops to draw near *Brussels* for the effecting of the Arrest which had been ordered.

The Duke was advertised of this, but said to him who gave him that notice, that he valued it not in case those were the Troops who changed their Quarters.

The King's Ministers being in doubt notwithstanding that he might escape by Night, either by favour of the Citizens, or some other way, kept a most strict watch at the Gates, the next day the news was spread abroad over the City, and coming to the Duke's ears, he answered, *I fear not: Night being come, a while before Sun-set the Duke being with a Father Confessor at the Magdalenes*, in their little Church, he saw Count *Garcia*, Sergeant Major General, come in with many Officers attending on him, the sight of whom made him change colour.

The Count told him, *That the Arch-Duke was to confer with him immediately about several Affairs of great importance to the Crown, and expected him at the Palace.* The Duke answered, *He thought the hour something late, and that in the morning he would perform his Duty.* The Count then replied, *That he had order to bring his Highness to Court that Night.* Upon which the Duke said, *Your Lordship may please to go, and I will follow.*

When they came unto the street before the Palace, where the Courtiers use to walk, the Count said to him, *Your Highness is to go towards yonder other apartment, for I have the King's order to arrest you.*

The Duke then stood, and after he had with a frank speech, ripped up the Services he had done the House of *Austria* to the total ruine of his own, he highly-blamed the *Spaniards* usage, and refused to go farther, till he had spoken to the Arch-Duke. But he could not obtain that satisfaction; for *Garices* had told him, *That in case he refused to go willingly, he must be enforced to carry him by violence.* Finally, the Duke being perswaded, was brought into the lodgings appointed for him, shewing at first an extraordinary cheerfulness, but the Cavaliers being afterwards retired, he resolved 'twere better (since by force he could not do it) to endeavour his own release by submission.

He writ very calmly to the Arch-Duke, and recommended to him the Countess *Cantacroy*, his wife, though their marriage was at *Rome* declared unlawful. Whilst he was writing, the Secretary *Navarre* entred the Chamber, and made him subscribe an order unto his Troops, That for the time to come they should be obedient to the Arch-Duke. That night he was served at Table by principal Cavaliers; and when Bed time came, two of his own *Vallets de Chambre* were

1654. appointed to wait upon him, at their first entrance into the Chamber, he cried out with a great sigh, *See the remainder of my Fortune.* That night all the Citizens had order to be in Arms, to prevent any inconveniences, which was presently executed, there being none that disapproved what had been done. In the morning they waked him, but he would not rise, saying 'twas yet too early, to which no reply was made, but he was left to his own liberty: At last when he thought good, he arose, and after he was dressed, they brought him several Dishes of Meat, and he was served by the Arch-Dukes *Camarriers* in extraordinary. The Count *Garcies* after came in, and told him, *That he came to wait upon his Highness to Antwerp;* upon which the Duke rose up presently without reply.

Being come out into the Hall, in presence of a numerous Guard he opened his Doublet, and shewing his Breast, said aloud to them, *I am a Souldier, and fear not all these preparations made for me; I only desire that some of you would take my Life, and by my Death all troubles will be ended.*

Many would have it, that he believed they were absolutely resolved to kill him by some lingering death, but *Garcies* with all sweetness told him, *He wondred his Highness should entertaine such thoughts, that the King his Master intended nothing but to secure him for some time.* He then went on, and it being now late, all the people ran together to see him pass in a Coach, being Guarded through the City by 300 Horse. The Duke made no shew of sadness to the people, but with courtesie and in a pleasant manner saluted the Citizens by name, and passing by a lodging wherein some *French* belonging to the Prince of Conde lay, he said to them, *As What will the World say that the Duke of Lorrain should be made a Prisoner by the Spaniards for whom he hath lost all his own Country.* Being come out of the City, the said Count *Garcies*, who was something sickly, had Licence to return, and the Guard of him was assigned to another Colonel, when he took leave, the Duke told him with Tears in his Eyes, *That he had brought him through the City at Noon-day to make him a laughing stock unto the People:* *Garcies* answered, *His Highness had been answer that by remaining so long in his Bed.* The Duke replied, *That he was a faithful Servant to the King, and his actions would speak him so, and that he had never done any dis-service to the House of Austria, and prayed him to inform, and assure the Arch-Duke thereof, when he should relate unto him what had passed, and that he would also give an assurance unto Euenaldagne of his affection.* He was conducted unto the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he was kept for some time before he was sent into *Spain*; his House was after searched, his Papers seized, and all the Goods sequestred, which were found in his, or the Countess's Countrey her house, which were amongst other things, Jewels of the value of 500000 Crowns, which belonged to the House of *Lorrain*, and amongst the rest, a very fair Diamond, given heretofore by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth unto a Duke of *Lorrain* one of his Ancestors, which was called *Charles* the fifth his Diamond. What sum of money there was found was not declared, and although the general report was that the Duke was considerably rich therein, yet 'twas thought the *Spaniards* did not find him to be so.

But in regard the Ministers of *Spain*, suspected that the *Lorrain* Souldiers, and particularly the Nobility who (purely for affection towards their natural Prince) had followed him, preferring his service before their own particular interests, (even to the leaving of their Country, and loss of their estates) would not endure the injury done to their Sovereign Prince, but rise up against the *Spaniards*, and put things into confusion. The Count of *Ligneville* therefore (who was Lieutenant General) and the other principal Commanders, were gained by money, and other promises, to the affecting whereof the Antipathy between them, and the *French*, to whom they bear a natural hatred, contributed in a great measure. So as by means thereof, and the declarations which the Arch-Duke made, that he put the command, and whatsoever else belonged

unto

1654. unto the Duke, into the hands of the Duke *Francis* his Brother, the Souldiery was quieted, and all those stirs they feared were avoided.

The Arch-Duke after published a Manifesto, setting forth the reasons which moved his Catholick Majesty unto this Resolution, the substance whereof was, *That when the Duke retired into the Dominions of Spain, to preserve himself from the violence exercised by France against his Person, and Estates, he was received by his Catholick Majesty, and his Lieutenants General, with a sincere friendship; and taken into his particular Protection, with so much love, and care of his Concernments, that he had always included him in all Treaties touching the General Peace, which sufficiently shewed forth the candiour of his proceeding, and the honourable esteem had of his Person, admitting him besides into all Councils of War, and other debates of his Majesties Officers, and Ministers of State, that notwithstanding these so great benefits received by him, he had contrary unto his duty, and the eyes of gratitude wherein he stood engaged, done many things prejudiciall unto the Interests of the Crown, from which he had received so great advantages. For that besides the Plunderings, Rapines, Sacriledges, and inhumanities exercised upon the Subjects by his Forces, which were to be imputed unto the Duke himself, and were rendered sufficiently notorious, and publick, by the general Out-cries, Teares, and Lamentations of the people, there was an ample discovery made of his secret intelligences, and the carrying on of designs by him, no way conducing to the advantage of the publick service, which he was bound to promote sincerely by the assistance of his Forces, that every man was capable of discovering his inconstancy, and affected irresolution, in the matters to be resolved on touching the War, and the delays used by him in executing the designs of most importance, which was the cause that (by his sole default) many considerable Enterprizes, which according to all probability and humane providence, were likely to have been of great benefit and advantage, had miscarried. That all these things were so well known, not only to the Lieutenants General, Colonels, and other Officers of the Army, but even to the very Souldiers, and common People, who were Eye-witnesses thereof, that they exclaimed, and admired so abominable abuses, were let to run on, without a remedy. That true it was, the King of Spain by reason of his own innate goodness, and the affection he bears unto the House of *Lorrain*, had been indulgent even to the extremity, hoping still the Duke touched with remorse of his own conscience, and consideration of his Majesties unparallel'd bounty, would at length return unto his duty. But things proceeding still from bad to worse, and his irregular deportments, being arrived even to the utmost bounds of sufferance, were come to such extremity, that all his Majesties Subjects, and all the Neighbouring Princes, and States, had them in such abomination, that the effects of their revenge, were even upon the point of falling upon Flanders, on that account.*

His Majesty therefore, that he might no farther provoke the Divine wrath against himself, nor the indignation of the abused Princes and People, against his Subjects, could not longer defer the taking such courses, as were necessary to stop the Current of this mischief, by the securing of his Person, wherein he swarved not in the least manner from the Law of Nature, and of Nations, which permits all Sovereign Princes to prevent without respect of any Person whatsoever, all oppressions, and violences exercised against their Dominions, and Subjects, and do justice unto themselves, their People, and the Neighbouring Princes, and States, in Amity with them; having first in vain, made trial of ways of sweetness, for the effecting of it.

That he did this not out of any aversion to the House of *Lorrain*, but on the contrary protested that he would alway protect it, and espouse their interests; in testimony whereof, he had proposed the Prince *Francis* of *Lorrain* his Brother to command his Forces; and until his arrival, the Arch-Duke declared and commanded, all should observe and obey the orders of the Count *Ligneville*; Lieutenant General of the said Forces, giving farther an assurance unto all the Officers, and Souldiers, of a general pardon of all excesses, they had before committed under the said Dukes command, and this Manifesto was made the very day on which

the Duke was arrested, which was the 25th day of February 1654.

It was afterwards insinuated among the Souldiers, that the Duke should not be sent away for Spain, but that some points being adjusted with him, and security given for his Fidelity, he should be set at liberty; wherewith the minds of the Officers, and Souldiers, affectionate unto the Service of their Prince, were something quieted and that bitterness removed which this unexpected accident had raised amongst them.

The news of this Action coming to the Court of Spain, was received with that content which an Affair deserved, whereon depended consequences of so great importance, but these superficial reflections, corresponded not to those were made by them who looked deeper into the matter, because although the Action were judged to be necessary, and that a longer dissimulation would have been improper, to give a remedy to those disorders, yet the ill consequences such an example might produce, rendered the execution of it to be no way suitable unto the rules of Policy.

It was considered, that the Services the Duke had done the House of Austria were publick, but his failings published in the Manifesto, and declarations of the Arch-Duke, were yet unknown, little credit being usually given to what is published by interested Persons; that it was very hard to wipe out the opinion already settled, that the Duke had provoked France against him, only to comply with the Spaniard, and upon that account only, had lost his Country, so as if he were after the loss thereof refuged in Flanders, it seemed rather to be the effect of an Obligation, than their courtesie.

That by how much the deeper he was charged with Crimes by the Spanish Ministers, by so much more the proceedings of France against him, seemed to be justified, with this consideration, that if he had given just cause unto the Spaniard whom he had so much obliged, to punish him, the French, against whom he had raised Arms, had certainly a just occasion for what they did, besides it was some trouble to the Spaniard to consider, that upon this example, any Prince, or Person of Quality, who had well deserved from them, might hereupon have a just cause to think, that the Services done to them meet with ingratitude, but the injuries they receive are never pardoned, and thereupon desperately resolve, to employ themselves no more in performing Services which are not like to be acknowledged, but choose a party that may be able to secure them against their power of being able to inflict punishment.

The Court of France upon this news made a great stir, and endeavoured to improve this good opportunity of decrying the Actions of their Enemies, which because it may be gathered, from the Manifesto published in the King of France his name, the 2d. of July 1654. in Sedan, where the Court then was: It will not be amiss here to insert it.

Whereas the most Christian King hath been given to understand, that divers Commanders, and a great part of the Souldiers, and other Persons belonging to the Army, being Natives of the Countries of Lorraine, and the Barrois, with the great prejudice of their Honour, and duty (notwithstanding the excessive injury done by the Spaniards unto Charles Duke of Lorraine their natural Prince, in imprisoning his Person) have taken party with, and engaged in their service, neglecting the advantageous offers made unto them of assistance, for the procuring of his liberty. His Majesty considering that to continue towards them, the same favour, and goodness, he hath been pleased to exercise since Lorraine hath been under his obedience, having never proceeded against any who abandoned their Country; to put themselves into the said Dukes service, because they followed the fortunes, and were obedient to the Commanders of their own Prince) were to render his clemency blame-worthy, and of too great prejudice to his Affairs, he resolves therefore (as justice requires) to employ all such lawful means as he is able, for their punishment, to punish them, making

king them feel the effects of his indignation, considering they now sit directly contrary, not only unto the Interests of his Crown, but also against those of their own Duke, and his Family; unto whom his said Majesty hath upon all occasions sufficiently declared his Affection, and esteem, having several times (as is notoriously known to the whole World) offered the said Duke to restore unto him the possession of his Countreys, if he would forsake the Spanish Interests, and take part with him, but those offers (which would have prevented the disgrace that hath befallen him) were still refused, upon the expectation probably he had, that by refusing those advantageous, and considerable offers, made him from France, and his firm adherence unto Spain, for so long a time with such extraordinary constancy, and perseverance, would certainly have merited from them, some other recompence than a Prison, and the loss of all his Goods. His most Christian Majesty doth therefore hereby Order and Expressly command, all Commanders, Officers, Souldiers, and others, being Natives of Lorraine, or the Barrois, that serve in the said Duke's Army, or that are any ways engaged in the Spanish Service, to abandon the same, and retire within 15 days after the Publication of these presents, upon the confines of France; either to take pay under his Majesty (in which case they shall be Received and Treated as others are who now serve under his command) or otherwise to retire themselves in their own Countries, or where ever else their Estates lie, being in such case to make a declaration before his Majesties Judges where they shall chance to come, or those who are next adjoining therunto, that they will no more bear Arms, nor sit any thing directly, or indirectly, against his Majesties Service; upon penalty that such as shall refuse, after the expiration of this Term, shall be prosecuted as Traytors, and declared guilty of High Treason; and suffer the punishment due fore the same, by confiscation of their Goods, demolishing of their Houses, destroying their Woods; and other pains and forfeitures, in such cases due, and to be inflicted. His Majesty doth farther order and command the Marshalls of France, Turenne, and Ferte Senetarte, Generalls of his Forces in Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne; to cause this his declaration to be published in all places necessary, that none may pretend Ignorance thereof, and to put the same in Execution, unto the utmost of their power, declaring that the same credit shall be given unto authentick Copies of this declaration, as to the Original it self.

To this Manifesto was annexed, a declaration concerning the Terms upon which the Colonels, Captains, Officers, and Souldiers, which would put themselves into the French Service, should be received, the Tenour whereof is as followeth.

HIS Majesty highly resenting the imprisonment of the Duke of Lorraine by the Spaniards, and the injurious, and unworthy usage, received by him from those who have no Authority over his Person, or his Forces; hath caused several means to be proposed unto the Count Ligneville (Commander in chief of the said Duke's Army) for procuring his liberty, before he was sent away into Spain, which the said Count was advertised would certainly be done, but he neglected to give ear unto them, unto the prejudice of his Faith, and Honour, having suffered himself to be wrought upon by the Spaniard, to whom he hath shewed much more affection, than to his Lord and Master, and considering that the Colonels, Captains, and other Officers, and Souldiers, may probably be well disposed to advance his Majesties design for the said Dukes enlargement, hath by these presents been pleased to give a firm assurance, unto all Officers, and Souldiers, as well Foot, as Horse, of the Lorraine Army; who for revenging the wrong, and endeavouring the releasment of their Prince, shall put themselves into his Majesties Service, and take pay under him.

That they shall be put, and kept together in one body, under the command of Marechal de la Ferte Senetarte, Governour of Lorraine, and the Barrois.

That as soon as there shall be got together any body, or Company of the said Forces, they

1654. they shall receive a pay, as well Officers, as Souldiers, and that everyone shall be continued in his former charge, and employment.

That every Regiment shall be tried by their own Colonels, in the same manner, as was formerly accustomed.

That his Majesty will assigne them Winter Quarters after the end of the Campagne, and that they shall upon all occasions be treated as the other strangers, who serve in pay under his Majesty; who doth upon the word of a King, promise to observe, and make good, what soever he hath hereby published and declared.

The King of France upon the first news of this imprisonment, had dispatcht Monsieur de Corberet, unto the Count Ligneville, with fit instructions to make him sensible of the obligations he had to endeavour the releasment of his Master, by force of Arms, if by other means he could not obtain it; but all the applications, and perswasions, made to the Count and Prince Francis of Lorraine; who in a few days after came out of Germany, into Flanders, were without effect; the Count's Antipathy against France, and the Spaniards Arts, working more powerfully with him, then all the declarations, and offers of the French: The Count alledging for his excuse, the orders he had received from the Duke to obey the Prince his Brother; and the Prince those promises made by the Ministers of Spain, that the Duke should be suddenly released, as soon as things could be in such manner adjusted, and dispatched, that they might be secured against those prejudices, which the intelligences he entertained with the money, had brought upon them.

The discourses which were after made in either Court, touching this Action so important, and unusual, were very various, and many conceits were published thereupon, dictated by hatred, or by passion; for there were some who blamed the Spaniards as having taken this resolution, onely because they knew themselves unable to satisfie the immoderate covetousness of the Duke, with such Sums of Money as they should be forced to give him; if they intended to make use of him and his Armies Service, and that therefore the Arch-Duke, foreseeing that when Money fell short, he might be drawn to quit them, and make his Peace; they had by this Act sought to prevent him, not upon any just ground they had against him, but only upon a bare suspicion of it.

Others published, That all this was a plot of the Prince of Conde, who being naturally zealous of the House of Lorraine, and impatient to have a Companion in the Army, who perhaps did in some sort take away part of that profit he expected from the Catholick King's generosity, and by reason of his wariness in preserving of his Army (which was his All) would not second his fiery resolutions, but gave a stop unto them, by sober, and mature Councils, had by his Artifices contrived, and brought to pass, all this mischief which fell upon him.

But as all these conceptions had no other foundation but guesses, and conjectures, grounded only upon likelihoods, so they found not that credit was expected; but as shadows upon the appearance of light vanish, so all those suppositions were wiped away by another conceit, which of all others came nearest to the Truth, and this was, That the Dutchesse of Chevreux, who is witty, and full of Spirit, above any Lady of this Age, being for the reasons above mentioned, a particular Enemy unto the Prince of Conde, being of the House of Lorraine, and consequently of kin to the Duke Charles; found means to insinuate unto him dexterously, an agreement with the Court of France, proposing to him, That prudent men ought to make use of all imaginable Conjunctions, since there was nothing of greater consequence then to lay hold of opportunity, which renders that at some times easie, which when the nick of time's once past, becomes impossible.

The Duke listned unto these Propositions, and much more unto that of 300 thousand Doubloons, to which (as the report went) besides the payment of his

his Army (which in that case was to come over from the Spanish Service, into that of France) and entered into a Treaty; the rather, by reason of the Envy he bore unto the Valour, and Prerogatives of Conde, which seemed to lessen the esteem was had of him, and might also diminish much of his usual gains; and this being discovered either by Conde, or the Count of Fuenfaldagne, was the cause that moved the Spanish Ministers to prevent a blow of that importance, which would have proved destructive, and fatal to them, because their Army being lessened by the departure of the Lorrain Forces, and the French receiving a double increase by the addition of those Forces; all Flanders would have been totally over-run, and wasted by the Enemy.

The Cardinal in the mean time, ceased not to continue the management of Affairs with a wise dexterity; his design was to keep the Kingdom United, to carry the War out of France, and to enforce the Spaniard unto that Peace, which they professed publicly to desire, but were privately resolved never to make.

He renewed therefore the Treaty of Peace with the Protector Cromwell at London, to secure France against those Jealousies, that Kingdom, which was in Arms, and had no diversion, might give unto it, and sent the Marechal Grammont, on whose Valour and Fidelity he much relied, unto his Government of Baione, and Bearne, to observe the motions of the Spaniard in Biscay, and prevent all stir upon that Frontier, either by them, or by the English.

He sent a broad new orders for recruiting the old Troops, and raising new ones, that he might the next Campagne, not only Quarter without fear in Flanders, Catalonia, and Piedmont, but also take in hand any other design upon occasion, and for that reason, gave order for setting out, and Victualling of a Fleet, that when time served might set Sail for Catalonia, or towards the Sea of Naples, where the Duke of Guise pressed for a sudden resolution; relying much upon the good intelligence he had with the discontented Persons in that Kingdom, by whom he was often Solicited, and Persons sent expressly to him from them. Together with the care of things belonging to the War, he mingled also the thought of those, which tended to the settling of Peace at home; and caused his Majestys mercy and clemency to be extended unto all those who were yet contumacious, that so an end might be put unto all Jealousies within the Kingdom; and by experience it might appear, that he desired nothing but to render his Actings, and Ministry, equally profitable, and grateful to the whole French Nation. Towards which (notwithstanding the ill usage he hath received from many of them) instead of seeking his revenge, forgetting all injuries done him, he bears so great a kindness, that his whole Study is, to bring them all by favours, unto a repentance for their Errours; that they may avoid all punishment due to the crimes they have committed. And for as much as Money is the sinews of War, and the Soul of all great Enterprizes, he applied himself with his whole Study, to distribute it in due manner, and raise it with the least trouble of the people, he received in all places good intelligence with friends, and endeavouring to create good correspondencies with Neuters, he dispelled from France all those Cloudy storms of troubles, wherewith 'twas threatened, and restored unto it that calm it now enjoys, which probably will produce the Peace so much desired, and hoped for, in Christendom, and furnish a large matter for Learned Pens, to celebrate the glories of his most Christian Majesty, and applaud the Vertue of him who hath done him such worthy Service.

F I N I S.